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FRONTISPIECE to MOORE'S *Voyages & Travels.*

1 Dampier... 2 Sir Walter Raleigh.
3 Vasquez de Gama... 4 Columbus.

5 Lord Anson... 6 Candish.
7 Sir Francis Drake & Maghellan.



The GENIUS of the Work instructing YOUTH in the Conduct of those illustrious Circumnavigators &c. whose medallions are here exhibited and whose Important Discoveries & Exploits (amongst others) are recorded in our Collection.

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A N E W A N D
C O M P L E T E C O L L E C T I O N
O F
V O Y A G E S and T R A V E L S

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All that have been remarkable from the earliest Period to the present Time; and including not only the VOYAGES and TRAVELS of the Natives of THESE KINGDOMS, but also those of

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With the Relations of MAGHELLAN, DRAKE, CANDISH, ANSON, DAMPIER, and all the Circumnavigators

Including a most faithful Recital of the remarkable Voyages and Discoveries undertaken at the Expence of the PARLIAMENT of GREAT BRITAIN, and by Order of his present MAJESTY GEORGE III. in the SOUTH-SEAS, by those great and experienced Navigators,

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By JOHN HAMILTON MOORE,

MASTER OF THE ACADEMY AT BRENTFORD, AND AUTHOR OF THE PRACTICAL NAVIGATOR,

Assisted by several PERSONS who have made the SUBJECTS of VOYAGES and TRAVELS their particular STUDY.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

I N Compliance with custom, which prescribes the ceremony of a preface, and in deference to the idea entertained by the generality of readers, that we may not break in upon them, as it were, abruptly, we shall here offer a few words relative to the nature of this work.

Every one knows, that a collection of voyages and travels, merely considered as such, has nothing in it of novelty ; numbers of such compilations having been published from time to time : among the most remarkable, those of Hakluyt, Purchas, Harris, Churchill, and some more modern compilers, may be reckoned, whose productions, though it would be very tedious to the reader, and a very disagreeable task to us, particularly to *censure*,—yet truth compels us to say, that on many accounts we cannot heartily approve of them : to present the public with a number of volumes, swelled to an enormous size, and filled with trivial circumstances, composed from the journals of seamen, or the memorandums of travellers, we do not conceive to be suited to the spirit of an undertaking of this sort, where much matter ought to be comprised in little space, lest the reader should be compelled to spend a great deal of time in selecting a few pearls from an enormous dunghill.

Even those collections which have bidden fairest for success, have generally been of great bulk, and consequently exceeded in price the convenience of common purchasers : nor is this all ; the recent discoveries made by our later navigators, and more modern travellers, have opened a new field for curious disquisition ; and to give the substance of their narrations, must prove a great addition to the fund of useful knowledge, treasured up in such a compilation.

All these have been particularly attended to in the course of this work, the materials for which are selected from the most authentic accounts, and while it draws the line between the obstinacy of Incredulity, and the folly of Superstition, it omits no species of useful information.

With regard to the method which we have laid down to ourselves in prosecuting the plan proposed, it is simply this: to select every thing worthy of notice from the voluminous writers already mentioned, as well as from those of a more modern date, including the voyages undertaken by order of his present Britannic Majesty, and the King of France, for making discoveries in both hemispheres. For the sake of perspicuity we shall begin with the Voyages; which being finished, we shall proceed to the Travels; and, to avoid endless repetitions, shall place by themselves those descriptions of countries, which, for brevity's sake, will be selected from the relations of voyagers and travellers, whose more prolix accounts are not given in the course of the work.

The relation of voyages will begin with those of Columbus and of Vasquez de Gama; after which will be found the accounts of all the circumnavigators, and the voyages of the Europeans to the East-Indies: the rest will follow in a general succession, and the dates will be affixed in the margin. The reader will likewise find in the introduction, a summary account of the rise and progress of *Navigation*, together with some other particulars not unworthy the attention of those who would peruse the subsequent work for instruction, as well as amusement.



INTRODUCTION.

MANKIND being intended by Providence for social as well as rational creatures, it seems to have been the grand design of God and Nature, that after having multiplied and replenished the earth, they should hold intercourse with each other, and thereby derive such mutual advantages as without a miraculous intervention could never otherwise arise to any separate community. It may possibly, be objected that if this were really the design of Heaven, men would not have been scattered at a distance from each other with intervening wilds, deserts, mountains, and vast oceans to divide them. But, upon an examination of the dispensations of Providence, this seeming weighty objection will vanish. Man is a Being capable of improvement, and intended to be constantly employed in exertions either of his corporeal or mental faculties. It is for the brute creation alone, to remain, from their first period of existence, in their wilds and forests, till death assimilates them with their original dust. Man has a nobler claim, by arts enabled to remove the apparent obstacles of nature, to visit distant lands, and from experience to reap advantage and useful improvement, and, in all the various changes of the world, still to find employment for his rational faculties, and means to occupy his industry.

The state wherein we now see the terraqueous globe is not that which it always exhibited: besides the general deluge so fully described in scripture, we have authentic accounts of partial deluges, dreadful earthquakes, and other phenomena, which from time to time have wrought amazing changes on the face of the earth, levelling mountains, elevating valleys, rending asunder vast continents, producing new islands, burying vast tracts of land beneath the ocean, and causing the sea in other places to retire, and the dry land to appear. How far these changes may have conduced to the separation of mankind in some places, and to the associating them in others, is a matter, perhaps worthy the discussion of the philosophical enquirer. Whether the various nations of the peopled earth were separated by such vast tracts of ocean in the antediluvian world, is more than we can take upon us to determine; but it seems clear that after the general deluge, men were fearful of trusting themselves upon the world of waters even for ages, till by slow degrees they were convinced of the utility, when numbers had experienced the advantages of a certain confined navigation peculiar to those ages.

It would be as tedious as useless for us to take up too much of the readers time with a detail of the expeditions of all the descendants of Noah; and the chiefs of fabulous times, of which all the accounts are so mixed with fable, that it is scarcely possible for the most accurate investigator to distinguish and separate truth from error. Of this sort are the expedition of the Cretan Jupiter against the Sidonians; of Perseus into Africa against Medusa, with others, too tedious here to mention. The relation of the voyage of Jason in the ship Argo, said to be the first large vessel built by the Greeks, is likewise immersed in fabulous obscurity: it is only to be concluded that the Argonauts sailed under a brave commander of the name of Jason, to clear the seas of pirates, and to establish some branches of useful commerce at Colchis and elsewhere.

From all authentic history, sacred and profane, we have reason to believe that the Phœnicians were the first, and for a long period of time the most successful of the antient navigators. We find the King of Tyre, whose subjects were of that nation, assisting King Solomon with gold and curious materials for building the famous temple at Jerusalem.—Though the virtue of the magnetic needle was totally unknown in those days, yet it is morally certain that these bold navigators not only coasted along the neighbouring shores of the Mediterranean, but sailed Southward to Africa, and North as far as Britain, trading for tin to the coast of Cornwall, at a time when the existence of this island was not known to the greater part of the nations inhabiting the continent. The Assyrians, Ægyptians and other antient states are reported to have had great fleets before the days of David or even of Moses.—The accounts of the naval power of Semiramis are to be suspected as fabulous; that the Ægyptians and some other nations have been represented as covering the seas with their fleets, may probably have arisen from the numbers of Phœnician vessels employed in their service.—The Greeks who learned other arts from them, acquired that of navigation among the rest, and almost as soon as they were formed into states, began to think of making themselves respectable for their fleets, with which they repeatedly defeated those of the Persians, and while the Phœnicians were employed in trading and planting colonies in various other parts of the world, made themselves masters of the Eastern coasts of the Mediterranean.

Carthage, a colony from Tyre, from small beginnings rose to high estimation for her naval power, by which means, in a great measure she was enabled to contend with Rome for the empire of the world. But the indifatigable industry, unwearied application, and boundless thirst of conquest which marked the character of the Romans, caused them at last to triumph. Though at first they were little skilled in maritime affairs, to which their ancient genius had not led them, yet finding themselves thus powerfully opposed by a people whose great resources were in trade, and whose naval strength contributed chiefly to their support; they resolved on manning great fleets; in which, though at first they were unsuccessful, they were at length enabled to combat their enemies, as it were upon their own element, and finally gave them such a terrible overthrow as induced them to accept of such a peace as the conquerors were disposed to grant.—The fleets at this time consisted of galleys of various sizes, with several benches of rowers, and were filled with soldiers who fought with their usual weapons of war, to which were added various engines peculiar to their situation, and some of the galleys had towers, from whence they shot or threw darts, stones and other missiles. By the help of these, they could make safe approaches to the walls of towns in *offensive* war, and when attacked in their own vessels could carry on a *defence* as from land castles.

But though the Romans by their assiduities had overcome great obstacles, and were become the masters at sea, yet we do not find that their genius led them towards *discovery*.—Conquest engrossed their ideas, and as the then known world had furnished sufficient employment for their arms, and put them in possession of an empire, which was at last too extensive for them to preserve entire, they were little solicitous of penetrating farther, and exploring unknown regions in the manner of the more modern Europeans.

The power which the Romans had thus wrested from the Greeks and Carthaginians they preserved till the division of the empire, after which, it began to decline.—The distant provinces revolted.—The nations shook off the yoke of the conquerors; barbarians whose names were almost unknown, poured in upon the various parts of the divided empire; Rome sinking under her own weight, was at last sacked by the Goths, and Constantinople taken by the Saracens, in the reign of Michael Palæologus, which event put an end to the Eastern empire.

From this period the Arabs began to date their consequence.—Though at first apparently enemies to learning and the arts, yet as they extended their power, they became encouragers of them, and, while the destruction of the Western empire had involved Europe in ignorance and distraction, these people began to cultivate useful knowledge, and to carry on an extensive trade with divers nations, though in ships of a very slight construction. Nor did the division of the Arabian Empire prove the extinction of this commerce, which long survived the destruction of the Khalifate, and the remains of which, were yet visible to the Portuguese when they entered the Indian seas, along whose coasts the pilots, it is said, were found to have the use of sea charts, and even that of the compass, the discovery of which, was then so recent in Europe.

In the mean time the rival Republics of Genoa and Venice, were almost the only powers that attended to trade and navigation in the Western World, the crusades abroad, and the feudal system which prevailed amongst the most respectable powers at home, joined to their intestine divisions, proving most unfavourable to the arts, and prolonging that night of ignorance, whose shades began to be dispelled about the fifteenth century. The conquests of Jenghiz Khan, and the wars of the successors of Saladin, as well as those of Tamerlane, had successively kept Asia in a ferment; and the two Republics maintained their naval consequence, till the Venetians at length prevailed, and secured to themselves the sovereignty of the inner seas.—Before a way to India was opened by the Cape of Good Hope, the great market for spices, drugs, and other valuable commodities of the East, was fixed at the city of Malakka, from whence they were fetched for the use of the Western nations as far as the Red Sea.—But the discoveries of the Portuguese turned the channel of this trade, and in effect proved fatal to the wealth and power of the Venetians, which had for a long succession of years been at once the wonder, and the envy of Europe.

It is to the directive power of the magnetic needle, first discovered about the year 1300, that this change may properly be attributed. Who was the author of this discovery is uncertain; but it is generally ascribed to an inhabitant of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, of whose name there is no authentic account.—Indeed, whoever the person was, his claim could be only as a mere discoverer of this property, which was not applied till about the year 1405, by the Portuguese for the purposes of navigation. *

Prince

* The load-stone or magnet, as some say, was first found in Magnesia, a country of Lydia; according to others, the Magnesians were only the first who discovered its property of attracting iron. It is well known to have two poles, which constantly incline to those of the world, if nothing intervene to alter their direction. This property is found to be communicable, and hence the nautical needle once properly touched points constantly towards the pole, unless some mass of interposing iron, or somewhat of a magnetic nature, interposes to prevent its direction. The cause of this wonderful effect is one of those secrets which it has pleased Heaven hitherto to conceal from the prying searchers into nature's volume. This wonder is augmented by another, namely, the different variations of the compass, which are found by observing the sun and stars, and appear not to be guided by parallels of latitude, nor regulated by meridians; some have attributed this to certain magnetic qualities in certain mountains: some to a principle of magnetism in the earth communicable from the pole in different degrees, at different distances.—But what tends to overthrow these various opinions, and seems almost to mock conjecture, is a variation of the variation itself, as it continues not the same at all times even in the same situations. On the whole, from whatsoever hidden powers in nature the cause of magnetism originates, it is to its effects, as employed in framing the mariners compass, that mankind owe the discovery of a new world.

Prince Henry, third son of King John of Portugal, returning from the siege of Ceuta, conceived such a violent desire of making new discoveries that he spent near 10 years in causing attempts of that nature to be made; in the prosecution of which he appeared to have at heart, a scheme for restoring the trade with Asia, by finding out a passage round Africa to the West Indies; which must necessarily divert it from its old channel, and prove most beneficial to those who first accomplished the arduous undertaking.

It seems that the prince was the more encouraged to proceed in his scheme by the information of certain Moors, concerning the situation of the Southern coasts of Africa, of which no European adventurers had any knowledge, none of them having ventured beyond Cape Nao, so called from being considered as the utmost boundary of their navigation toward that quarter of the globe. But no obstacles appearing sufficient in the eyes of Prince Henry, who every day grew more bent upon his design, in the year 1417, he caused two vessels to be fitted out for the purpose of discovery; they ran 60 leagues beyond Cape Nao to Cape Bojador, where being discouraged by a swelling sea, breaking on the sands, they returned, and the Prince sent out, 1418 Juan Gonzales Zarco, and Tristan Vaz Teixeira, gentlemen of his household, in a small ship, with orders to coast along the coast of Barbary, till they had passed the Cape, and discover all the land which the Arabs said reached beyond the equinoctial line: but their vessel was driven by a storm out of her course, till, accidentally, they made an island which they called Puerto Santo, or Holy Island, on account of their deliverance. The prince, on their return, pleased with their discovery, sent them thither again, together with Bartholomew Perestrelo, with cattle; as also corn and plants; but the intention was defeated by the fecundity of a couple of rabbits, those animals multiplying so exceedingly, as to destroy what was planted; and thus a circumstance so trifling, rendered the project of a settlement abortive. The year following, the same gentlemen made another voyage, in which they discovered the island of Madeira, where they found a chapel, tomb, and stone, erected by an Englishman, who, flying from his country with a woman whom he loved, was driven thither by stress of weather; the ship taking advantage of a favouring gale, having left the young couple behind them.* The land being covered with woods, the Portuguese set fire to them, to clear it: these are said to have burned for seven years, and when the island was at last settled, wood became one of the scarcest articles in the country. —A course of time being necessary for furnishing the new settlements, it was not till 15 years afterwards that Gilianez passed the dreadful Cape Bojador, beyond which he sailed 30 leagues, and the year following, proceeded 12 leagues farther, returning with a quantity of sea wolves skins; but, on their landing, the inhabitants fled for fear of them, and could not be persuaded to return.

Prince Henry still continuing to pursue his plan, Antony Gonzales, in the year 1442, by his order, coasted as far as Cape Blanco. Nunho Tristan passing still further, discovered one of the islands of Arguim, called Adeget, and another, which they named De Los Garzas.

Dinis Fernandez, in 1447, discovered Cabo Verde, or Cape Verde; but venturing up the river which the Spaniards called Rio Grande, he was cut off by the natives, as were most of his followers.

Alvaro Fernandez afterwards sailed 40 leagues farther; and thus Prince Henry had the satisfaction of seeing his plans successively executed, till death removed him in the midst of them: after which they were pursued by his nephew, Alfonso V. in whose reign Gonzalo de Vello, 1448 discovered the islands called Azores, which are eight in number, viz: St. Michael, St. Mary, Jesus, or Teresa, Graciosa, Pico, Fayal, Flores, and Corvo, lying nearly in the same latitude with Lisbon.

The next year the islands of Cape Verde were discovered by Antonio Nole, a Genoese, in the service of Portugal. These islands lie about 100 leagues to the Westward of Cape Verde, and are called Brava, Boavista, du Sal, S. Nicholao, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Antonio: he also found the isles Maya, and S. Philip, and S. Jacob.

In 1471, John de Santeren and Peter de Escobar, went to the place called Mina, on account of the gold trade there, and proceeded from thence to Cape St. Catharine. The same year Ferdinand Po, found out an island which he called Hermosa, a name which it has since lost, but retains that of him who discovered it. About the same time the islands S. Thomas, Anna Bom, and Principe, were discovered.

It was at this period the King of Portugal took upon him the title of *Lord of Guinea*.—It had heretofore been the custom to set up wooden crosses in the new discovered countries, but this prince ordered that stone ones should be in future erected by the captains, whereon his own name and theirs were to be inscribed. The first of these captains was called Cam: passing Cape Catharine, he came to the river Congo, sailing up which, he found by the signs of the blacks, that they had a king, who lived at a distance from the sea coast. This being all the information he could get, he returned home; where being arrived, and bringing some of the natives with him, King John gave them many presents, and ordered Cam to proceed again to Congo, and endeavour the conversion of the people, who were all heathens.—In this he happily succeeded, and returning to Congo, being admitted to the King of that place, persuaded him to send 148

* The lady died soon afterwards, and Macham, with his companions, having paid this tribute to her memory, made a boat out of the trunk of a tree, in which without sails, or oars, he passed over to Africa; the Moors presented him to their king, who sent him to the King of Castile.

some of the sons of his chief men to Portugal, to be baptised and instructed in the principles of the christian religion.

Some time after, the King of Benin, a territory situate between fort St. George and Congo, pretending a desire to be converted to christianity, sent an embassy to the King of Portugal, desiring to have priests for their instruction: the ambassador, among other things informed King John, that 250 leagues beyond their country, reigned a powerful prince, called Ogane, by whom the kings of Benin were confirmed in their royalty, their messengers receiving from him a staff, with a head and a cross, like that of Malta; but added, that the persons receiving these, never were allowed to behold his face, his foot only being put out from behind a curtain, in token of his granting their request.

The wonderful accounts of a certain prince called Prester John, reigning in those parts, being at that time current in Europe, King John concluded this must be that very extraordinary personage.—To satisfy himself in this particular, as well as to get some account of India, Peter de Covillam, and Alonso de Payva, were sent over land for intelligence: by way of Grand Cairo, they went to Tor on the coast of Arabia, where they separated, Covillam setting out for India, and Payva, for Ethiopia, both agreeing to meet again at Grand Cairo, by a certain appointed time: the former proceeded to Cananor, Calicut and Goa, passing from thence to Sofala, and afterwards to Aden, at the Mouth of the Red Sea, on the side of Arabia; when, coming at last to Grand Cairo, he found the companion of his travels was no more; from hence he sent the king an account of his proceedings by a Jew come from Portugal, and afterwards went into Ethiopia, where he was kindly entertained, but from whence he was never permitted to return.

At the same time that these set out by land, Bartholomew Diaz put to sea, with three ships: he discovered the mountains called Serra Prada, and passed on in sight of a bay, which he named *De los Vaqueros*, on account of the great herds of cattle, that he saw there; he touched afterwards at the island of Santa Cruz, entered the mouth of the river del Infante, and at last came to the famous Cape which is the utmost Southern boundary of Africa: to this Cape he gave the name of Tormentoso, on account of the storms which he there met with. But King John changed the appellation to that of Cabo de Buena Esperanza, on account of the hopes he entertained of discovering a passage round it by sea to the East Indies: however this (which was of more consequence than finding out Prester John's dominions) did not take place in the reign of King John, who, having fixed the Portuguese dominion in Guinea, died, and was succeeded by King Emanuel.

It was in the reign of this monarch that Vasquez de Gama, being intrusted with the command of three ships and a tender, passed the Cape, and made his way to India by sea: previous to which, Christopher Columbus, had sailed to the West Indies; the new world was thus discovered, and the conquest of Mexico and Peru followed in consequence of that discovery.

In 1494, Sebastian Cabot discovered North America, in the reign of King Henry VII. of England.—In the year 1500, Brasil was first found out by Peter Alvarez Cabral, who was sent on an expedition with 1200 men, to gain footing in India, but was driven by a storm on that part of the coast of South America; and, in 1519, Ferdinand Maghellan found a passage from the Western to the Southern ocean, by those Straits which have ever since borne the name of their unfortunate discoverer.

The way thus opened, each succeeding period furnished new discoveries of the English, the Dutch, the French, and in effect, all the nations of Europe, whose situation would permit them; eagerly followed the example of the successful Portuguese and Spaniards, who, equally jealous of them, and of each other, took all manner of pains to preserve their dominion where they had gained footing, and as much as possible to thwart all those who adopted the plan of making new discoveries. But notwithstanding this, we find the Dutch, at various periods, busy in settling themselves in India, and securing the possession of the spice trade. In 1600, an English East-India company, was established by Queen Elizabeth; settlements in Asia were also obtained. A great part of the continent of North America, first discovered by Sebastian Cabot, was also peopled after that time by British subjects: nor were the French idle, they also got footing in Asia, the West-Indies, and North America, in spite of all the obstacles that at first appeared to hinder them; while the Portuguese and Spaniards, especially the latter, often found themselves much embarrassed to preserve their new possessions. A passage being opened from the Atlantic to the South Sea, by Cape Horn, and the Straits of Maghellan, and the possibility of circum-navigating the globe, which before existed in idea, confirmed by experience, the settlements on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean were exposed to assaults from enemies whom the Spaniards little expected to visit them in those seas, the riches of the new world being alone sufficient to excite them to such an undertaking. Drake, Candish, and others, following the track, afterwards sailed round the world, and to their discoveries much has been added by more modern navigators. But as all these, together with all that is found remarkable in the relation of voyagers and travellers will be found at large in the following sheets, we forbear to dwell upon them here, having already given the reader a view of the rise and progress of the art of navigation, and a summary account of the undertakings of those first adventurers, whose names will ever be had in remembrance.

Having finished this sketch, we shall now proceed with the work itself, beginning with the voyages of Christopher Columbus and Vasquez de Gama, whose discoveries form an æra the most remarkable in the history of navigation, as they first poured the treasures of the Eastern and Western world into the lap of Europe, and thereby laid the foundation of her present grandeur and refinement.



An
Accurate MAP of the
WORLD,
Comprehending all the
New Discoveries,
in BOTH HEMISPHERES;
carefully drawn from the
Best Authorities.
By T. Conder

Engraved for
MOORE'S
NEW and COMPLETE
Collection of
VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

V O Y A G E S

A N D

T R A V E L S.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, who added a fourth quarter to the world by his discoveries towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, was a native of Genoa, of uncertain parentage, but of confessed abilities. He had a strong propensity to the study of navigation, early in life he discovered an inclination to mathematical researches, and had been employed in trading voyages to divers parts of the world before he attempted to set out upon this grand discovery. His motives to the undertaking, according to his own account, were the following: First, The figure of the earth suggested to him the probability that there must be some counterbalance of land, to answer to the vast tract of ocean which appeared to surround the habitable world. Secondly, He greatly relied upon some hints of this kind, which he thought he traced in several ancient writers, as well as on the observations which he himself had made in the course of some of his own voyages. These were confirmed by those of other navigators, among whom was one who mentioned a large island, which he said he had discovered to the westward of Ireland, since supposed to be Newfoundland. One Martin Vincent, who used to sail to the Azores, is said to have told Columbus, that being 450 leagues to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, he took up a piece of timber which seemed to be wrought by some artisan, but apparently, without the help of iron. Peter Correa, who had married Columbus's wife's sister, reported that he had seen another piece of the same sort at Puerto Santo, and that there had also been canes found so thick that every joint would hold a gallon of wine, which were shewn to the king of Portugal. Such canes being generally found in India, concurred with other circumstances to inspire Columbus with the notion of sailing westward to the East Indies; which, if no intervening lands obstructed, he concluded there was a moral certainty of accomplishing. The casting up of pines and dead bodies at the Floras, which latter, by their features, seemed to have been the inhabitants of some remoter region, tended still farther to confirm him in his opinion.

Possessed with the resolution of making the experiment, he first proposed the matter to his countrymen the Genoese, by whom it was rejected. He then addressed himself to the King of Portugal, in whose dominions he lived, and where he had married and intended to settle. But that monarch seemed extremely backward to engage in such an extensive undertaking. The reasons urged were, that his Majesty had already been at great expence in sending persons to make discoveries along the African coast, and to find out an eastern passage to the Indies by sea, without having

reaped the expected advantages; and that there appeared little prospect of attaining the end by an expedition to the westward where fresh difficulties and dangers would arise, since after all the labour that had been bestowed on the favourite scheme of the Portuguese, carried on since Prince Henry's time, there had not been found any navigators yet successful enough to weather the Cape of Good Hope, and spread their sails upon the Indian Ocean.

However plausible this reasoning might seem, it appeared in the sequel, that his Portuguese Majesty was not so much bent against a expedition of this sort, as he was averse to employing Columbus; for, by the advice of some who shared his confidence, the king secretly caused a vessel to be fitted out, which was sent to discover what some, in jest, had termed Columbus's world; but for want of constancy and a proper idea of what course to take, the scheme miscarried, and those who had thus been sent to circumvent the first proposer, returned without having effected anything, and fully convinced that there could be no lands to the westward beyond those already discovered; because they had not the fortune to find them out.

Columbus being informed of what had passed, was so much disgusted at this duplicity, that (his wife being already dead) he determined to leave Portugal, and accordingly departed privately from that kingdom, taking with him his son James, and proceeded to Castile. Then, having left the child in a monastery at Palos, he went to Cordova, where the Spanish court then was, and where he recommended himself by his knowledge and abilities to the notice and friendship of several persons whom he thought most likely to favour his scheme, which he intended to propose to the reigning princes King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.

But lest he should meet with another repulse in Spain, in order that no time might be lost, he dispatched his brother Bartholomew to England to make proposals to King Henry VII. but his messenger falling into the hands of pirates, and afterwards not getting a speedy audience of the king, these and other circumstances occasioned Columbus no longer to rely upon the English, who might otherwise have insured to themselves the West India islands and most probably a lasting English establishment in South America.

The application at first intended was now made to their Catholic Majesties, but the matter being referred to certain Spanish cosmographers, by the prior of Prado, afterwards archbishop of Grenada, whom the king had thought fit to consult upon the occasion; these men whose ideas were by no means so extensive as those of Columbus, gave their opinions against the expedition,

1492

expedition, urging a variety of futile reasons, * which however, had so much weight with the court, that after a tedious and fruitless attendance, he received for answer, that their Majesties were then so much engaged in their wars with the Moors, that they could not attend to any new undertaking: and in the end it was signified to him, that they would not listen to the proposals which the projector of the scheme offered them.

In effect, after many conferences, Columbus, for that time, received a flat refusal, though the Dukes Medina, Celi, and other persons of note were by this time become his advocates: five years having been thus wasted in solicitations, he at last resolved to leave Spain as he had quitted Portugal. He therefore set out for the monastery of Palos, to take his son from thence; but there F. John Perez persuaded him once more to apply to their Catholic Majesties, then carrying on the siege of Grenada. He was prevailed on to do so; but his terms † being disapproved, he resumed his resolution of leaving the country, and was got two leagues on his way, when the queen sent to recal him. He obeyed the summons, and her Majesty having resolved to gratify his desire, even to the pledging of her jewels, an agreement fully to his satisfaction was drawn up, at the camp of St. Faith, before the town of Grenada, on the 17th of April in 1492.

All things being thus adjusted, it was not long before the proper preparations were made for that voyage, which was to determine whether the opinion of Columbus were the reveries of an enthusiastic dreamer, or were such as originated in a depth of comprehension, and deserved the encouragement of the princes of the earth.

Columbus
embarks on his
expedition.

With a fleet consisting only of three caravels the admiral set out from Palos, on Friday the 2d of August, himself commanding the St. Maria, and Martin Alonso Pinson the Pinta, of which his brother Francisco was master, the third vessel, called the Ninna, was under the conduct of Vincent Yannez Pinson; and all the three caravels contained not above 120 men. They arrived at the Canaries on the 11th of the same month, without any other accident except that of the Pinta's rudder breaking loose; and having refreshed themselves at Gomera, on the 6th of September departed from those islands. Most of the sailors lost their spirits when they lost sight of the land; Columbus, however, re-assured them, and whenever they talked of danger, discoursed of riches and honours, by which means, together with making it a constant rule to falsify the reckoning in such a manner as that the mariners might not imagine themselves so distant from home as they really were, he contrived from time to time to keep them quiet. On the 14th of September he first observed the variation of the compass; two days after they saw weeds floating on the water, and some small animals alive among them, and as they proceeded, observed several flights of birds holding their course westward.

The seamen
murmur.

These favourable signs continuing for some days, but no land appearing, the mariners were loud in complaints against the admiral, who, they said, in the vain expectation of gratifying his own avarice and ambition had brought them thither to be starved to death or swallowed up by the merciless ocean. They added, that having already done more than could be expected, in venturing so far, it were better they should return, and in case of opposition from Columbus, some of them were of opinion, that, like

another Jonas, he should be thrown overboard to facilitate their project.

The admiral, who was not ignorant of their murmurings, still carried himself with steadiness and resolution, sometimes using soothing words, sometimes more sternly reproving them, with a secret determination of proceeding at all events upon the expedition, which he doubted not in the end would answer his expectations. He failed not always to put them in mind of the good signs which they had seen, but these had so frequently disappointed the sailors, that they began to give little credit to such tokens.

On the 25th, Pinson, whose vessel was a-head of the rest, thought he discovered land, but this proved an illusion. On standing all night towards the quarter where he thought he had perceived it, in the morning it was found the fleet had been only pursuing a ridge of clouds, which greatly added to the admiral's embarrassment, as well as to their vexation.

At last, when the patience of the seamen was exhausted, and Columbus himself, to pacify them, talked of returning, in case land was not discovered in three days, at the same time offering thirty crowns a year to the discoverer; just at this crisis, on the night of the 11th of October, the admiral being then in his cabin, thought he saw a light, and called two of his men to observe it, but it disappeared presently, and left them in some uncertainty, till about two the next morning, when Roderic de Triana, of the Pinta, gave the signal agreed on, being then at the distance of two leagues from the shore. When day-light appeared, they found it to be an island about 15 leagues in length, the ground level, covered with trees and verdure, a lake of good water in the middle, and well inhabited. This proved to be one of the Lucayos, which was called Guanahani by the natives, but to which Columbus gave the name of San Salvador: he took possession of the place in the name of their Catholic Majesties. The admiral
discovers land.

Perceiving the people to be of a peaceable and friendly disposition, he made them some small presents, and afterwards began to barter with them, exchanging glass beads and such toys, for fruits, parrots, spun cotton, and more valuable things. The Indians were naked, of a middle size, and olive complexion, but painted according to their particular fancies. They had small plates of gold hanging at their nostrils, which they said came from a land to the southward, where that precious metal was to be found in abundance. These Indians took the ships for living creatures, revered the Spaniards as superior beings, and being totally ignorant of the use of iron and such kind of weapons as their new guests wore, they innocently laid their hands on the edges of those swords that were afterwards employed in the destruction of such numbers of their countrymen.

The intelligence the Spaniards had received concerning a country where gold abounded, contributed to hasten their departure from San Salvador, from whence they accordingly set sail on Sunday the 15th of October, and at the distance of seven leagues, discovered an island which they called St. Maria de la Concepcion, where every thing so nearly resembled what they had seen at St. Salvador, that they did not think fit to make any long stay there, but weighing anchor on the 17th proceeded westward, where they found another island, which was bigger than the two former, Concepcion;

* One of the reasons alledged was, that if any man should sail strait away westward beyond the known hemisphere, he would go down, on account of the rotundity of the earth, and would never return again, since to attempt it would be like a vessel's climbing a hill, which could not be done by the strongest gale.

† These terms were, "That he should be admiral on the ocean, that all civil employments as well of government as administration of justice in all the lands discovered should be wholly at his disposal, and that all governors of provinces should be chosen out of one of three persons whom he should name, and that he should appoint judges in all ports of

"Spain trading to the Indies, to decide matters relating to those parts. And that he should have one tenth of all that was bought, bartered for, or found within the limits of his admiralty, over and above the salary and perquisites of his employment." But to shew that he was willing to venture something on his own account, on condition of having the eighth part of what he might bring home in his fleet, he agreed to be at the eighth part of the expence of the undertaking. These were high demands, but the hazard seems to have been adequate to these, most of which are found recited and granted by their Catholic Majesties to their admiral after his return from his first voyage.

Fernandina.

Isabella.

Cuba.

Hispaniola.

The first Spanish colony in the West Indies.

Golfo de Flechas.

former, where the women wore short coats of cotton, reaching from their navels to the mid-thigh, which was the whole of their dress. To this the admiral gave the name of Fernandina; and departing from thence, discovered another, which he called Isabella; these two latter appellations being given in honour of the king and queen of Spain. And he set sail as soon as he had learned its product and the manners of the people, not chusing to spend any more time amongst islands which he found so nearly similar to each other.

The fleet next proceeded to Cuba, where the Spaniards expected to get farther intelligence concerning the gold which was the principal object of their search. Two Christians were sent with two Indians, the one from St. Salvador, and the other from that country, to search the island. On their return they reported that they had seen a town consisting of about fifty houses, where they were well treated, the new guests being revered as deities by the people. Here they saw cotton growing, as also many strange birds and trees, and an animal resembling a dog, but which could not bark. The Indians being questioned whether they had any gold or pearls in their country, made signs that plenty of those commodities was to be found in a place called Bohio, and Columbus following their directions as well as he could understand them, having seized twelve of the natives, to carry them with them to Spain, steered eastward till he reached the island which is now called Hispaniola, from the Spanish appellation of Espagnola, given it by the admiral.

This island is about sixteen leagues distant from Cuba, the first port of which Columbus called St. Nicholas, because he anchored there on the festival of that saint. Here he took a young woman, whom they treated well, and who proved very serviceable to them afterwards, and the natives having a high opinion of the Spaniards, who had hitherto treated them well, the new comers still found themselves honoured and respected wherever they came. A principal cacique, called Guacanagari, conceived a strong affection for his new guests, which he displayed on several occasions, especially by ordering all possible assistance to be given to Columbus when some of his mariners through ignorance had run one of the caravels upon the flats. Another vessel, which was commanded by Alonso Pinson, had left him while at Cuba, and gone in search of Hispaniola before him, understanding that there was gold to be found there, the greatest share of which he thought to secure to himself by this proceeding. Nevertheless the admiral, when he met him afterwards at sea, did not hold it prudent to take notice of what had passed, but chose to accept excuses which he could not believe, rather than to enter into any altercation with him upon the subject. In the mean while both parties had carried on a gainful traffic, receiving gold and other things of value in exchange for glass beads and such sort of toys, with which these people were particularly delighted.

As the islanders had expressed great fears of the neighbouring Caribbees, whom they represented as fierce cannibals, the Spaniards formed a good excuse for building a fort in their country, which was garrisoned with 38 soldiers, who were left there by way of protecting them against the invasions of these savages; and thus this first colony was planted at the port which they called the Nativity, because they had first landed there on Christmas day.

On Friday, the 4th of January, the admiral set sail from the island, and being joined by the Pinta, proceeded to some other capes and harbours, and among the rest, being near the place called the Lover's Cape, he met with some fierce Indians, with whom his men had a skirmish, which terminated to the advantage of the Europeans, whose weapons could not be resisted by a people armed only with clubs and bows and arrows, and ignorant of the use of iron. To this place they gave the name of Golfo de Flechas, or the gulf of arrows, but the Indians called it Samana.

From hence Columbus departed on the 16th day of the same month, setting sail for Spain, but before he could reach the Azores was overtaken by a violent storm, in which, on the 24th of February, the caravel Pinta was separated from the admiral, whose men began again to murmur, provision falling short, and his vessel being scarcely able to weather the tempest which a few days afterwards drove him to St. Mary's, one of the Azores, where he cast anchor, on the 18th, after having suffered as much by disease as by the violence of the storm, during the continuance of which he had thrown his papers over board, in order that the account of his discoveries might not be lost though the vessel which carried him might have foundered. The admiral and his men remembering that they had made a vow in their distress to go barefooted in their shirts to some church dedicated to the blessed virgin, at the first land they made, were all resolved to perform it at this island. To this they were yet more induced by the friendly professions of the people who were subjects to a prince in alliance with the king of Castile. Half the ship's crew embarking in one of the boats for this purpose, had but just landed, when the governor attended by a number of people, who had lain in ambush for that purpose, rushed out upon them, and, contrary to honour and the laws of nations, seized and made them prisoners, taking care also to secure the boat to prevent the possibility of their return. But the admiral brought his ship round to a point from whence the church might be discerned to which the Spaniards had intended to make their procession. Here he came to an anchor, and demanded his men and boat, which were refused him; but as he persevered in his resolution, and, though forced out to sea by the wind, returned, using threats as well as persuasions, he at last obtained them, with many assurances of friendship from those dissemblers, on his producing their catholic majesties commission.

From hence he sailed on the 24th day of February, and was soon after overtaken by another storm as dreadful as the former, on which account the Spaniards made a second vow, in case of being delivered, to send one of their people on pilgrimage to our Lady de Cinta, at Guelva, and the lot fell upon the admiral. In the end they were forced upon the rock of Lisbon, and he found himself obliged to put in at that port, where the Portuguese much admired at the preservation of his vessel from the fury of the fighting elements. Here the captain of a guard-ship interrogated him very closely, but at last was satisfied with seeing the letter which he brought from the king and queen of Castile, to whom he had immediately dispatched an express, giving an account of what had happened since his departure from Palos. In the mean time the king of Portugal sent for the admiral, and observed, that having been formerly in his employ, the discoveries newly made belonged of right to him. Columbus answering that he knew of no such agreement, the king said he doubted not but justice would be done, and so the matter dropped; and the admiral was afterwards most courteously entertained, and had the offer of being safely conveyed over land to Spain, which however he chose to decline. Setting sail from Lisbon on Wednesday the 13th of March, he arrived on the Friday following, at the Port of Palos, from whence, as the reader may remember, he had departed on the 23d of August in the foregoing year.

Thus did Columbus accomplish his first voyage, lay the foundation of the Spanish empire in the West Indies, and mark out a way for the discovery of that New World, to which he had not even the honour of giving a name. Marked out as he was by providence and nature for a persevering and much enduring man, he had scarce arrived in Spain before he perceived the first appearance of that malice which afterwards pursued him for a succession of years, and contributed to render uneasy the life which he was so willing to spend in promoting the honour and advantage of a proud and thankless nation.

1493

Those very people who had laughed at his project and affected to treat him as little better than a madman, as soon as they heard of his success, pretended to make extremely light of it, saying that he had done no more than any pilot might have performed, and that on the whole, he was rather forwarded by chance than skill in his boasted expedition.

But their Catholic Majesties at this time appeared to have adopted another opinion. They received him in the most honourable manner, and shewed him every possible mark of distinction*. Yet, that he had secret enemies about the court, was a circumstance which he still suspected, and which proved too true in the sequel. Among these was the bishop of Burgos, a man of a narrow mind and envious disposition. This ecclesiastic, having from the first shewn himself inimical to Columbus and his undertaking, was ready to burst with malice at his success, and resolved for ever to thwart the man whose genius was superior to his own†.

These discoveries, however, were even then deemed of so much importance that their Catholic Majesties thought proper to apply to the Pope for a bull to confirm their right in them, which was accordingly granted in a very ample manner, though not without occasioning the king of Portugal to signify his displeasure. But at length, certain articles were agreed on, and eastern and western limits fixed by the consent of both crowns, and the approbation of the court of Rome; the circumnavigation of the globe, which must necessarily render all such limits vain, being a matter of which neither party had an idea, though it seems something of this kind suggested itself to the more extensive genius and understanding of Columbus.

Letters patent were now granted to the admiral in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, confirming his privileges, and it was resolved that he should return with a fleet to Hispaniola, to reinforce the Spanish colony planted there, and to complete the reduction of the islands.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

PREPARATIONS necessary for the undertaking being made, Columbus set sail from Cadiz on Wednesday the 25th of September, on his second voyage; and, on the 2d of October came to Gran Canaria, from whence the same night he sailed for Gomera, where he arrived on the 5th, and two days afterwards proceeded on his voyage to the Indies, having appointed the general rendezvous, in case of separation, at the port of the Nativity, in Hispaniola.

In his way he discovered Marigalante, Guadalupe, Antigua, and other of the West India islands, and heard news of the continent before he reached Hispaniola, though that was the first port at which he intended to land.

But when the admiral arrived there, he found affairs in a situation far different from that wherein he had left them. On the Spaniards first sending their boat on shore, they found by the answers returned to the enquiries it was natural for them to make concerning their countrymen, that the colony of the Nativity was no more; on this they suspected some treachery; but Columbus chose to take no notice of what was told him, till there should be proof sufficient either to confirm or overthrow his suspicions.

The fleet coming to an anchor in the port on the Thursday following, they found their settlement abandoned, the town burned, and the dead bodies of several Christians lying in the neighbouring fields; nor could they for some time find any Indians from whom to gain intelligence, as the natives constantly fled, till at length they met with the brother of Guacanagari (the friendly cacique already mentioned) at the head of a party, from whom they learned, that soon after the departure of the admiral, the Spaniards began to quarrel among themselves, being almost all equally covetous of gold, and desirous of having as many women as possible; that two of them having slain one of their fellows, went over to Caunabo, a fierce cacique, who killed them, together with nine others that had accompanied them in their flight; that some time after Caunabo, by night, surprized the fort, burning the houses of the Christians, who fled towards the sea-shore, and some were drowned and others died by famine or disease on shore. As a confirmation of the truth of this report, they found the cacique himself so ill that he could not leave his house,

he and several of his men having been wounded in defence of the Spaniards. These misfortunes determined Columbus to seek some other place upon the island, where he might plant a colony, being little satisfied with such a disastrous beginning.

With this resolution, he left the Nativity in the beginning of December, after having completed the conversion of Guacanagari to the Christian faith; and anchoring at Monte Christo, soon after proceeded to a place where there was a town of Indians. Landing on a plain near a rock, where he thought a fort might conveniently be erected, he founded a town, which he called Isabella, in compliment to her Catholic Majesty. Soon after the admiral fell sick, and some of his men entered into a conspiracy to revolt from him, but the intended conspiracy was discovered, and the ringleader secured. In the mean time having received intelligence of the gold mines of Cibao, he sent Alonso de Hojeda with a party to explore them. This indefatigable man brought a favourable account of the country, confirming that report, on which, when Columbus recovered from his sickness, having taken proper precaution for preventing the disorders which might otherwise arise in his absence, he himself set out at the head of as many men as could be spared from the charge of the town and the defence of the shipping, in order to penetrate into that province, and happily effected his design, meeting with much civility from the Indians. Passing over the mountains in the middle of March, Columbus entered Cibao, and, in a strong and pleasant situation caused a fort to be erected, which he called the Castle of St. Thomas, where he placed fifty-six men in garrison, under the command of Don Peter Margerite. Then he set out upon his return to Isabella, which he reached on Sunday the 29th of March, where the Spaniards found melons already ripe, though it was but two months since the seed was put into the earth. Within twenty days cucumbers came up, and a countryman gathered wheat ears the next day, though the corn had been sown only in the latter end of January.

In April that year, the admiral sent a reinforcement to St. Thomas's Castle, it being reported that the natives meditated an attack upon the fort. But this succour prevented them; and in the mean time several

* When Columbus came to Palos, Pinson (whose vessel had been separated from the admiral's in a storm) being arrived at Galicia, would have attended on the king and queen, but they absolutely forbid him to come to court without his commander, on which he returned to his native country, where he is said to have died of grief for his so much deserved disappointment.

† The story which is related of Columbus's experiment with

an egg, which, when none could set upright on its little end, he accomplished by cracking the shell, may serve to shew that he did not want for ready wit. This being accomplished, all in the company laughed, crying that it was no more than any body might have done, "Yes," (said the admiral) "as any body can find the way to the new world—but it is because I have first shewed it them."

several Indians being taken prisoners, were put in irons and sent to Isabella, for having plundered the Christians, but Columbus released them at the intercession of a friendly cacique, in order to conciliate the affections of his countrymen. In the mean time he also appointed a council to govern the island, at the head of which he placed his brother James, and then sat out upon fresh discoveries.

His first object was Cuba, for which he proceeded on the 24th of April in the afternoon, and after having sailed along the coast, went over to Jamaica, where the Spaniards being threatened in a hostile manner by the Indians, repulsed them with missile weapons from their boats, after which some canoes coming on board, furnished them with provisions in a peaceable manner. Nevertheless, the admiral thought proper again to return to Cuba, which all this while had been mistaken for the continent; and the fleet came to a point, which they called Cabo de Santa Cruz, or of the holy cross, after which, sailing along the coast they met with very tempestuous weather, and were not a little incommoded and endangered by the flats and small islands. The admiral still held on his course, without stopping till he came to one of them rather larger than the rest, where he landed, naming it St. Mary. Here was a town which all the Indians deserted on the arrival of the Christians, so that finding nothing remarkable there except some parrots, and certain birds, of which none knew the name, as was the case on most of the other islands, they resumed their course, and arriving at Cuba, took an Indian, who came in a canoe to barter for provisions. This man told them it was an island, and gave them some farther account of the country. From hence, provisions running short, Columbus intended to sail immediately for Hispaniola, but after enduring much sickness and fatigue, was forced back to Jamaica, where he was obliged to stay some time before he could accomplish his design. At last, however, he attained his end, and arriving at Isabella, there found his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who had been sent to the English court to treat with King Henry VII. concerning the discovery of the Indies, which, as he was on his return to Spain, he found had already been discovered. The admiral appointed him governor, in order to relieve himself in some measure from the great fatigue which his change occasioned; but notwithstanding this measure, he found himself involved in much trouble, for the Indians had revolted, and Don Peter Margerite, who had been left with near 400 men to command St. Thomas's Castle, and keep the province of Cibao in obedience, had returned to Spain, because he could not bring the council left by the admiral at Isabella, under the controul of his absolute authority. On his departure all the men under his command separated, every one going whither he thought proper, and committing such outrages, that the Indians who found themselves oppressed beyond measure, began to esteem those as infernal dæmons, whom on their first arrival, they had honoured as divinities. The consequence was, that wherever the natives could conveniently light on a single Christian, or surprise a small party, they put them to death without mercy. Columbus indeed at his return punished many who had been concerned in such proceedings, but this measure was so far from answering the end proposed, that a general revolt ensued. Of four caciques, by whom the island was governed, three declared against the Christians, but the fourth (Guacanagari) continued in the interest of

Outrages of
the islanders.

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* All the inhabitants of Cibao upwards of fourteen years old; where the gold mines were, engaged to pay a large horse-bell full of gold dust, and all the rest twenty-five pounds of cotton each, tickets being given to such as performed the condition, in order that punishment might be inflicted on those who refused or neglected to submit to this imposition. It may be remarked here that however moderate the conduct of Columbus might appear in comparison with that of some succeeding conquerors in the new world, yet as it was plain that his aim was conquest, this circumstance, together with the insolence of the Spaniards, might well justify the islanders in the resistance of

the Christians. It was natural to think that Columbus cultivated his friendship at this critical juncture, and indeed he took him with him when he sat out to give battle to the Indians. The latter met the Spaniards as men secure of conquest; their number amounting, according to the Spanish account, to no less than 100,000 men, while Columbus had with him but 200 Christians, 20 horses, and 20 dogs. This small body of Spaniards being divided into two battalions, the one commanded by the admiral, and the other by the lieutenant, attacked the enemy in different places at the same time, and soon having broken them with a discharge of their cross-bows, immediately the horse charged them, and the dogs fell furiously upon the unwieldy multitude, and put them entirely to the rout. What followed was only the pursuit of a number of poor fearful wretches, whom the victorious Spaniards killed or took prisoners at pleasure. Caunabo, who had surprised the town of the Nativity on Columbus's first departure from the island, being among the captives was sent to Spain together with his brother; and this defeat so much dispirited the Indians, that the country was soon reduced to obedience, and all the inhabitants promised to pay tribute to their Catholic Majesties.*

The Indian
defeated.

The Spaniards say, that when they had reduced the island, and become thoroughly acquainted with the natives, they found their religious opinions to be made up of a heap of absurdities. Columbus observes, that all the devotion he could perceive they paid was to their Cemies, or household gods, each of their chiefs having a house apart, in which nothing was to be found but certain wooden images so called, and what was devoted to their service.

Indian wor-
ship in the
islands.

Thither they used to repair, as to a temple, to perform certain ceremonies. There they had a round table formed like a dish, on which lay a kind of powder that they put on the head of the Cemi, afterwards snuffing it up their noses and muttering something to themselves. When they resorted to the Cemies, they shunned the Christians, and frequently buried their idols in the woods, lest they should be destroyed. These images they were reported to steal from each other, and by means of some of them, the caciques practised many impositions. Once it happened that some of the Spaniards rushing into a house where there was a Cemi, the idol on a sudden seemed to make a loud exclamation in their language: but the Christians suspecting some fraud, immediately overthrew it, when they found it was hollow, and by means of a trunk which entered it, a man from a dark corner of the house spoke whatever the cacique ordered him; the latter finding the fraud detected, desired the Christians not to mention the matter to his subjects, as he confessed that by means of frauds like this he was best enabled to secure their obedience, and collect a tribute from the people. These caciques thus assuming in some measure the priestly character, were accordingly revered in a double capacity. The islanders had also their jugglers and necromancers who pretended to talk with the dead, and held a number of strange fables relative to the origin of mankind, with many others concerning metamorphoses, which they believed to have happened in former ages; but all in general believed the immortality of the soul, which they suppose, after death to go to a certain neighbouring country, from whence it frequently returned and haunted those persons and places with which the deceased when living was best acquainted.

The super-
stition.

All things being settled at Hispaniola, Columbus
D
fet

which the conquerors complained. Indeed if we refer to Columbus's character of the Indians he first met with on this island, we shall incline to think they had hard measures dealt them. After many other encomiums on them, he adds, "They love their neighbours as themselves; and their conversation is the sweetest in the universe, being pleasant, and always smiling." Surely it must require a great degree of provocation to render people of such a disposition implacable enemies. This character given of them by the first discoverer, will ever remain a lasting testimony against the Spaniards, who at last treated them with a barbarity that even savages would blush at.

1498

The admiral
arrives in
Spain.

set sail for Spain on the 10th of March, touching at Guadalupe in his way, where the Spaniards had a skirmish with some fierce Indian women; and from what they saw when they came on shore, concluded the islanders to be cannibals; so making no stay there, they departed for Spain, where they arrived in the beginning of June, when provisions were grown so scarce on board the fleet that some proposed eating the Indians, and others were for throwing them overboard; all this the admiral by his prudence prevented, and brought them all safe to land, together with Indian birds, beasts, and plants, various kinds of instruments and ornaments, and what was still more valued, samples of gold which the new world produced, and which was the source of so much misery to the wretched natives, thousands of whom the Spaniards afterwards obliged to work in their own mines to satisfy the avarice of their imperious masters.

Columbus immediately on his landing prepared to set out for Burgos, where he was received with every mark of respect by their Catholic Majesties, who had indeed the greatest reason to confer honours and favour upon the man that had been thus indefatigable in their service, and already laid the foundation of their empire in countries, the very existence of which had been questioned. His reception at court.

The admiral having satisfied the king and queen of the state wherein he left Hispaniola, pressed to be sent out again with all convenient speed, which was promised accordingly. Yet it was not till February, in the year 1498, that he obtained two ships to be sent out under the command of Peter Fernandez Coronel, while he himself stayed behind soliciting for a fleet proper for his return, and waiting the necessary orders relative to the government of the Spanish acquisitions in the West Indies.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

THOUGH Columbus spared no pains either in his solicitations at court, or his preparations for sea, he could not get all in readiness till the month of May, when he set sail from the Bay of St. Lucar de Berrameda with six ships loaded with necessaries of all sorts for Hispaniola. On his way he retook a Spanish vessel from three French ships which had made a prize of her: he afterwards sailed to Madeira, and the Cape Verd islands. In his course from thence to Hispaniola, he discovered an island which he called by the name of the Trinity, and afterwards the Continent itself, where his men going on shore found the natives to be a civil and obliging people, but staid not long enough to come intimately acquainted with their manners, the admiral being in haste to stand over for Hispaniola, whither he had already dispatched three ships with orders to make the best of their way, and where on his arrival, he found that his presence was much wanted.

Roldan's rebellion.

In his absence one Francis Roldan, whom he had left chief justice, but subservient to his brother the lieutenant James Columbus, growing jealous and envious of James's authority, took advantage of the ill temper of the people when the Spanish provisions failed, and they who were not accustomed to what would well support the Indians were seized with divers diseases, to demand the launching of a caraval which was left ready to send to Spain, in case of necessity. This Don James would not consent to, urging the want of tackling and other very weighty objections, on which an open insurrection was raised, and the Indians were invited to join the revolt. At one time they plotted to stab the lieutenant, at another to massacre the christians; and thus the island was once more thrown into such confusion as much astonished the admiral, who on his arrival found not the three ships which he had dispatched before him. These vessels had put in at Xaragua, where the insurgents were who had inveigled many of the Spaniards to join them, that coming afterwards to St. Domingo, Columbus got intelligence of all that had passed, and taking care to put all things there in a state of defence, set on foot a treaty with the chief rebel, as he found his party very powerful, and was willing if possible to restore peace in his government. This treaty met with many obstructions, as Roldan was continually altering his mind, at one time demanding vessels to carry him and his followers to Spain, at another resolving to remain on the island. Affairs, however, were at last settled by the prudence of the

admiral, who having made many concessions* to his opponent, the latter returned to his duty.

But scarcely was this matter concluded, when Alonso de Ojeda, who had been out upon discoveries, arrived and began stirring up the people again to a revolt, which was suppressed by Roldan, who, now acted for the admiral, and this revolter was forced to quit the island; after which one of his partisans, who had laid a plot to stab Roldan, was hanged, and others imprisoned. Thus all things promised the restoration of peace, the Indians submitting, and the Spaniards finding the mines so rich, that a private man was known to dig up 40 ounces of gold in a day, one third of which was reserved for the use of their Catholic Majesties.

But while these things were passing in Hispaniola, the court of Spain was perpetually urged by the murmurs of the people at home to supersede the admiral in his command. These murmurs were excited by the false accounts the rebels had sent of Hispaniola; and at length their design succeeded so well, that their Majesties sent thither Francis de Bovadilla, a poor knight of the order of Calatrava, with full power to enquire into all things, and if he found Columbus guilty of what he was charged with, to send him to Spain, and remain there himself as governor. Arriving at St. Domingo at the latter end of August, when the admiral was absent, he took up his quarters in the palace, superseded him in the government before he saw his face, and then commanded him to repair to him immediately; at the same time, to strengthen his summons, sending him their Majesties letter, which was in form as follows:

"To D. Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean. Their Catholic Majesties letter.

"We have ordered the Commendary D. Francis de Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with some things from Us: We therefore desire you to give him entire credit, and to obey him. Given at Madrid, the 21st day of May, 1499.

By command of their Highnesses,

Mich. Perez de Almazan. I, The King,
I, The Queen."

Columbus who was about returning to Spain, attending according to this summons, came with his brother James to St. Domingo, when Bovadilla, without any legal information, immediately ordered them both to be put in irons, and after having drawn up the form of a process, in which all witnesses were heard

* The terms agreed upon, were, "I. That fifteen of the revolters should be sent to Spain by the first ships. II. That lands and houses should be given to those that remained, for their pay. III. That proclamation should be made that all

"that had happened was caused by false suggestions, and through the fault of ill men. IV. That the admiral should again appoint Roldan perpetual judge."

heard on the one side, and none on the other, caused them to be put on board ship in their fetters, and thus sent back to Spain; where Columbus, on his arrival, wrote to their Majesties from Cadiz, who caused him to be released, and fully cleared him from all the imputations thrown upon him by his enemies.* Yet they did not think fit to re-instate him in his government, but sent the commendary Nicholas de Obenda to supersede Bovadilla, and to do right to the admiral who was to be dispatched to make new discoveries:

For this purpose all due diligence was used in preparation, and the admiral having requested that their Majesties would be pleased to shelter him from all future malicious processes they re-assured him by letter; observing that his imprisonment had been very displeasing to them, and promising him all privileges and prerogatives granted before, which they offered to renew, if necessary, concluding, "And be assured that we will honour and favour you in greater matters. And be satisfied that we will take due care of your sons and brothers which shall be done when you are departed. We therefore pray you not to delay your departure."

These were the fair words and promises which Columbus was obliged to receive instead of a re-establishment in his government, and the punishment of those men who afterwards proved themselves to have deserved as ill of the state as they had done of him. However, being still willing to serve the king, and more particularly the queen of Spain, he set sail from Cadiz on the 9th of May, to make further discoveries on the coast of the great American continent, which the Spaniards then called Paria. The wind proving favorable, the fleet reached almost as far as the Caribbee islands without hauling their sails. Then standing immediately for Hispaniola, with a view of changing one of his ships which was leaky, when Columbus sent his boat ashore to inform the commendary, who had been dispatched to supersede Bovadilla, of his purpose, he found himself refused entrance into the harbour of that very town which he had caused to be built on an island that he had discovered and taken so much pains to bring into subjection to the crown of Spain.

As he foresaw an approaching storm, being thus excluded from the harbour, he screened his vessels by lying as close under the land as possible, notwithstanding which, three broke from him, and were much endangered, yet all met again the Sunday following. But of the fleet then prepared to carry Bovadilla home, which consisted of eighteen vessels, not above four were saved, Bovadilla himself perishing on board the admiral's ship, the governor having been imprudent enough to let them put to sea, though Columbus, by his message had signified his apprehension of the approaching tempest.

Having repaired the ships at Port Azuga, the fleet holding on their course were carried by the force of the currents among some sandy islands near Jamaica, and afterwards came to the isle called Guania, where Columbus took a canoe as long as a galley, eight feet wide, covered in the middle with an awning of palm-tree leaves, calculated to keep out the sun and rain. He took what he thought most curious out of this canoe, and afterwards dismissed the people all but one old man, whom he kept till he had got what intelligence he could, and used him to converse with the Indians wherever they came, after which he was likewise sent away with presents.

Instead of sailing towards the country since called New Spain, the admiral now convinced that the continent, called Paria, must be separated from the extremity of the East Indies by a vast sea, concluded from the course of the coast, that it was likely there might be some strait which would serve as an inlet to that ocean: he therefore steered towards Veragua and Nombre de Dios, where he conceived that strait

must be. There was not, however, the strait sought for, but an isthmus or narrow neck of land, which disappointed him in his design; yet his curiosity was greatly satisfied in sailing along the coast, where he found the people; in general; friendly; tractable; and modest, but ignorant of the use of letters; running away when they saw any one make use of a pen and ink, and seemingly much addicted to the belief of enchantments, and such superstitions:

After having made some discoveries of this kind upon the continent, coming at last to the river Belem; which the Indians called Yebra; where he was informed the gold mines of Veragua were; of which he had heard much during the voyage, Columbus sent his brother up that river with the boats to the town of Quibo, an Indian prince, who came down in his canoe to meet them, and afterwards ventured on board the admiral's ship. This cacique sent men to guide a party of the Spaniards to some gold mines, with which they were well satisfied, but it afterwards appeared that these mines were not those of Veragua, but of Urira a neighbouring town in enmity with Quibo, for which reason he had caused the christians to be conducted thither.

At length, after having viewed the country, the admiral resolved to build a town, and to plant a colony on the banks of the river Belem.

The great rains, which had sufficiently incommoded the Spaniards, being over, the mouth of the river was so choaked with sand, and such a swell occasioned by that circumstance, that they were in the greatest danger of being dashed in pieces by the waves. And, to add to their misfortune, they just then discovered, that Quibo, being displeased at their design of planting a colony in those parts, had resolved to destroy them all. To prevent this design, the lieutenant going on shore with 76 men, surprised him at his own house, and took him, together with 30 persons, consisting of his wives, relations and dependents, but the cacique being put into a boat bound, escaped by plunging suddenly into the sea, before the Christians could reach the ship; and being now more strongly set against them than ever, as soon as he perceived the Spaniards sailing out of the river, he caused an assault to be made upon the town. The new settlers were forced to retire to a place, where by throwing up works, and planting a few cannon they could better defend themselves than in the slight houses which they had built in that country. In the mean time the crew of a boat which was sent on shore for fresh water was cut off, one man only excepted, who had escaped to the town with the unwelcome tidings.

While Columbus waited till the sea, which had again been swelled, should settle, hoping for an opportunity of sending another boat on shore, to know what had been the fate of the former, several of the Indian prisoners, who had been safely conveyed on board the ship, escaped by swimming, through the carelessness of the sailors, and the rest hanged themselves in despair, because, being discovered, they were hindered from following their companions. No hostages being now left on board, the admiral had every reason to conclude that things went ill, but was somewhat comforted when he found that some of his men said there would not be wanting those who would follow the example of the Indians, and swim to the shore, if the remaining boat were permitted to carry them as far as where the water did not break. This being granted, one Peter de Ledesma, a pilot, offered himself, and completed the undertaking; and Columbus, by his means, being informed of the destruction of the boat's crew, and the sad situation of the remains of his colony, resolved to remain till the weather would permit his relieving them. While he waited thus, it grew so favourable, that within eight days, by the help of the boat and some

* It appears that Columbus still retained a sense of the unworthy treatment he had received, as he used to say he would always keep those fetters which had been put on him at Hispaniola, as a reward of his services; and actually ordered them to be hung up in his chamber, and to be buried with him at his decease.

The admiral's third voyage.

He is refused entrance into the harbour of St. Domingo.

The ships in distress.

A pilot swam on shore.

1505 some canoes, those on shore were got safe off. And thus the new colony was abandoned, nothing being left behind but the hulk of an old ship, which was so worm-eaten as to be unfit for service.

The admiral designed for Hispaniola, but by reason of winds and currents, could not make that island. He passed by the Tortugas, so named from the tortoises frequenting those shores, after having weathered a storm, and with much trouble kept his vessels above water, came to an anchor first at Cuba, and afterwards at a port named Puerto Bona, in Jamaica; finding no town there, nor any fresh water, he proceeded to another harbour eastward, where he ran the leaky ships a-ground, which were propped and shored up. The water coming almost as high as the upper decks, the admiral caused sheds to be built on the planks for the better security of himself and his people in a country which was not subdued, nor at all inhabited by Christians.

The fleet
forced into Ja-
maica.

In this situation he dispatched two persons to Hispaniola to desire a ship might be sent him with ammunition and provisions fit to transport his people to old Spain. As this voyage was undertaken in a canoe built for the purpose, the event of it on those seas was very uncertain. Some time after the messengers were gone, numbers of the Spaniards fell sick, many of those who were in health mutinied, and departed in canoes upon the very same voyage to Hispaniola. But for want of skill these latter were obliged to return, after having thrown most of the Indians overboard whom they had taken to row them.

In want of
provisions.

Relieved by an
eclipse.

While the admiral lay thus deserted, to complete his misfortune, the people of the country began to be very slack in bringing in provisions, which, when he observed, he had recourse to a stratagem that extricated him and his men from that difficulty. Recollecting that on a certain evening there would be an eclipse of the moon, he sent to call together the principal persons among the Indians, who being arrived, he ordered the interpreter to tell them, that the God of the Christians who had driven these rebellious Spaniards back that had deserted him, was now angry with them for not furnishing his people provisions, a token of which would appear the next night in the heavens, when the moon would rise of a bloody colour, and her brightness would be obscured, as a sign of pestilence and famine, with which he intended to chastise them. The Indians suspended their belief of this prediction, till the time appointed, when perceiving the eclipse beginning as the moon rose, and the darkness still increasing, they came from all parts loaded with provisions, and beseeching the admiral to intercede for them with his God. Accordingly he shut himself up while the eclipse lasted, and when he perceived it was going off, came out and told them he had prayed to God for them, who would cause the moon to shine forth again, and avert the threatened judgments, if they would take care never to offend again in like manner. This had the desired effect, and there was no longer any reason to complain of the Indians want of care to supply the Christians with provisions while they remained upon the island.

In the mean time Mendez and Fiesco, who had been dispatched to Hispaniola, after suffering many

hardships reached a little rocky island, where they could find nothing but rain water, which, however, so far relieved them who were just perishing for thirst, that in the evening of that day they completed their voyage to Hispaniola, which they knew to be no more than eight leagues distant. When they arrived at the nearest port, Mendez, though ill of an ague, went directly to the province of Xaragua, where the governor then was; and Fiesco would have returned, as he had in charge to acquaint the admiral of the success of the voyage, but the difficulties and dangers which they had suffered were such, that neither Indians nor sailors could accompany him. As to Mendez, all that he could obtain of the governor, after long waiting and much solicitation was only leave to go to St. Domingo, and there to purchase a ship and fit it out, with the admiral's own money, which was accordingly done, and the vessel sent to Spain, to give an account to their Catholic Majesties of all that happened.

Voyage of
Mendez and
Fiesco.

A small caraval which arrived one evening, casting anchor near the place where Columbus's ships were run a-ground, brought the above account written by Mendez. The captain coming in his boat to visit the admiral, presented him with two fitches of bacon and a cask of wine from the governor of Hispaniola, but declined to take any of the men on board, and excused himself by saying that he could not take them all; then weighing anchor, he stood off to sea again the same night. The mutineers, whom Columbus thought the arrival of this vessel might have quieted, were sent to on this occasion, and the messenger carried some of the bacon with him by way of proof. Terms were offered them; but they pretended to believe nothing of what was told them; they went even so far as to say, in their wisdom, "That the appearance of the caraval was nothing but a phantom, as it was well known, that the admiral dealt in enchantments, for if it had been a real vessel he and his brother would doubtless have embarked in her." In effect these unreasonable men would not hear of any terms, till at last, coming down towards the ships, they were engaged and defeated by the lieutenant; then, by compulsion, they submitted, and were pardoned, and permitted to range abroad on the island, Columbus sending them a commander to restrain them within proper bounds, and detaining Porras, their leader, prisoner.

A caraval ar-
rives from
Hispaniola.

Thus matters stood when the ship fitted out by Mendez with the admiral's money arrived, which took on board, indiscriminately, all the Christians, and carried them to Hispaniola, where the governor shewed, as before, evident marks of the duplicity of his conduct. On the 2d of September the admiral left the island, and after experiencing much danger from storms, arrived at length at the port of St. Lucar de Berrameda, from whence, in May 1505, he set out for the court, where (Queen Isabella his patroness being dead) he found the Catholic King endeavouring to abridge those privileges which were once so freely granted him. But before any new terms could be settled, Columbus wearied out with toils, and vexed with repeated disappointments, expired at Valladolid, on the 20th day of May, in the year, 1506.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF VASQUEZ DE GAMA,

For the Discovery of a Passage by Sea to the East Indies.

HAVING given a recital of all the voyages of Columbus, which we thought it not proper to interrupt by any other relation, as the motives of them were so evidently connected, we shall now proceed to those of Vasquez de Gama, who was sent out in the reign of King Emanuel of Portugal, to effect

a passage to the East Indies by sea, his grand object being to double that Cape which Diaz had so luckily discovered.

Gama was already known for a man of resolution and abilities, and one who possessed a great fund of knowledge in the art of navigation. With three small ships,

ships, and 160 men, he sailed from Belem, on Saturday the 8th of July, 1497; his little fleet which was separated some time after, in a dark night, all happily meeting again at Cape Verd. Bartholomew Diaz, in a small caraval destined for La Mina, bore them company till the 3d of August, when he returned towards Spain, and Gama proceeded on his voyage of discovery, and after meeting with very tempestuous weather, on the 4th of November came to anchor at an island which they called St. Helena.

But finding that the inhabitants of that isle, who had at first allured them to land, had hostile intentions, having wounded the general and some of his men, the Portuguese returned the compliment with a discharge of cross-bows from their boats, and departed. They came in sight of the Cape of Good Hope in the evening of the 18th, but the wind being contrary, they stood out to sea, turning again towards the shore at night. And thus they tacked till the 20th, when at last they doubled that cape, and found themselves at large in the Indian Ocean, sailing along a pleasant and not unfruitful coast.

Landing, on the 24th, at a place called Angra del Blas; they were at first kindly received by the people, who, notwithstanding, meditated mischief, and lay in ambush against them, which the party on shore perceiving, marched towards their boats, from whence being succoured, an engagement would have ensued, but the Portuguese not designing to hurt any of the natives, went on board, and only fired two pieces of ordnance, which so much affrighted them, that they dropped their weapons; some of the men, however, setting up a pillar with the King of Portugal's arms, it was immediately pulled down by the negroes, who would endure no such monument of that prince's claims to be erected in their country.

After their departure from hence, they met with stormy weather, and on the 11th of January, being near land, along which they coasted for some time, at length two of the company (one of whom was Martin Alonso) were ordered to go on shore. Here they presented the king of the country with a cap, a jacket, and a pair of stockings, with which, being all red, his majesty was highly delighted; they gave him also a copper bracelet, though the country abounded with that metal. The king having displayed this amazing finery to his subjects, invited Alonso to supper with him on a boiled hen and millet, and, in effect, he and his people were so obliging to the Christians, that the general gave the place the appellation of *The land of good people*. They appeared extremely fond of linen, which they were willing to purchase at a high rate. Their weapons were iron darts, and bows with arrows of that metal, and copper, as has been already observed, was plentiful among them. Their houses were but straw-thatched sheds, yet not ill furnished. The proportion of the females to the males was two to one in favour of the former, and both sexes appeared to be equally obliging and tractable.

Having refreshed themselves at this place, they proceeded 50 leagues beyond Sofalda (esteemed the ancient Ophir) where Gama and Captain Coello, on the 24th of January, went up a wide river in their boats: here they found a people of a free and civil disposition, some of the women were tolerably handsome, and none seemed at all surprised at the construction of the European ships, asserting, that they had seen vessels of as large size, and giving their guests to understand that they were of a distant country. Two of their chief men came on board Gama's ships, where they were well regaled. On their return, they sent down some pieces of callico to be sold, seemed very willing to traffic, and held a friendly correspondence with the Christians. Here Gama erected a mark, and his ships were repaired, in order to proceed on their voyage. But while they were thus employed, numbers of the men fell sick, their bodies being bloated, and their gums swelling and rotting with an intolerable stench. As cutting was the only cure, many died of the consequences of that

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operation. Nevertheless from the good reception the Portuguese met with here, which Gama looked upon as a good omen of his future success, he called this river *Rio de Buenos Sinays*, or *The river of good signs*, which he left on the 24th of January.

Afterwards they fell in with several islands, near one of which they came to an anchor, when many of the natives came off in their boats. They were of a black complexion, and clothed in callico, having turbans of silk wrought with gold on their heads, their weapons and manners resembling those of the Moors, though they did not seem at all willing to pass under that denomination. They spoke the Arabic language, in which they informed the Portuguese, that the country belonged to a great king, and that the island was called Mozambique, adding, that the people carried on a trade with the Moors of India, for precious stones, spices, and other articles of eastern trade.

On this information, Coello, with the smallest ship, sailed up the harbour, to which he was conducted by the natives, and anchored before the principal town of Mozambique, which is situate in 15 deg. south lat. Gama found it inhabited by Moors, trading to the Red Sea, in large ships without decks, and constructed without nails, being sewed together with the filaments of the cocoa tree. The houses were built with hurdles, and that of their chief had mud walls. The inhabitants were Mahometans, the natives of the continent blacks. The Portuguese were amazed to find that the mariners here had charts, and made use of a compass of a square figure, to direct them in their trading voyages.

As soon as all the ships had entered the harbour; the Schiek and his principal people came to visit the Christians, whom they mistook for Moors, and were assiduous in sending them provisions and presents; but when Gama, in return, sent him brass basons, coral, and hawk bells, he seemed much dissatisfied because he had not been presented with any scarlet. However, the Moors continued to treat the Portuguese with respect, till by some questions that the Schiek put to them, he found out his error, after which he and his people thwarted them in every thing. They had promised Gama two pilots, but having sent him only one, when he went in his boat to demand the other, they endeavoured to entrap him by persuading him to come close into the harbour; but the general suspecting treachery, fired upon them, and retreated to his ships, which were coming forward to his assistance. Nor would the Schiek afterwards permit the ships to take in water, till at last the men landed and took it away by force, and the general being assured by a white Moor who came on board, that the Portuguese must not expect any favour now they were known to be Christians, Gama sailed up, and bringing his guns to bear, cannonaded the town, to the great terror of the inhabitants, after which he departed thence, intending for Quiloa, but the currents carrying him beyond that place, went to Mombassa, an island close in with the continent, where he arrived on the 7th of April.

He found the country fertile, abounding with orchards, and stored with the most delicious fruits which grow in those latitudes. The city was seated on a rock, the houses were well built, and the streets conveniently disposed. The produce of the land was ivory, wax, and honey, with a great port for merchandise. The dress of the inhabitants in general was rich; the women were arrayed in silks, ornamented with gold and jewels.

Gama, who had already seen a specimen of Moorish treachery, being visited in the night, as his ship lay without the bar, by a boat, in which were 100 armed men, who demanded to be brought to the general, he permitted only four to come on board after having left their weapons behind them. These men told him there were Christians at Mombassa; said their king would cause the Portuguese ships to be loaded with spices, and offered to take some of them on shore

E

and

Angra del Blas.

Sickness of the Portuguese.

Mozambique

Treachery of the Schiek

Mombassa

1498

and shew them the city. The offer was accepted, and certain Portuguese were sent to view the place, with presents for their prince, who received them kindly, sending them back with samples of spices and corn, and promised to traffic with them for these and other commodities.

The general thinking them sincere in their professions, sailed up the harbour the next morning, but his ship striking on a shoal, he was obliged to cast anchor again. The Moors on board and the pilots immediately jumped into the sea, nor could the natives by any means be persuaded to deliver up the latter. This raising suspicions, two of the people brought from Mozambique being put to the torture, confessed that the destruction of the ship had been resolved upon, and that the pilots fearing they were discovered, had leaped overboard to avoid punishment. The Moors in the night attempted to cut the ship's cable, which they failed of accomplishing, and when she was got off the shoal, Gama had no inclination to remain any longer at Mombassa. He was now convinced that the Mahometans in that place must have heard what the fleet had done at Mozambique, he therefore weighed anchor on the 13th, and on the same day came before Melinda, having taken in his way a little pinnace, with 17 Moors and a quantity of gold and silver on board.

Melinda.

Melinda lies in 3° of south lat. The city was found to be seated on a rocky coast, but the country about it pleasant and fruitful. The natives from the waist downwards were clothed with silk and cotton stuffs, with turbans of silk and gold. They were good horsemen and archers, though mostly left-handed, and the women, in general, beautiful, and richly dressed. The produce of the country consists of gold, ivory, pitch and wax, which were exchanged with the merchants of Cambaya and Guzarat for spices and other Indian commodities.

When Gama came to anchor here, he found nobody would venture to send out any boats from the town, which he attributed to the sight of the pinnace he had taken; he therefore took an old Moor from among the prisoners he had made, and caused him to be left on a shoal, in sight of the city, in order that he might be fetched off by some of his countrymen. This stratagem succeeded, for a boat was immediately sent for him, and he being properly instructed, carried presents from the general to the king, with orders to say that the design of the Portuguese was to enter into a treaty with him, and the next day Gama came up towards the city, anchoring near some ships which seemed filled with Indian Christians. These men were brown, well shaped and wore long white callico gowns, had large beards and long hair, which was plaited up under their turbans. They paid their devotions to a picture of the Virgin Mary and some Apostles, which the general shewed them to try if they were really Christians. They had some little knowledge of the Arabic language, and came from Cranganor, but could give no account of Calicut, which was the principal object of the general's enquiry. The king of Melinda came the next day in a great boat to visit him richly attired, a scarf being rolled round his head, while a hat of crimson sattin lay on a cushion by him. Twenty Moors richly dressed attended him, he had also his sword-bearer and musicians, and in every respect kept much state and grandeur. Gama went in his boat to meet him, when he was invited on board the royal barge, where the king having asked him many questions, and learned his country and the place of his destination, promised him a pilot to conduct him to Calicut; after which he invited him to court, but this favour the general declined for the present, promising to call in his return. While he stayed there, however, he was witness to some mock fights, which shewed him the nature of making war in that country. Being provided with a pilot, and all things necessary, he proceeded on his voyage on the 22d of April, having left with the king the thirteen Moors, whom he had taken

prisoners, a present which proved very acceptable to his Majesty.

We have already observed, that Gama's designation was for Calicut, which lies on the coast of Malabar. In order to give an idea of that part of India, it may be proper to observe, that it is 93 leagues from Mount Dehli to Cape Comorin, including the Malabar coast, which comprised seven gentile kingdoms. The first of these was Cananor; the second Calicut, of which the city of the same name was the metropolis; the third Cranganor; the fourth Cochin; the fifth Porka; the sixth Coulan; and the seventh Travankor, near Cape Comorin. The kings of Cananor, Calicut, and Coulan were the only independent monarchs in these parts; the rest were only petty princes.

The king of Calicut was called The Samorin, or emperor, for which distinction there were various reasons assigned. The story generally believed at that time among the native Indians was, that the Arabians having discovered India about 600 years since, when a prince named Perimal, reigned over all the Malabar kingdoms, these strangers, who were Mahometans, coming to Coulan which was then the capital, persuaded the king to change his ancient for their more modern superstition, and this bigotted monarch going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, divided among his kindred all his dominions except Calicut, which he bequeathed to his page (who was also related to him) giving him the title of Samorin (or emperor) which the princes of Calicut still retained when Gama arrived on their coasts.

He found the city of Calicut situate on an open shore; by which means there was no harbour, but only an open road for the shipping. The town was large, but the palaces and temples were the only stone buildings in the place, the houses being generally composed of hurdles. Gama came to anchor on the 20th of May, about six miles from the city, to which he was afterwards conducted, and cast anchor again on the outside of the bar. As soon as he found it convenient he sent his boats on shore with one of his banished men, who found in the city a Moor called Bontaybo. This man knowing him for a Portuguese immediately demanded with tokens of great astonishment, What brought him and his countrymen into those seas? Being afterwards conducted to the general, Bontaybo gave assurances of his friendship, and congratulated him on having discovered a new passage to so rich a country.

By the advice of this friendly Moor, Gama sent immediate notice of his arrival to the Samorin, who was then at a village about five leagues distant, inspired with the expectation that his commercial designs would be favoured by a prince, the chief part of whose revenues, as he understood, arose from trade.

In the mean time the Samorin being informed of all that was passing, and possibly at that time well enough inclined towards the Europeans, sent a pilot to bring the general to Padarane, who being cautious how he trusted to strangers, at first was not very willing to enter far into the port. Having received permission to land wherever he pleased, Gama called a council, in which he signified to the members his intention of going to the emperor (whom he conceived to be a christian prince) and settling a treaty of commerce with him. He was advised by his brother to send some other person in his stead; but in this matter he suffered his earnest desire of bringing his project to bear, to get the better of his caution, though whatever opinion he might entertain of the prevalence of the Christian religion at Calicut, he had been forewarned of the inimical disposition of the Moors that came to traffic in those parts.

On the 28th of May, Gama landed in as great state as his circumstances would permit, and set out for the Samorin's palace. On their way thither, the strangers were followed by great crowds, and a minister of the emperor, called the Cutwal, shewed them much

Coast of Malabar.

City of Calicut.

Where Gama anchored.

He is invited to Padarane.

The Portuguese land.

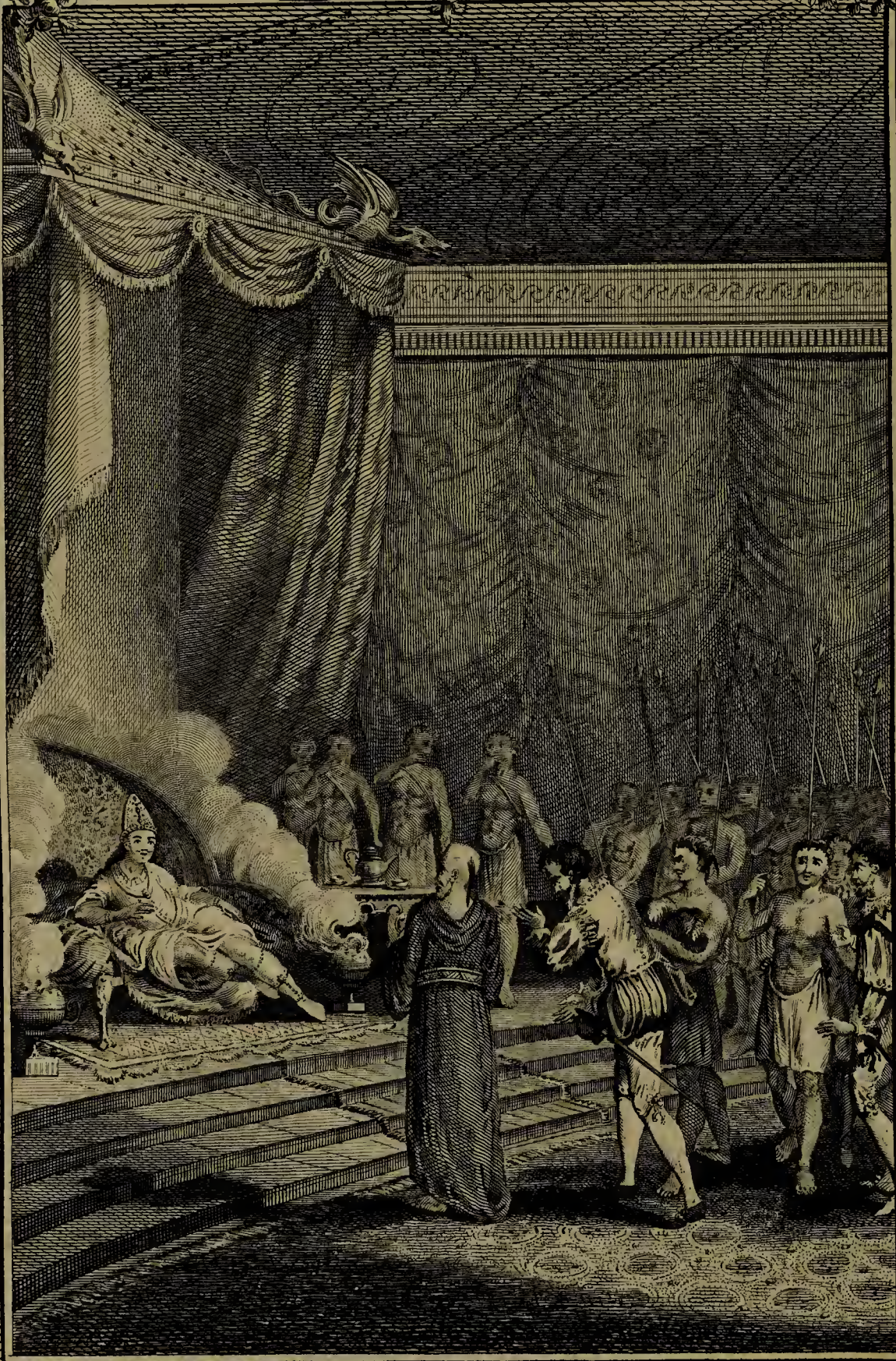
Engraved for
Moor's Voyages
and Travels.



Various
BOATS
on the Coast of
MALABAR

J. L. B. del. et sculp.

Engraved for
*Moor's Voyages
and Travels.*



*Vasquez de Gama
introduced to the
ZAMORIN (or KING) at
Calicut in India.*

J. Lodge del. et sculp.

much respect. By him the general and his people were persuaded to enter a temple, which (having their heads full of the idea of Christianity in India) they conceived from certain expressions and ceremonies of the Indians, to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In this apprehension they fell down and worshipped there, though the place was full of frightful idols: One of the company however observed, "That if the adoration was meant to be paid by the natives to the devil, yet he meant to pay his devotions to God."

Being arrived at the palace, they found it large, well situated, and accommodated with delightful gardens. Gama was received at the gate by an old high priest, who conducted him in through a guard that pressed so hard as to squeeze several of the natives to death, and greatly to incommode the Portuguese, though the latter had officers appointed on purpose to clear the way for them. When they were admitted, they found the hall of audience somewhat to resemble a theatre in its interior form, the floor being covered with velvets, the walls hung with silk, and the seats rising above each other in regular gradation. The king was a man of an olive complexion advanced in years, and of a commanding aspect. He reclined, under a canopy, on a settee of white silk, embroidered with gold. His cloathing was of white callico, wrought with flowers of gold, the buttons being all large pearls. He had rings set with jewels in his ears, and his fingers and toes were ornamented in the same manner. His arms and legs though otherwise naked, were likewise adorned with gold rings; and he was served with betel nut (which he chewed with salt and areka) in a golden basin, having another ready for him to spit into, which was made of the same metal, and a golden fountain that furnished him with water to wash his mouth after his chewing. This prince wore a crown in shape of a mitre, which was ornamented with precious stones of various colours and sizes.

In the midst of all this state, Gama having made his reverence, was ordered to advance, and was seated near the emperor; his followers, who entered afterwards, being placed on the opposite side. When they called for drink, water was served them out of a golden cup with a spout from which they were obliged to pour it into their mouths without touching their lips, (which the Moors there reckoned an indelicate custom) but in endeavouring to use this method, some of the Christians wetted their cloaths, and caused diversion to the courtiers; whilst others overcharging their throats, began to fall into fits of coughing or to throw it up again, which greatly embarrassed them, as they had been informed the Samorin kept such state that it was reckoned an affront to let any one's breath reach him, or to cough, spit, or sneeze in his presence.

Gama was desired to declare his business to the emperor's officers, but he refused in quality of an ambassador, to make it known to any but that prince himself, and a few selected from his council. This being agreed to, Gama and Fernan Martinez, were conducted into another apartment, where the Indian interpreter, the chief bramin, the betel server and the comptroller of the household, were the only persons present when the Samorin received the embassy, which the general delivered in the name of the king of Portugal, who, he said having heard of Christian princes in the Indies, of whom he conceived the emperor of Calicut to be the chief, was desirous of corresponding with him. The general received a favourable answer; and not chusing to lodge among the natives, when it grew late, was conducted to an apartment provided for him by the Samorin's command.

Thus far all went well; but the next day when Gama resolved to send the emperor a present, which consisted of scarlet, coral, brags, sugar, oil and honey, the Cutwal would by no means allow it to be carried to court, as not being rich enough; observing that his master expected gold from so great a monarch as the king of Portugal: the general excused

himself by saying that these things ought rather to be considered as a present from himself than from his prince, who doubtless would send something more suitable as soon as he should be informed of the greatness of the emperor, and his resolution of corresponding with him and trading with his subjects.

But all this availed nothing, the Moors having already prejudiced the court against him. For fear, the arrival of these strangers at Calicut should prove a hindrance to that trade, which they themselves had monopolised, they related with many exaggerations all that had happened at Mozambique and along the African coast: in conclusion, observing that these things being considered, together with the smallness of the present which Gama brought, he ought rather to be considered as some pirate or needy adventurer than as the ambassador of a great king.

The general was however admitted again to the Samorin's presence, who received him at first with an angry countenance complaining of his delay of resorting to court, which, in fact, had been occasioned by the dispute with the Cutwal and others about the presents. Afterwards this prince demanded, Whether so extraordinary an adventurer had been sent to discover stones or men? because he observed that if the latter was the object, presents ought to have been sent to him. At last this great king descended so low as to ask of the general a Saint Mary that he conceived to be gold, and which, though Gama asserted it was only gilt wood, yet he refused to part with on a supposition that it had preserved him from the dangers of the sea. After having used all his endeavours to find out whether his guest was really a pirate or a fugitive, the emperor seemed well pleased, on hearing a letter from the king of Portugal read and interpreted, as it related to the establishing a commercial connexion between his subjects and the merchants of Calicut, which had all the appearance of a mutual benefit.

But notwithstanding this interview seemed to have produced favourable effects, the Moors equally influenced by considerations of interest and of religion, ceased not to plot against Gama, whom at first they would have persuaded the Cutwal to assassinate. Though this scheme did not take effect, yet that officer confined the general, and used every artifice to seize the Portuguese ships; but the firmness of the prisoner defeating this design also he had recourse to another method of proceeding, namely that of urging him to cause all his goods to be landed, which he thought by those means secretly to secure; and therefore on that condition promised to let him go on board his vessel in safety.

Though little confidence was to be placed in such a man, yet Gama promised to send for the merchandise in case some almadias or pinnaces of the country were dispatched to bring them on shore, as he said his brother (whom he had previously instructed) would never trust the ships boats to land men or goods without being authorised by his presence. The matter being thus settled, he wrote word, That he was confined, but otherwise well enough used. In this letter he ordered his brother to send part of the goods, observing, that should he afterwards be detained, it must be looked upon that the Samorin meant to keep him prisoner; in which case he commanded the ships to sail back without him, and to solicit the court of Portugal immediately to dispatch a strong fleet to his relief.

The goods were sent accordingly, and the general being set at liberty, returned to his ships; but the hatred of the Moors, who now saw their enemy removed out of their reach, increasing with their disappointments, they contrived to hinder the sale of his commodities; and though the emperor, on being informed of these proceedings by Gama, appeared much offended with the Cutwal, yet that officer was not punished, nor was this insolence of the Moors at all restrained. The goods being however removed to Calicut, the sale was opened, and the Portuguese, by their

Samorin's palace described.

Artifices of the Moors

The Samorin's suspicions.

His avarice.

Gama is confined

Gama delivers his embassy.

Part of his cargo sent on shore.

Objections to the present.

Gama returns to his ships.

1498

Sends a messenger to the Samorin.

their commander's permission, visited the city; but not without being frequently insulted by the Mahometans who were heartily vexed that the general would not land again; from which he was dissuaded by the friendly Moor Bontaybo.

Gama, who had little reason to be satisfied with his situation, preparing to depart, ordered Diaz to go with a present to the emperor, desiring, that if the latter had any intention of sending an ambassador to Portugal he might be dispatched immediately, as the fleet was about to sail.

The messenger confined.

The present was delivered to the factor, and the Samorin only answered that if Gama was resolved to depart, he should expect 600 sharifins to be paid according to the custom of that port. Diaz was also detained, and a proclamation made, forbidding any one from the city to go on board the fleet; yet Bontaybo went, and having observed upon the fickle temper of the emperor, warned Gama of the hazard he must run, in case he should stay till the arrival of the fleet from Mecca, which would doubtless take him. There needed no more to set a prudent man upon his guard. Gama contrived soon afterwards to secure some principal men that came on board, and then sent a letter demanding his factor and secretary, but these not being returned as he expected, he put to sea immediately.

The general makes reprisals.

The Indians perceiving his resolution sent a boat after him, the crew of which told him that his people were safe in the king's palace, and that they would be sent to him the next day. Gama answered, 'That it might be so, but he expected to see them or receive letters from them, otherwise he would sink the next boat that should dare to approach him; adding, 'That if they were finally resolved not to restore his men, he would put to death those of theirs that he had in possession.

His plan succeeds.

This threat had the desired effect; for the next day the persons demanded were brought, and put on board the ship's boat at the place where Gama came to an anchor, not daring to come near his ship. By them a letter was also sent to the king of Portugal, which was to the following purport:

"Vasquez de Gama, a gentleman of thy house, came to my country, of whose coming I was glad. In my country there is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pepper and precious stones. The things that I am desirous to have out of thine are silver, gold, coral, and scarlet."

The insincerity of the emperor's professions however appeared so plainly that Gama sent back only the * Nayres, and when, after many endeavours used to deceive him, he found he could not get his merchandise returned, he declared he would take the rest of the natives of the country with him, to confirm his having discovered the passage to India, since the Samorin had refused to send such commodities as he had desired for a confirmation.

An attack intended on the fleet.

He had not got above a league from Calicut, before he was surprised by the appearance of a number of boats which pursued the fleet, but by means of his ordnance and a fresh gale that sprung up, he avoided the danger. Previous to this, Bontaybo's goods being seized on shore, he had fled to the general for shelter, and he was now employed to write a letter to the emperor, expatiating on the advantage that would result to his subjects from trading with the Portuguese who, as he promised, would return as speedily as possible to those coasts with the wares and merchandises that were required.

* Or nobleman.

† This man was afterwards baptised, became a good catholic, and was carried to Portugal. He said the design of the Lord of Goa was to make the Portuguese when he had taken them, serve him in his wars against the neighbouring princes.

1499

Another attack defeated.

Some days afterwards another attack was made upon them by pirates, one of whose vessels they took, (after having driven the rest close to shore) and found it laden with cocoas and molasses, having also a quantity of weapons on board. Arriving at a little island with four others in the neighbourhood, called Anсандiva, the Portuguese were in danger of a surprise from some of the same visitants; but being warned by the natives, the ordnance was fired at the free booters, and they retreated with precipitation.

Gama now received a message from one Zabaius the lord of Goa, who invited him in a very friendly manner to his country. But the messenger being suspected for a spy, and accordingly put to the torture, he confessed that this invitation was meant only as a snare to entrap and seize the Portuguese, which they thus luckily avoided falling into, by the wariness of their commander †.

Intended treachery of the Lord of Goa.

Contrary winds, alternate storms and calms, and a sickness which proved epidemical, rendered the voyage from Anсандiva very troublesome, till, at length a favourable gale, brought the fleet in sight of Mogadoxo, at the 2d of February, at a time when they had reason to believe they were near Mozambique.

The city appeared large and well built, surrounded with walls. In the middle stood a large palace on a rising ground; but the inhabitants being Moors, Gama was so far from having an inclination to land there, that he caused his great guns to be loaded and fired at the walls as he passed along, which did them considerable damage, and then pursued his course for 113 leagues towards Melinda, as he had at first intended.

Mogadoxo.

Here the general and his men met with very kind entertainment, but stayed only five days, lest the winter should overtake them at the cape; in their way to which they touched at the island of Zanzibar, where he found the inhabitants, though Moors, well disposed towards the Portuguese, who had been obliged by this time to burn one of their vessels, named the St. Raphael, because sickness had so much lessened their numbers, that there were not hands sufficient to man the ships and bring them home in safety.

Zanzibar.

Having again refreshed his men at St. Blas; the general proceeded, and doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 25th of April, after which a favourable gale sprung up, which continuing for twenty days, brought him to St. Jago, one of the Cape Verd islands, where a tempest separating the ships, Coello's vessel was the first that reached Lisbon†, while Gama, after having weathered the storm, leaving his ship at St. Jago, hired a vessel to carry him home. He put in at the Terceras in his way, where his brother Paul who had long been in an ill state of health expired. Having paid the last tribute to his memory, the General departed from the Terceras, and steering directly for Portugal, arrived at Belem in September, after having been two years and two months upon a voyage full of perils and difficulties, by the accomplishment of which he acquired the honour of being registered as the first adventurer that ever discovered a passage to the East Indies by sea, and of opening a fresh channel of commerce to the nations of Europe with those rich and plentiful countries. Other voyagers of the same nation following his track established factories in those remote regions, and Gama himself returned thither in 1502. Of these expeditions we shall speak hereafter; but shall now proceed according to the plan laid down to give an account of the circumnavigators; beginning with the unfortunate Maghellan, who perished in the undertaking.

St. Blas.

The General's arrival at Belem.

THE

† He was suspected of design in this separation, which some affirmed he effected only on purpose to be the first that should bring the court of Portugal the news of this important discovery.

THE VOYAGE OF FERDINAND MAGHELLAN.

1517

MAGHELLAN was a native of Portugal, a gentleman by birth, and a soldier by profession. He had served his country in the Indian as well as African wars; having been employed in those expeditions which succeeded Gama's discovery, and which at length brought Malacca, Goa and Ormuz under the Portuguese dominion.

Maghellan's proposals rejected in Portugal.

Though the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean which Columbus went in search of, had never been discovered, yet Vasquez Nunez de Bilboa having discovered the last mentioned sea from the mountains of Pancas, in the province of Panama, Maghellan from hence conceived an idea of undertaking the circumnavigation of the globe, which he first communicated to his court, but being slighted in that particular, and meeting with some other disappointments*, he resolved to quit Portugal, and make his proposals to Charles V. then king of Spain and emperor of Germany.

Accepted in Spain.

Maghellan failed not to observe to this prince that all the Banda and Molucca islands must of right fall to his lot, according to the division mutually consented to by king John II. of Portugal, and Ferdinand, and Isabella of Castile. These islands he proposed to discover by a western navigation. And the project was so pleasing to the king, that he gave orders for making the necessary preparations with as much expedition as the nature of the scheme would allow.

Charles stopped not here, for besides ordering five vessels to be fitted out with every convenience necessary for the purpose, notwithstanding the opposition made by the Portuguese ambassador, his majesty conferred upon Maghellan and his companion Ruy Falero, the order of St. Jago, as a spur to this arduous undertaking.

He is envied by the Spaniards.

Yet, however honoured, the former was at court there were not wanting those who greatly envied him, and wished to retard the expedition. He received many insults on account of his country, and when all was just ready for the embarkation, it had nearly been prevented by Ruy Falero's contesting with the admiral the honour of bearing the royal standard; but this matter being settled, and his rival persuaded to stay at home, his health not being in a state that rendered it prudent for him to prosecute so long and uncertain a voyage, Maghellan took the sole command of the squadron, and the business proceeded.

Sets out on his expedition.

The squadron which consisted of the admiral's ship, the S. Antonio, Juan de Cartagena, vice admiral; the S. Jago, Juan Rodriguez Serrano, and the Conception, Gaspar de Quezada, master, set sail from Cadiz on the 10th of August for Teneriff, where they arrived in safety on the 2d of September, and proceeded from thence to Rio Janeiro on the coast of Brasil. There they refreshed themselves, taking in such necessaries as they stood in need of, and on the 27th continued their voyage.

Discontents among his men.

At this time many disputes arose concerning the course which it was best for them to pursue, and, the fleet being anchored on Easter day in St. Julian's river, which they had entered the preceding evening, when mass was ordered to be said on shore, the three captains, Luys de Mendosa, Gaspar de Quezada, and Juan de Cartagena did not appear†, a circumstance which much disquieted Maghellan, because from their disobedience, as well as other circumstances, he inferred that a spirit of discontent reigned among the majority of the squadron. And thus, like Columbus, he found it very difficult to adapt a proper line of conduct. To return with disgrace was what he could not brook; to proceed was to encounter a variety

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* He is said to have been denied by the court so small an augmentation of his pay as half a ducat per month, which unkindness he could not but remember.

of perils, at the same time that he had every thing to apprehend from his own people. In this situation, the weather growing severe, the murmurings increasing; and a conspiracy of the three captains being suspected, the general called his own ship's crew to arms. In the mean time, as Mendosa was reading a letter he had sent him, this captain was stabbed to the heart. At that instant a boat was manned with about 30 of the admiral's friends, who boarded the Victoria, and took 40 prisoners suspected of being concerned in the conspiracy out of that and the other ships. But Quezada only was executed, and Mendosa's dead body was ordered to be quartered.—Thus the opposition ended for that time, and the proper measures were taken for the fleet to proceed as soon as the weather would permit; for which purpose Serrano was ordered to examine the American coast along which they were to sail, in order to make the intended discovery.

1519

A conspiracy suppressed.

While they had been thus detained on the Brazilian coast, according to the Spanish account, they saw men of a vast stature, and whose voice, especially if enraged, resembled the roaring of bulls. One of these came on board, whose voice and face were equally frightful, and whose height was such; that the head of a middle-sized Spaniard scarcely reached to his waist. There may be reason to think this account rather exaggerated; however that might be, it seems that he behaved himself very peaceably, and was well enough satisfied with every thing about him, till by way of presenting him with toys, the Spaniards put shackles upon his legs, which as soon as he discovered to be intended to deprive him of his liberty, striving in vain to get rid of them, he raved and roared most hideously. His apparel consisted of the skin of a strange beast, and the same skin covered his legs and feet as well as his body, which notwithstanding they describe as being painted all over; and each of his cheeks was drawn on the figure of a stag, with two red circles round his eyes, which contributed to render his appearance more frightful.

Account of giants.

Maghellan's people said they found most of the inhabitants of the coast apparelled much in the same manner as this man, and describe them as a race of giants, ignorant and superstitious, believing their country to be haunted by evil spirits, at the apprehension of which they seemed to be extremely terrified. Their weapons were bows and arrows, the bow-strings being made of some guts or sinews, and the arrows headed with sharp stones. Their moveable cottages which, like their bodies, were covered with skins, they carried with them from one place to another as occasion served; they devoured their meat, which they did not seem to have any method of dressing, with the voraciousness of cannibals, eating with it a certain small sort of root, in their language called *Caper*, which served them for bread, and drank vast quantities of water at their meals.

The only religious ideas these people entertained centered in the belief of two beings, one of whom they termed *Setebos*, who seemed to be superior, and the other whom they called *Chelcule*, and whom they looked on as an inferior deity. In this barren country (the inhabitants of which the Spaniards termed Patagons) they however set up a cross, and took solemn possession of it.—But to return to the narration.

Serrano who as we have observed before, was dispatched on an expedition to reconnoitre the coast, found a river which was about a league broad at the entrance, to which he gave the name of S. Clare, having first discovered it on that Saint's day. He was

One of the vessels lost.

F

fix

† The last was already under an arrest for disrespect shewed to his commander.

1520

Maghellan
leaves Port Ju-
lian and sets
the convicts
on shore.

fix days examining it, and fishing for seals, and was afterwards exposed to a violent tempest, which split the sails of his vessel, and in the end wrecked him upon the shore, while the boats crew were saved from the fury of the elements, but reduced to great extremities by famine on these barren coasts. In their distress they sent two of their people to their commander to give him notice of their situation, who dispatched a vessel to their assistance, and thus prevented that fate which must otherwise have been inevitable.

The general left the port of St. Julian where he stayed so long with little satisfaction, on the 24th of August, setting Juan de Cartagena on shore, and the same punishment was inflicted on Pedro Sanchez Revora, the priest who had been found guilty of being concerned in the conspiracy. They were supplied with a quantity of provisions but were never heard of more.

Sailing from hence, on St. Ursula's day, in the latter end of October the fleet came to a promontory which Maghellan called Cape Virgin, and perceiving an inlet, sent to examine the coast. Upon the different reports of the people of the vessels and boats detached for this purpose, a council of the chief officers and pilots was called, in which Estevan Gomez, pilot of the Antonio, declared for returning home, and was followed by all the members, the general only excepted, who declared that though tempest and famine should threaten the strongest opposition, he was resolved to persevere. The Antonio being afterwards sent to find out a nearer passage than any which they had yet a reason to expect, the pilot before-mentioned, together with the purser having stabbed the master, carried home the ship; and the general himself having gone in pursuit of her in vain, proceeded on his voyage, and at length fell in with the passage which he had so long been in search of, and in 52° of south lat. entered those straits which have ever since born his name. He was transported with joy at this discovery, and named the point of land from which he first had this agreeable prospect, Port Desire. After sailing through this new-discovered passage with all the caution necessary in such a situation, they entered the great South Sea on the 28th day of December, being one year four months and eighteen days, from his first departure from Spain, and four months and four days from his leaving Port Julian.

On this wide extended ocean the fleet wandered between three and four months without sight of land, except two uninhabited islands. Their distresses in the course of this time were so great, that the men were reduced to the necessity of eating the hides which covered the ships rigging, which they steeped in salt water in order to render them fit for chewing. To this partial famine, it was not wonderful that sickness should succeed. And those who were not seized with immediate fits of illness, had the misfortune to be disabled from subsisting on these hard viands, by their gums growing over their teeth, whereby they were starved to death. It was happy for the rest that they sailed all this while upon a peaceful sea, impelled by gentle breezes, from whence it was denominated the Pacific Ocean. It was not till the 6th of March that they fell in with a parcel of islands justly named the Ladrones, or isles of thieves. Here they landed, and found them possessed by a people that exhibited not the least appearance of having any order or form of government prevailing among them. The men went entirely naked, their complexion olive, their hair black and long, reaching to their waists. The women were more modest in their manners, wore a sort of covering of palm-tree leaves, and were generally found to be industrious. But while

Ladrones.

these were busied at home, their husbands and male relations employed themselves in thieving abroad; and soon became so troublesome to their new guests, that the Spaniards having endeavoured by threatening, firing upon them, and burning some of their houses, (which were built of wood, and covered with palm-tree leaves) to deter them from such practices, perceiving that all this was to no purpose, departed from thence and landed at Zamul, 30 leagues distant, Zamul. on the 10th of the same month, and the next day came to Hummuna, which island they found to be Hummuna. pleasant, and the people full of humanity, ready to accommodate them with all the refreshments which the place afforded.

They afterwards sailed between several islands, and on the 28th came to one called Buthuan, where they Buthuan. were honourably entertained by the king. The people here, though not acquainted with christianity, were observed [or supposed] by Maghellan and his company to make the sign of the cross at their meals. The king's palace somewhat resembled a hay-loft, being built so high upon large posts, that it was not to be entered without ladders. The islanders greatly admired their new guests, and treated them with a kind of veneration. The earth here was said to be so rich, that large pieces of gold, some of the size of hazel-nuts and others as large as eggs, were procured by sifting the common mould of the country.

The king appeared to be a well featured man, of an olive complexion, was clothed in cotton, wore a dagger with a gold haft by his side, and was adorned with a profusion of gold rings. Maghellan presented his majesty with cloth of various colours, and his attendants with glasses, knives, and crystal beads*. The islanders, who were a very lively people, seemed to have no other religious rites than a certain ceremony which they practised, of lifting their hands and eyes towards heaven, and calling on their god Abba.

After passing among several islands, most of which afforded barley, figs, oranges, goats, poultry, and doves, and proved pleasant enough to the sailors, the fleet came to Zubut on the 7th of April, where their Zubut. salute when they anchored in the port, at first put the inhabitants into great terror, till the manner of the compliment was explained to them.

Here the king at first demanded tribute, but this the general absolutely refused to pay; and his Majesty being told that these strangers were Portuguese, whose countrymen had before this time stormed Calicut, and were renowned for their achievements in India, he thought fit to drop that demand, and entertained them with great kindness and hospitality. Maghellan had influence enough to prevail upon this prince, his brother, and the queen to be baptized; a total abolition of idolatry through the whole island was the consequence, so that in eight days all the inhabitants embraced Christianity.

In the isle of Mathan, which lies not far from Mathan. Zubut, Maghellan found his fate. The island was under the government of two kings, from whom the Christians demanded the acknowledgement of tribute. This being refused, an open rupture ensued, and the general, with only 60 Spaniards, gave battle to the natives, whose numbers, as they say, amounted to above 6000 men. After a long and sharp dispute, in which however, the Indians lost not above fifteen, and the Spaniards only nine men, Maghellan, being too far engaged, was wounded with a poisoned arrow, and a thrust in the head with a lance, put a period to his life: nor was even his body recovered from the enemy.

The general slain.

Greatly disconcerted at the loss of so able a commander, they chose Odoardo Barbosa, a Portuguese, and Juan Serrano to succeed him, who, with others, was

* It is related that one of the islanders offered a Christian a crown of gold and a collar, for six threads of crystal beads, but Maghellan would not permit a bargain so unequal to take place. If this be true, it was a proof of a moderation which the Spaniards, in most of their expeditions, were little inclined

to imitate. We are told that the inhabitants suffered their guests to erect a cross and a crown of thorns, being however induced to it by a pious fraud of the general's, who persuaded them that this cross would protect them from the dangers by lightning and tempests to which those countries are subject.

was invited to an entertainment on shore, where all the company was massacred, himself excepted. He was reserved by the Indians in hopes of obtaining a ransom for him, but the rest of the Spaniards refusing to treat with such an enemy on any terms, failed away and left this victim entirely in their power.

The company which remained, to the number of 80, held on their course towards the Moluccas, of which Maghellan before his death had heard tidings. Sailing to Behol, they there burned one of their ships, named the Conception, in order for the better manning and furnishing the other two. From hence they came to Pavilogan, inhabited by blacks, and a large island called Chippit, where there was gold, with plenty of goats, rice, poultry, and spices. Here they were received in an amicable manner, and at parting the prince of the country marked his body and limbs with blood, by way of a covenant of peace.

After coming to Caghuian, and Puloan, they arrived at Borneo, having weathered a tempest which overtook them just as they were at the entrance of the port.

They found the islanders to be numerous, and devoted to their king, who was a Moor, and kept great state. The island lies in $5^{\circ} 15''$ north lat. and 176° long. from the meridian of London. The capital city contained no less than 25,000 houses. Camphire, cinnamon, oranges and lemons were the chief produce of the country. They saw elephants here and store of cattle and poultry. The Spaniards were attacked in this port by an Indian fleet which they defeated, taking prisoner a prince of the country, who however, through negligence or design was suffered to escape out of their hands, and presently after the Spaniards set sail, still holding on their course for the Moluccas.

From Borneo they came to Cimbubon, Zolo, and Taghima, and sailing north-eastward, arrived at Mangandano, where they took some Indians in a canoe, who gave them directions which way to steer for the Moluccas; and after passing by several other islands, they reached the chief of them, called Tiridore, or Tidore (after weathering another storm) on the morning of the 8th of November.

They found these isles, which were five in num-

ber, abounding in oranges, lemons, pomegranates, rich spices; and Gilolo, near Tiridore, was well peopled by Moors and Pagans; the latter of which were reported, among other absurdities, to adore the first object they met with in the morning, though in their manners in general, they were otherwise less superstitious than the Mahometans.—Here a warehouse was opened, and the Spaniards traded very advantageously with the natives, exchanging cloth, glass, and quicksilver, for cloves and other products of the country. At the Moluccas, they were well supplied with provision, as those countries abounded with sheep, goats, poultry, sago, sugar, pomegranates, figs, and oranges. They were attended on their departure by the kings of some of the islands, as far as Mare, at which place they took their leave, steering SW. their company being now reduced to 46 Spaniards and 13 Indians; and passing by many other isles, came to Timor where they found there was plenty of ginger, and white Sanders wood, and no want of necessary provisions.

From hence they shaped their course for the Cape of Good Hope, after having waited long for the advantage of the wind, and run down as far as 42° , though the Cape itself lies only in 34° south lat.

Having resolved not to put in at Mozambique, though in want of provisions when they passed near that coast, for fear of the Portuguese who were there, these adventurers found themselves in extreme distress: on this account before they reached St. James's, one of the Cape Verd islands, where, notwithstanding there was as much to be apprehended from the same enemy, yet their situation was such, that they determined to run all hazards rather than to perish with hunger. On this account they put in there, and were at first supplied with provisions, but 13 of their crew being detained prisoners by the Portuguese at the second time of landing, the rest weighed anchor, hoisted sail, and made the best of their way home without them. These being wafted on by brisk and favourable gales, arrived in safety at the port of St. Lucar, near Seville, on the 7th day of September, under the conduct of John Sebastian Camo*; the whole voyage having taken up the space of three years and thirty-seven days.

THE VOYAGES OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

The First English Circumnavigator.

FRANCIS DRAKE, was one of the twelve children of Mr. Edmund Drake, of Tavistock in Devonshire. This gentleman being much inclined to the protestant religion, and living in the reign of Queen Mary I. was obliged to retire from his native place and fix himself in Kent, in order to avoid the persecutions of that prejudiced princess. In the reign of her sister and successor, affairs taking a different turn both in regard to religion and politics, he was made a chaplain in the royal navy.

There appears to be a kind of cloud of uncertainty generally hanging over the origin of celebrated persons. The patronage given to Francis Drake (like the birth of Columbus, whose very name was in dispute) seems to be a matter not easy to be traced†. We can only find that he was one of four brothers bred to the sea, and took an early delight in attending to nautical studies, and practical navigation.

The first voyage in which he has been noticed was that in which he acted as captain of a ship called the Judith, bound to the West Indies, under the com-

mand of Sir John Hawkins, whom we find set down to be his near relation.

Some of the viceroys and governors, though they were expressly forbidden to encourage the trade of these discoverers who sailed towards the new world, were yet found often secretly to assist them, and sometimes after that assistance given, when they had obtained all they could expect, are reported to have seized on what had been acquired by this contraband trade—which is no more than an additional proof of the abuses incident to power when interested men are in possession of it.

Sir John Hawkins's little fleet, among which was the Judith (as we have before taken notice) being forced by stress of weather into the port of S. John d'Ulloa in the Bay of Mexico, where they waited to take in provisions, twelve sail of Spanish vessels arriving soon after from Europe, the harbour was divided by agreement between the shipping of the two nations, and hostages‡ given on either side, for the preservation of peace between them.

But

* He was greatly honoured by the king on his return, who gave him for his arms the terrestrial globe, with this motto, *Primus me circumdedit*.

† Camden says that F. Drake was put apprentice to the master of a trading vessel, who dying left him his ship. Stowe says that his great patron was Francis Russell, afterwards Duke of Bedford. Christopher Columbus has generally been said to

be originally of the name of Colon, but how he came by his other appellation, is uncertain, and seems to have remained a mystery even to his own family.

‡ It appeared afterwards that though the English sent six gentlemen, the Spanish hostages were only six common men, dressed up for the occasion.

Caghuian,
Puloan,
Borneo.

Other islands.

Moluccas.

Account of
Drake's
voyage with
Sir John Haw-
kins.

1570

Treachery of
the Mexican
viceroy.

But this continued not long; for the viceroy, some weeks after, regardless of an agreement which he might be inclined to consider as a matter of necessity, the English being in absolute possession of the harbour on his arrival, ordered a sudden attack to be made on Sir John Hawkins's fleet, while the officers were at dinner, and caused the English on shore to be massacred. In the sea-fight, out of four trading vessels 3 were sunk. The Minion; Captain Hampton; was boarded, but the assailants were repulsed; and the Spanish vice admiral blown up, after which two vessels were set on fire, and turned adrift in order to burn the English admiral's ship the Jesus, and also the Minion, from which they had before suffered a repulse; the former was destroyed, after having shifted the commander and the crew on board the Judith; and the latter put to sea and got clear of them.

Great part of
the crew land-
ed on the A-
merican coast.

But this escape insured not safety to Sir John Hawkins who was distressed with the crews of two vessels on board a single one, which had not provisions for them, at the same time that there was every thing to apprehend from the enemy, along whose coast they sailed; yet 100 of these men chose to be landed on this hostile shore, all of whom except five, perished by sword, famine, sickness, or fatigue*.

The Judith, however, with the remainder of the crew arrived in England, Mr. Drake having had the credit of contributing greatly by his prudent management to the lucky escape of those who were removed from the Jesus on board his own vessel, and conducting her under favour of the night from the scene of action.

This misfortune of Sir John Hawkins, could not but be felt by his relation, who made this period the æra of his resentment to the Spaniards, from whom no reparation could be gotten, as they alledged the English carried on an illicit trade to their coasts, which could not be justified by the queen of Great Britain†.

Besides his resentments to Spain, Drake had his private interests to gratify, which we shall find he never lost sight of in all his undertakings, and to which he sometimes even sacrificed justice as will appear in the sequel.

Other voy-
agers.

Thus stimulated, he made a voyage in 1570 with two ships under his command, called the Dragon and the Swan, and in 1571 with the Swan only. Both these voyages were undertaken chiefly on his own account, but it seems that (experience excepted) they did not turn out much to his advantage.

The next year, when the nation was on the eve of a war with Spain, this adventurer however fitted out the Pascha a letter of marque of 70 tons, together with the Swan of 50, commanded by his brother John, having 73 men on board the two vessels, and embarked on another expedition. They cleared the Land's End on the 12th of May, having favourable winds they passed between Dominica and Guadalupe at the end of June, and, on the 6th of July came in sight of Santa Maria.

These vessels whose destination was for Nombre de Dios, came on the 15th day of the month to Port Pheasant, which lay at a convenient distance for the designs they had formed, and where Drake intended to build two or three small pinnaces, the materials and frame-work of which he had had the caution to take with him.

Is warned to
quit that coast.

Going on shore here, he was surprised to find a plate of lead nailed to a tree, with a few lines engraven on it by an Englishman, of the name of Garet, who had left that place the day before. The substance of what he found set down there, was to advise him to make no stay, as the Spaniards had by some means found out that he intended to visit them in those parts.

* Sixty-five fell into the Spaniards hands, and were put to the torture, and three burnt alive in the inquisition. Only two of these lived to return home.

† Sir John Hawkins established the slave trade to the coast of Guinea.

‡ It is said that the silver was piled up in bars, the pile in length 70, in breadth 10, and 12 feet in height. It was here

Notwithstanding this friendly advertisement, Drake, fortifying himself as well as he could, resolved to complete the building of his pinnaces. Here he met with one Captain Raufe, who informed him of the situation of the Symerons, a set of revolted negroes who had settled themselves on each side of the neck of land which separates Nombre de Dios from Panama, and had become a terror to the Spaniards. This captain being invited by the English commander, agreed to share with him the dangers and advantages of the enterprize wherein he was engaged. Accordingly they set sail together, and having touched at the Isle of Pines on the night of the 28th of July, casting anchor unperceived under the shore. Fearing that his men should be dispirited from the notions which they had conceived of the Spaniards being prepared for them, Drake resolved on an immediate attack, landed without opposition, and possessed himself of the quay; which though fortified with six large pieces of ordnance, had but one gunner to serve them. He presently afterwards engaged and defeated the forces drawn together to oppose him, obliging such as he had taken prisoners to conduct him and his people to the governor's house, and to the storehouse, where they found treasures to an amazing amount‡. Yet the General, in the midst of his success was not without his apprehensions that the retreat of the conquerors might be cut off, if they were not speedy in executing and well prepared to enforce it. Their greedy desire of emassing wealth was plainly an obstacle to his plan; but at last, by promising to lead them to the king's treasury, where there was more in amount, and yet less cumbrous in conveyance; he thus persuaded them every one to return with his bar of silver to the market place, where a body of men had been left, who expressed their fears that the enemy might get possession of the boats; but this proved a vain apprehension, and the commander led his troops forward, still entertaining the design of plundering the royal treasury, which was presently entered by this adventurous company.

Lands at Nom-
bre Dios.

But a wound which Drake had received in his leg at the beginning of the engagement, and which he had hitherto concealed, being now discovered, he was conveyed, to all appearance dead, on board of one of the boats; the plunderers seeing him in this situation, were glad to embark at break of day with what treasure they could best carry off, and taking with them a sloop they found laden with wines in the harbour, with which and the fruits of the country, they refreshed themselves at the Island of Bastimento. From hence the English resolved to return to the Isle of Pines, where they had left their ships, and parted from Captain Raufe, the latter not judging it proper to be any longer in their company.

Drake disap-
pointed by a
wound.

But Drake, who had been cured of his wounds, notwithstanding this resolution of his colleague, steered along the coast, and endeavoured to surprise Cartagena, but convinced by the voluntary information of an old man whom he found alone in a frigate, and by the firing of warning guns, that the enemy was aware of him, he desisted from this dangerous enterprize, but took a ship of Seville, and two small frigates, with letters of advice relative to his expedition, the intercepting which could not but be useful to him in his designs.

The coast
alarmed.

Being now desirous of destroying the Swan, as he feared that the project would be disagreeable to the officers, who must be deprived of their commissions, being seldom at a loss for artifice, he persuaded the carpenter to bore holes in her bottom one night, and the next morning having rowed up to her and invited his brother on board, he pretended to be surprised at the hold filling so fast with water, and in the end, urged

The Swan
destroyed.

that the mules bringing the treasure from Panama were usually unloaded.

§ A Spanish gentleman came on board before they sailed, to know whether their English arms were poisoned, or whether their Captain was that Drake who had before been on their coasts. To the former question he received a negative, to the latter an affirmative answer.

urged the crew to set fire to her, and go on board the *Palcha*; by which conduct, he also found means the better to man his pinnaces.

The fleet sailed out next towards Darien; keeping clear of the coast, which had been so lately alarmed. Here they arrived in the space of six days, careening their vessels and taking in wood, water, and fresh provisions, after which they left it on the 5th of September, holding their course towards Rio Grande, and on the 9th of that month, were discovered by a Spaniard from the shore, who mistaking them for friends, made a signal for them to land. This they soon did, and when the man found his mistake he fled with precipitation.

A treaty with the Symerons.

What Drake had heard of the Symerons, inducing him to wish to treat with them, he had sent his brother Captain John Drake in search of them. By means of the negroes taken at Nombre de Dios, touching at the main land, two of these Symerons came on board his ship, two of the crew being left as hostages for their safe return. An interview being appointed with their leaders, Drake quitted this place where he had been well supplied with every thing, and to which he had given the name of Port Plenty, and was conducted into a secret bay, amongst a number of woody islands, extremely beautiful, and where they were protected by a narrow rocky channel from the fear of a night surprise. In this place a treaty was concluded on, and these fugitive negroes farther informed their new friends, that had they come sooner on that coast, they might have been supplied with gold, which was the principal thing that they sought after; but the rainy season now set in, prevented the possibility of procuring it from the bottoms of the rivers wherein they had lodged great quantities, in order to hide the treasure from their masters.

As it was now judged proper to remain in this secret situation during the rains, a fort was constructed in such a manner as the materials and situations of the English would admit of, in a place where in all probability little defence would be wanted. Drake however left his brother with a small force, and sailed for Rio de la Hacha, and in his way came to Carthagena, where a spy, as he afterwards was found to be, came on board, who would have persuaded the English to remain at anchor there in hopes of great assistance from him, but in reality, with a view of giving the governor an opportunity of raising the country.

An attempt to take the pinnaces miscarried.

This was on the 17th of October, and on the 20th two frigates endeavoured to surprise the pinnaces, but this design was discovered, and Drake still kept cruising along the shore while the hills were covered with armed men*, but he found at last that it was to little purpose; yet fortune so far favoured him, as to throw in his way a ship laden with provisions, of which he happily made prize, at a time when the scarcity of them was most sensibly felt by himself and all his company.

Captain John Drake's death.

After this success, the commander determined to return to his brother and the Symerons; but he found that during his absence Captain John Drake had been engaged in an attempt which cost him and one of his countrymen their lives; this was an endeavour to board and take a Spanish frigate, that was well provided for defence. This fatal circumstance was the consequence of his complying with the repeated solicitations of his men to venture on what he thought and represented to them to be a mad and desperate undertaking.

The men afflicted with a calenture.

At this time a malignant fever, called the *Calenture*, broke out among the men, and of this distemper.

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* We have an account that Drake himself leaped on shore in defiance of their troops, an action which, if he was within the reach of their arms, was a most unpardonable rashness in one on whose life the success of this enterprise depended, and if he was out of danger from them, was totally vain, and seems to have been as ridiculous a bravado as ever we remember to have read of in history.

† At night they rested under wigwams, which were made by

per Joseph Drake died, who was another of Mr. Francis Drake's brothers. In the mean time, tidings were brought of the arrival of the Spanish fleet at Nombre de Dios, and this was therefore the season when the treasures of Peru were to be transported over land from Panama to that port: This was an opportunity which it could not be thought one of Drake's disposition would lose. Though he had been deprived of 28 of his company by sickness, yet not at all dispirited, leaving a few men to guard his ship, he set out at the head of only 18 English and 30 Symerons, with a design of making himself master of this treasure.

Drake sets for Nombre Dios.

These Symerons were extremely useful as guides. They were likewise very expert at killing with arrows and javelins of various sizes; wild boars, stags, and fowls, and with these helps, together with the profusion of fruits that they found on the banks of the rivers as they passed along, the adventurers found themselves well supplied with provisions, and being led for the most part through woods and lofty shades, marching at their ease, and reposing every day at stated times, they found nothing very tiresome in their journey.†

Manner of Symerons travelling.

In their way they came to a town erected by these Symerons, which was built on the declivity of a hill fortified by a mud wall, and encompassed by a ditch. Here Drake was desired to stay, and a number of men promised to him in addition to his present force, but not judging it proper to accept these offers, he proceeded on his journey, the Symerons serving as guards and guides, clearing the way before the English.

On the 11th day of February, the company arrived at a hill, on the summit of which grew a lofty tree, to the top of which having ascended by steps cut for the purpose, they found an alcove, from whence both seas were to be viewed. At the sight of the great Pacific Ocean, on which as yet no vessel of his nation ever had sailed, Drake earnestly implored heaven to assist him in the purpose he then conceived of venturing on those seas in English ships, with the first favourable opportunity, a design which we shall find after his return home he spared no pains to accomplish.

The grass of the level country in this region growing as high as bulrushes, is obliged to be consumed by fire, and notwithstanding the conflagration, which obliges the cattle to fly or perish, and covers the ground with ashes, yet such is the strength of the soil in those parts, that within a month after this method has been used, the valley appears again to be entirely covered with fresh verdure. Such is the fertility of the soil upon this isthmus, which however, is so situated that there is great reason from the various changes of nature to conclude that it will one day, by earthquakes or the force of the watry element, be totally destroyed, and leave that free communication between the two oceans, which was once vainly sought for there and found only by Cape Horn and the straits of Maghellan.

A Symeron being dispatched for intelligence, returned with the flattering tidings: That the treasurer of Lima would pass the next night with eight mules loaded with gold, and one with jewels, towards Venta Cruz, whither the company immediately directed their course, and having surprised a sleeping Spanish soldier, had their intelligence confirmed by the frightened captive. This man likewise cautioned them not to be deceived by the appearance of the carriers from Nombre de Dios, who were to meet the others by the way, and who had no gold in charge, though their beasts would be loaded with merchandise and

G

setting posts in the ground, with poles laid from one to the other, in the manner of a roof, thatching them with palmetto boughs and plantain leaves. In the vallies they left about four feet next the ground open; but on the hills where they were more exposed to the sharpness of the night air, these wigwams were thatched close to the ground, a door only being left and an opening to let out the smoke.

1573

and provisions. He then demanded protection, and requested, as he had dealt sincerely with the English, and could never dare to return to his own countrymen, that they would be so good as to allow him such a portion of the treasure as would maintain himself and family, which request he observed was but reasonable, as the English, if they succeeded, would be sure of seizing more gold and jewels than they could carry away. This was agreed to, and Drake heading the English, and Oxenham of Plymouth, to whose charge the riches of Nombre de Dios had been committed, assisting Pedro the Symeron in the command of the negroes, the two parties laid themselves flat in the grass at a convenient distance for attacking the convoy in front and rear, and every thing seemed to favour this bold undertaking.

But, as chance will frequently disconcert the most prudent measures, so this design of plunder was defeated by one of those accidents which it is not in human prudence to foresee.—Though express orders had been given not to meddle with such mules as came from Venta Cruz, but only with those which came forward from Panama, yet one Robert Pike, who was in liquor, and his companion, mistaking the former for the latter, put themselves in motion to be ready for an attack. Being discovered by the officer who accompanied the merchandise, he caused the carriers and their beasts to quicken their pace, a circumstance which neither Drake nor Oxenham observed.

Lying still in their ambush, they soon after perceived the mules advancing from the road that led to Panama. These were instantly attacked in front and rear, and secured, as had been agreed upon. Two only were found laden with silver, and the rest with provisions. The drivers who were made prisoners informed Drake that the officer having reported that he suspected an ambush was laid for the gold, the treasurer ordered only two mules loaded with silver to proceed from Panama, the others being sent back, and six of those lately arrived from Venta Cruz put in their room. The experiment succeeded as we have found; the drunkenness of one of Drake's followers defeated the design, and the commander himself concluding that the country would be alarmed, was at first not a little perplexed what to resolve upon, where (his own people excepted) every one must be considered as an enemy. But one of Drake's best qualities for helping him at his need was presence of mind. In this exigence, at once perceiving the improbability of marching back in safety by the same way that he came, he persuaded his people and the Symerons to hasten forward to Venta Cruz, where they arrived after marching in great secrecy; yet they found the Spaniards not unapprised of their coming. An action ensued; the militia were routed, and the Symerons could not be hindered from plundering the town; though Drake, who had always much of the specious appearance of virtue, took care to make a merit of preserving the ladies from affronts. He then continued his march, towards the shipping, in the course of which the English were greatly assisted by the Symerons; as when one of the former fainted, two of the latter, who were very stout men, would carry him between them.

Within five leagues from their ships they found a town which the Symerons had constructed while they were absent, one of whom being dispatched for that purpose, procured a pinnace to be sent to meet them, and on the 23d of February, Drake's whole company were joined, which junction was celebrated by a thanksgiving.

They now began to find themselves in want of provisions, and some of the Symerons had proposed a journey over land, in order to surprise the storehouse of one Pezaro near Veragua, whose slaves, as they said, brought him near 200lb. weight of gold every day. But this was not agreed to; on the contrary the two pinnaces called the Bear and the Minion, were manned; the former was sent for provisions towards Tolu, and Drake himself went in the latter towards

the Cabezes, designing to intercept the treasure which was to be transported from Veragua and that coast to Nombre de Dios. As to the Symerons, he dismissed with presents such as chose to depart, giving orders for kind treatment to any that wished to remain. At the Cabezes he took a frigate, the pilot of which gave him intelligence that in the harbour of Veragua there was a ship which had on board above a million of gold. It is easy to be imagined that an adventurer whose object was plunder, was eager to attempt so rich a prize; but no sooner had he arrived in the harbour, than he heard warning guns fired, and answered by others along the coast, by which the pilot told him he might conclude his design was discovered; and accordingly he desisted from his enterprise.

In the mean time his other pinnace had taken a frigate with 28 fat hogs, and a quantity of poultry. This vessel they fitted up for war, and as a second attempt on Nombre de Dios was resolved on, he set sail with her and the Bear, towards the Cabezes. Arriving there withing two days, he found a Frenchman called Totu, with a ship of war; having supplied him with water, it was agreed upon that he should be an associate in the expedition. Proceeding for Rio Francisco, they arrived there on the 30th of March, the Frenchman accompanying them. After marching above twenty miles, they at length perceived an escort of three droves of mules coming from Panama, which consisted of 909, each mule carrying about 300lb. weight of silver. The French Captain and one of the Symerons were wounded in the attack, which ended in the adventurers making themselves masters of the treasure, a great part of which they hid in the thickets, and determined to return the same way that they came. In their retreat they left the wounded French captain with two of his men in the woods, and a third was missed on the march; who being intoxicated had not followed the guides, and consequently had lost himself in the intricacies of the country. Arriving at Rio Francisco on the 3d of April, when they went in search of their pinnaces, to their no small surprise they descried seven Spanish sloops, from which circumstance they concluded that news of their proceedings had been carried to Nombre de Dios, and were in great anxiety lest their pinnaces should be taken, and the crews perhaps be compelled to discover where their ships lay. Drake allowed that it might be possible the pinnaces might have fallen into the enemies hands; yet if this were so, the taking of the boats, the examination of the men, and the discovery of their ships, could not be the operation of a moment; he therefore urged that the case was not yet so desperate as at first it might appear. Nevertheless there were still such obstacles as it required the greatest extent of courage and presence of mind to overcome. They were not in possession of any boats, and to get by land to their shipping, they must pass over high mountains, through woods almost impenetrable, and even their would be interrupted by streams and rivers in their course. While the men were reflecting on these difficulties, their commander was devising the means to extricate himself from them, and to save his little company. He ordered a raft to be made of some trees which were then floating in the river, and embarked together with two Englishmen named Owen and Smith, and two Frenchmen, and after having sailed three leagues, happily discovered his pinnaces: Having hailed them, he resolved that they should anchor behind a point of land, in order to lie concealed, while he returned to the shore, and acquainted his men with his success. They rowed to Rio Francisco the same night, and all embarked with what treasure they could convey away; then sailing back, they returned to the frigate, and afterwards to the ship, where they divided their booty.

The Frenchman's ship remained among the Cabezes, while the English were resitting; and during this interval of fourteen days, twelve Englishmen and sixteen Symerons travelled up the country in search of the French captain. They did not find him, but discovered

Attempt on the mules loaded with treasure.

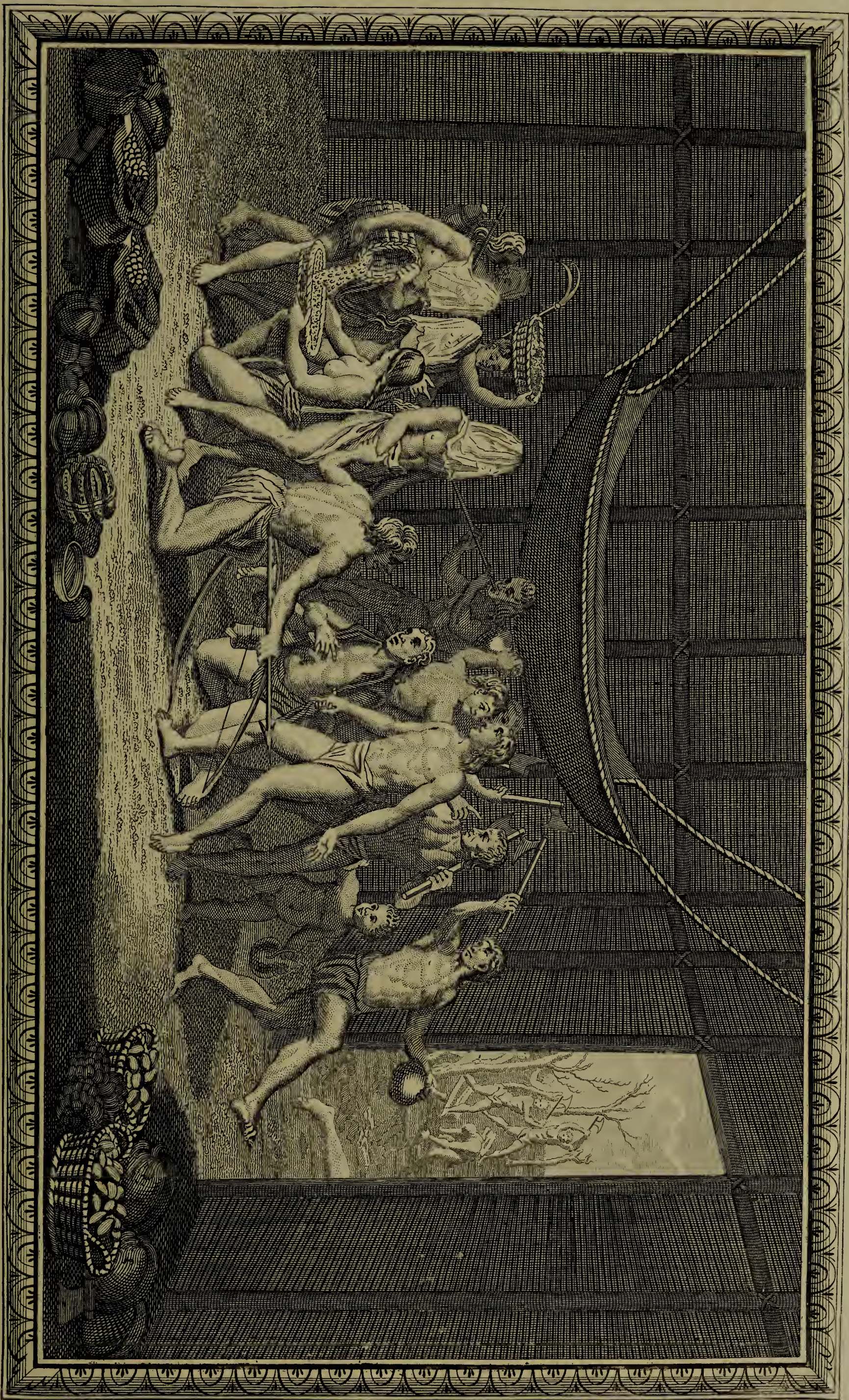
Frustrated by rashness.

Some Frenchmen join the English.

They seize on the silver coming from Panama.

Alarmed by the sight of Spanish vessels.

Drake's scheme for their deliverance.



MARRIAGE-CEREMONIES observed by the INDIANS of PANAMA.)

Account of
the French
captain's mis-
fortune.

Drake having
dismissed the
French and the
Symerons,
leaves the coast
of America.

Arrives at
Plymouth.

Preparations
for Drake's
voyage round
the world.

covered one of his countrymen who had staid with his companion to attend their commander. This man told them that within half an hour after Drake's departure, a body of Spaniards surpris'd the wounded captain; the other Frenchman might have got away as well as he who related the story, but endeavouring to secure a box of jewels, being already encumbered with gold; the weight effectually prevented his escape. As to the treasure hidden in the ground, it appeared that the other Frenchman, who as we have already mentioned, was left drunk in the woods; being found there by the Spaniards, was forced by torture to confess where it was buried, by which they recovered far the greater part of it, having narrowly examined the spot for that purpose.

Being now convinced that his harvest in these parts was pretty well over, the English commander having dismissed the French and Symerons*, had the good fortune in his way to take a frigate laden with provisions and honey, and left the coasts of America, which he had so long been employed in plundering, or keeping in perpetual alarm, having besides taken at sea 100 vessels of different sizes, between Carthage and Nombre de Dios†.

Notwithstanding several disappointments which these adventurers met with, it is certain that they must have acquired a considerable treasure in this expedition, which having thus happily accomplished, they steered directly homewards, and after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Plymouth on Sunday the 9th of August, in the afternoon, where the congregation ran out of church to congratulate the adventurers on their arrival, and to gratify their own curiosity.

Drake, whatever might be his private character, how unjustifiable soever his depredations might be, possessing the spirit of adventure, for which the age wherein he lived was particularly distinguished, acquired the good-will and respect of the people, and the notice of his sovereign, whose hatred to Spain was implacable. This princess about four years afterwards thought proper to countenance an undertaking of his, for which it seems, on political accounts, she never granted him a commission, though it is said that she condescended to become a private adventurer.

When a man is thoroughly engaged in views of ambition or interest, nothing will seem hard to him that will give him a chance of gratifying his favourite passion. This was the case with Drake: having had a view of the great South Sea, he was resolved that no human obstacle should oblige him to desist from his endeavours of visiting America again, and spreading his sails upon that ocean. Indefatigable as he was in pursuit of this design, it was not however till the year 1577 that he collected a force sufficient to man five vessels, and by a pretended royal authority, appeared as admiral, or, as the phrase then was, general of the squadron.

The fleet consisted of the Pelican, of 100 tons, which he commanded, the vice admiral's ship the Elizabeth, of 50 tons, John Winter commander; the Marygold, of 30 tons, under John Thomas; the Swan, of 50 tons, Captain John Chester; and the Christopher, of 15 tons, which was committed to the charge of the carpenter who was so compliant as to destroy the Swan, in the manner already related, in the former voyage.

Drake manned these ships, which were equipped (partly at his own expence and partly at that of others) with 164 sailors, causing them to be well

stored with necessary provisions, and also plate for his own table, and failed not even to furnish the cook-room with silver utensils, partly to command what might be deemed a necessary respect, and perhaps partly to gratify a vanity which in some peculiar characters is found to be united with an avaricious disposition.

This wary commander, notwithstanding his fame had been blown abroad, yet considering that the difficulties to which his men had been subject in a former voyage, were not unknown, had engaged the sailors whom he now got together for a voyage to Alexandria, nor were they made acquainted with his real design till they had reached the coast of Brasil.

All things being prepared for the voyage, Drake failed from Plymouth on the 15th of November, but afterwards was forced by bad weather into Falmouth, where he was obliged to stay refitting his vessels till the 13th of December, when he took his departure with all the auspices of a more prosperous voyage.

On the 27th of the same month the fleet came to an anchor at Mogadore, an island about a mile distant from the main on the coast of Barbary. Having, as before got ready the frames of his pinnaces, he began here to put them together. The Moors observing what was going forward, sent two of their chiefs on board the admiral's ship receiving two of his people as hostages, who were extremely well treated by the commander, with a view of giving these strangers a good opinion of the English nation.

But the next day this friendly intercourse ceased. One John Frye leaping on shore from the ship's boat, which had been sent as before, was made a prisoner, mounted on horseback, and conveyed up the country. Though this man was afterwards dismissed with apologies and assurances that the Moors had mistaken the English for the Portuguese, from which latter they expected an invasion, yet the commander resolved to make no longer stay here but departed on the last day of December, and after having taken several Spanish vessels in his way, arrived at Cape Blanco, on the 17th of January, where the English and the natives carried on a friendly traffic to the convenience of both parties.

After this, having plundered and discharged their captives, they sailed for the Cape Verd islands, and anchored before Mayo on the 27th of January, but could get no provisions, because the Portuguese in those parts had been forbidden to hold any intercourse with them.

On the 31st of the same month they passed by St. Jago, where the Portuguese who had dispossessed the natives of a great part of the island, under pretence of traffic, lived very unhappy, on account of the inroads of such of the aborigines of the country as having fled to their woods and mountains, were perpetually making incursions upon their conquerors. As the fleet passed by this island, three pieces of cannon were discharged at them, though without doing execution. Yet in revenge for the insult they conceived to be offered them, they took a Portuguese vessel laden with wines, setting on shore all the crew, except Nuno da Sylva, the pilot, whom they found afterwards very useful to them on account of his knowledge of the American coasts.

About this time a difference happened between the commander and Mr. Doughty his friend, the occasion and circumstances of which have been differently related; but according to the best authorities it took its rise in the improper conduct of Thomas Drake‡, which

* These latter he rewarded by giving them the iron of the pinnaces he broke up at the Cabezas, knowing that those people who were in their infant state, thought no present of more value than a quantity of that metal. Their chief Pedro, however, being desired to chuse from any of the ships what he liked best, seems to have been more refined, for he fixed upon a scymitar set with jewels, which had been presented to Drake by the French captain. However he insisted on giving four plates or quoits of gold for it, which the English commander at first re-

fused, but being compelled to take it, threw it into the common stock, which was thought only an ostentatious display of his generosity.

† He is said to have been particularly careful not to destroy any of these but such as were fitted out against him.

‡ One who was an eye-witness of the transaction, relates it in the following manner: "Captain Drake having boarded the ship of Nuno da Sylva, and feasted his eyes with the view of the commodities, he committed the custody and well ordering

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Fogo.

Brava.

which his brother was so far from punishing or reprehending, that from the moment he was informed of it, he conceived an implacable hatred against the accuser. In the course of their voyage they came to Fogo, which has a burning mountain in the middle of it; the inhabitants are Portuguese. Two leagues to the southward they made Brava, which abounded with fruits of all sorts, and was besides well watered, but there being no good harbour was the reason for which they conceived that no inhabitants were to be found in so fertile an island. Here Drake watered, and then continued his course for Brasil, passing the equator on the 17th of February, after experiencing the inconveniences of calms and storms which detained them for three weeks; nor did they reach the Brazilian coast till the 5th of April, having in the mean time (March 28) lost sight of one of their vessels, with 28 men, and most of the fresh water on board, which happily being found again the next day, relieved them from their perplexity.

During this interval the commander took a fresh occasion to quarrel with Doughty, which, as the author of the narration observes, was on the following trivial account. "It chanced John Brown, the trumpet, whether of purpose or of his own voluntary [will] to go aboard the Pelican, where, for that he had been long absent, the company offered him a hobby, among the which Master Doughty, putting in his hand, said, Fellow John, you shall have my hand, although it be but light, amongst the rest; and so, laying his hand on his buttock, which being perceived of John [Brown, the] trumpet, he began to swear wounds and blood to the company, to let him loose: For they are not all (said he) the general's friends that be here; and, with that, turned him to Master Doughty, and said unto him, God's wounds, Doughty, what dost thou mean to use this familiarity with me, considering thou art not the general's friend? Who answered him, What, Fellow John! what moves you to this, and to use these words to me, that am as good and as sure a friend to my good general as any in this place? And I defy him that shall say the contrary. But is the matter thus? Why yet, Fellow John, I pray thee let me live until I come into England. Thus John Brown coming again presently aboard the prize, had not talked any long time with the general, but the boat went aboard, and rested not, but presently brought Master Doughty to the prize's side, General Drake sitting in the midst of his men, who hearing the boat at the ship's side, stood up, and Master Doughty offering to take hold of the ship to have entered; said the general, Stay there, Thomas Doughty, for I must send you to another place; and with that, commanded the mariners to row him aboard the Fly-boat, saying unto him, it was a place more fit for him than that from whence he came. But Master Doughty, although he craved to speak to the general, could not be permitted."

The Fly-boat being soon after separated, Drake laid this chance to Doughty's charge, pretending that

he was a wizard, and whenever there was bad weather, he used to say that "it came out of Doughty's cap-case. *

Having steered after the storm southward towards the land, they came to a cape which they named Cape Joy. They come to Cape Joy. On account of the recovery of the vessel that was missing. Here they took in water, but finding no inhabitants ran still farther southward into a harbour between two rocks, where the ships rode at anchor safely, till they chose to proceed towards the river Plate, in 36° north lat. In their course they again lost sight of the Fly-boat, on which account Drake resolved to contract the number of his ships. On the 13th of May sailing along the coast, Drake discovered a bay, and went out in his boat to examine it, sounding all the way. Here a storm suddenly overtook him at the distance of about three leagues from his ships; one of which, however, commanded by Captain Thomas, sailed boldly in to his relief, and took the admiral on board, lying sheltered in the harbour while those vessels which were at sea were severally sensible of the effects of the tempest. As soon as it was over, however, the crews discovered where their commander was, by the fires which he had lighted, and thus the companies joined again on shore. Drake in great peril in a boat.

They met with no inhabitants here but found two wigwams built in the manner the Symérons had used on their journey and also several dried fowls, among which were some ostriches. They saw besides a number of these large birds alive, which, though they could not fly, yet ran so fast with the assistance of their wings, that there were none of them taken or killed by the English. A deserted coast.

From hence they departed on the 15th of May, and on the 19th came to an anchor in a more convenient harbour; the Swan which was separated from the fleet, being found, Drake ordered her to be broken up, and the iron work stored for some future occasion. The Swan broken up.

They were now on an island at the distance of about a mile from the main, to which the sea, at low water, was fordable. Here they saw a body of Indians, who by their gestures invited them on shore. Drake therefore dispatched his boat with bells, bugles, and other toys. The Indians on their landing sent two men who made as if they would come to them, but stopped within a little distance, on which the English tied what they had brought to a pole, retiring as the Indians advanced. In return the natives left some of that sort of feathers which they wore upon their heads, and a little bone carved and burnished, about six inches in length, seeming by their motions towards the rising and setting of the sun, and lifting their hands towards the moon which then shone over their heads, to intimate professions of friendship. While they were busied in these ceremonies, the English marched up the hill, but perceiving the natives rather frightened at their near approach, they retired peaceably, and thus encouraged the natives to come forward, who soon opened a traffic, exchanging arrows, feathers and bones, for any trifles with which they thought proper to present them, and in

ing of this prize unto Master Thomas Doughty, as his good and esteemed friend, praying him in any case to see good order kept, and who should be the breaker thereof, to give him to understand of any such, without exception of any.

"It thus chanced, that General Drake had a brother (not the wisest man in Christendom) whom he put into this prize, as also divers others. This Thomas Drake, as one more greedy of prey than covetous of honesty or credit, did not only break open a chest, but did dive suddenly into the same, that Master Doughty knew not how to discharge himself unto the general, but by revealing it unto him; yet first Master Doughty called Thomas Drake unto him, and shewed him his great folly in this behalf, who yielding unto his fault, prayed Master Doughty to be good unto him, and keep it from the general; but he briefly told him he could not keep it, but would deliver it with what favour he might. So at the general's next coming on board the prize, Master Doughty opened the same unto him, who presently falling into a rage, (not without some great oaths) seemed to wonder that Thomas

Doughty should mean to touch his brother, and did, as it were, assure himself that he had some farther meaning in this, and that he meant to strike at his credit; and he would not or could not by God's life, as he phrased it, suffer it. From this time forth grudges did seem to grow between them from day to day, to the no small admiration of the rest of the company; although some envying his former favour and friendship with the general, and some, I think, doubting that his capacity might reach too far, to the aggrandizing his credit in the country, talked variously of the matter: however, Master Doughty was put again into the Pelican. Thus grudges, although they had not long rested, yet were they grown to great extremities, such and so great as a man of judgment would verily think that his love towards him in England was more in brave words than hearty good will and friendly love."

* Doughty was a gentleman bred, and a man of sense and learning, whom Drake had invited in the most friendly manner, to accompany him in his undertaking.

in time became quite social and familiar with their new guests*.

These Indians were quite naked, except the skins of some beasts that they threw over their shoulders occasionally. Their hair, which was long, they rolled up with a plume of ostrich's feathers, and here they flick their arrows, which were made of reeds, headed with flints; and their bows were about an ell long. They painted their bodies with various figures, especially those of the sun and moon, by way of ornament. They had no canoes, nor other method of crossing the water; and in the other islands which abounded with birds [most likely penguins] so tame, that entertaining no fears from man, having not been used to his tyranny, they suffered themselves to be taken in the hand. Such a number of seals appeared likewise on these coasts, that the English named the place where they lay, Seal Bay. The flesh of this animal which the English had found to be wholesome, served the Indians for food, and they seem to have eaten it raw, as they were not observed to have any method of preparing their victuals by fire.

The separation of Drake's vessels on an expedition like his was generally productive of a number of inconveniencies. When the Swan fly-boat had been separated from the rest on the Brazilian coast, the crew despairing of joining ever again, their companions began to fear lest they should be in want of provisions. Here the master, (most probably the purser) being an enemy to Doughty, and then apprehensive of a scantiness of provisions, chose to withdraw himself from Doughty's and Chester's mess, the latter of whom had really been made captain of the fly-boat. To him Doughty applied, finding this overbearing man put them to short allowance, while he rather augmented than decreased his own diet. Many words passed on this occasion between the three persons, and even some blows between the master and Doughty. The former viewing the latter in the light of one sent on board in disgrace, told him if he ever came home to enjoy any advantage from the voyage, "he would be trussed up." Adding, "Thou! wilt thou have victuals? thou shalt be glad if we do not meet the general, to eat that that falls from my tail on the anchor fluke ere we get home again." The humanity of the declaration being equal to the politeness of the expression, incensed Doughty so much, that he urged Chester to behave as became a commander, adding, "Lose nothing of that authority that the general committed unto you. If you will, we will put the sword into your hands again, and you shall have the government." This case the writer says he will aver to be true; two or three persons being sworn to the articles; and these were incorporated in the accusation, on the ground of which he was to be beheaded.

The Swan having joined the fleet, and being destroyed, as we have already noticed, Doughty was again taken on board the Pelican, where it seems what passed in the Swan was related in such a manner as to aggravate matters, when high words ensued between him and the general, whom in his anger he told That he thought his word was to be believed as soon as his commander's oath; who then struck him, and ordered him to be bound to the mast, for the accomplishment of which the master of the fly-boat took no small pains." He and his brother John Doughty, were afterwards sent on board the Canter, where he had reason to believe his life would be endangered†.

It is observable that while Mr. Doughty was thus persecuted, one Thomas Cuttle, who had formerly been Captain of the Pelican under Drake, resolved to go over to the main, wading with his piece in his hand.

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* One of the natives having received a cap off the general's head, withdrew to a distance, and thrust an arrow into his leg, letting the blood trickle down in Drake's sight, which was doubtless a token of gratitude, and was interpreted by that commander as an emblem of that Indian's willingness to shed his blood in his service.

† The Canter was a vessel taken from the Spaniards on the

hand through the shallow water which we have described. This man solemnly declared that he thought himself hardly used on Mr. Doughty's account, of whom he knew no harm, adding that he would rather trust himself in the hands of the cannibals than endure such hard treatment from the hands of the general‡.

Before they left this harbour, the admiral himself coming on board the Elizabeth, told the crew that he was to send there the two Doughties, men against whom he made heavy complaints as seditious persons, wizards, and poisoners, observing that they were the only obstacles to a voyage wherein the meanest ship-boy might make a fortune, and gold would become as plentiful as wood in the fleet. After this, the two brothers being sent on board, as it might be expected, were generally treated accordingly, only Thomas Doughty having agreed to pay the boatswain 3l. for a cabin, which was most uncomfortably situated; the poor man lost his office, and fell under the heavy displeasure of the admiral, on this account.

The fleet sailed on the 3d of June for the South Sea, and stopping in their way six days after at a little bay, they broke up the St. Christopher, being a vessel too small to live in those dangerous seas which they sometimes encountered. As they proceeded, they found themselves under a necessity of anchoring in another bay, with a design to recover the Portuguese prize which they had not seen since the 27th of April. On the 18th, after prayers put up to Heaven for success, they put to sea, and the next day discovered the vessel near Port Julian, which port they entered, on account of her proving leaky, and also to refresh the crew after the fatigues they had undergone during their separation. Two of the natives, of whose size Maghellan had left such an enormous account, and whom Drake's people also thought to be somewhat gigantic, accosted them when they landed, received whatever was given them, and soon after began shooting arrows with them for emulation; but, as might be expected, found themselves greatly excelled in the use of the bow by their new guests.

But another of the natives appearing presently after, seemed not at all pleased with the friendly reception which his countrymen gave the strangers.—His persuasions were not without their effect; for afterwards one of the company being willing to shew this third Indian a specimen of his skill, in attempting to shoot an arrow broke his bow-string. The natives, not knowing of any other offensive weapons which the English had, followed them as they were returning to their boat, and showered their arrows upon them, wounding in the shoulder him who aimed the bow, and turning about he was pierced with another arrow in the breast. Oliver, the master gunner, who had begun the friendly contest, was not now backward in entering into this more serious one; he presented his piece, and doubtless would have done execution among the assailants but that it missed fire, and the Indians immediately discharging another flight of arrows he was slain.—All was now surprise and confusion; but Drake, who was possessed of uncommon intrepidity and presence of mind in time of danger, encouraged his men, directed them best how to avoid the effect of their adversaries weapons by shifting their place as they retreated, and by picking up their arrows and breaking them. At length taking the gun which had missed fire in Oliver's hand, he discharged it at the Indian who had killed the gunner, and the hail-shot with which it was loaded tearing open his belly, he fled with terrible outcries. This so intimidated the Indians, that they in consequence of it

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let

coast of Africa.

‡ He pursued his design and went up the country, but firing his piece, in order to bring the natives to him, this being understood as a signal that he wanted to return, a boat was sent which brought him back again.—But surely a declaration like this from one who was going to make so hazardous an experiment, ought doubtless to allowed of great weight in a case of this nature.

They arrive at Port Julian

Gigantic natives.

Their treachery.

Seal Bay.

The ill usage of Doughty on board the Swan.

Declaration of the crew of the Pelican to Doughty's favour.

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let the Admiral withdraw his wounded friends, and the English remained on the coasts for two months after this quarrel without experiencing from them any farther acts of hostility.

It was here that Mr. Tho. Doughty, against whom Drake had so long entertained so much hatred, was executed by his order, of which circumstance there are various accounts. But the most circumstantial, and that which agrees best in all its parts being to be found in the manuscript from which our accounts are drawn, we shall here present that relation of this tragical adventure without abridging or interrupting his relation.

“ On this island in Port St. Julian, passed many matters, which, I think, God would not have to be concealed, especially for that they tended to murder; for he (Drake) spewed out against Thomas Doughty his venom. Here he ended all his conceived hatred, not by courtesy and friendly reconciliation, but by most tyrannical blood-spilling; for he was never quiet while he lived, who in wisdom and honest government as far surpassed him, as he in tyranny surpassed all men. The world never committed a fact like unto this; for here he murdered him that, if he had well looked unto himself, had been a more sure and steadfast friend unto him than ever was Pythias to his friend Damon, as I think the sequel of this case will shew.

Trial of
Doughty.

“ The last day of June, the general himself, being set in place of judgment, and having the whole company brought on shore, and having Captain John Thomas set close by him, who opened a bundle of papers that were rolled up together, wherein were written divers and sundry articles, the which, before they were read, the general spoke unto the purport of them, and turning himself to Thomas Doughty, who was there present, being before brought thither more like a thief than a gentleman of honest conversation, he began his charge thus;—Thomas Doughty, you have here fought by divers means, in as much as you may, to discredit me, to the great hindrance and overthrow of this voyage; besides other great matters with which I have to charge you, the which, if you can clear yourself of, you and I shall be very good friends; whereof if you cannot, you have deserved death: Master Doughty answered, it should never be approved that he had merited ill by undertaking any villainy towards him.—By whom, quoth the general, will you be tried? Why, good general, let me live to come unto my country, and I will be there tried by her majesty's laws. Nay, Thomas Doughty, said, he, I will here impanel a jury on you, to enquire into those matters that I have to charge you withal. Why, general, replied Doughty, I hope you will see your commission be good: I'll warrant you, answered the general, my commission is good enough. I pray you then let us see it, said Master Doughty; it is necessary that it should be here shewn; Well, quoth he, you shall not see it. Then addressing himself to the company, you see, my masters, how this fellow is full of prating, bind me, his arms, for I will be safe of my life. My masters, you that be my good friends, Thomas, Good, Gregory,—you there, my friends, bind; so they took and bound his arms behind him. Then he uttered divers furious words unto Thomas Doughty, as charging him to be the man that poisoned my lord of Essex; whereas Master Doughty vouched it to his face; that he was the man that brought the general first to the presence of my lord in England. Thou bring me, quoth the general, to my lord? See, my masters, see here, how he goeth about to discredit me. This fellow, with my lord, was never of any estimation; I think he never came about him as a gentleman; for I that was daily with my lord, never saw him there above once, and that was long after my entertainment with my lord.

The charge
against him
read over.

“ Then, in fine, was there a jury called, whereof Master John Winter was foreman. Then by John Thomas were the articles read unto them, even once over for a last farewell, for fear that men should have

carried them away by memory, all which appeared to consist of words of unkindness, and to proceed of some choler when the prisoner was provoked, all which Doughty did not greatly deny: until at length came in one Edward Bright, whose honesty of life I have nothing to do with, who said, Nay, Thomas Doughty, we have other matters for you yet, that will a little nearer touch you. It will, i'faith, bite you to the griskin. I pray thee, Ned Bright, said the prisoner, charge me with nothing but truth, and spare me not. Then John Thomas read further for his last article to conclude the whole withal, That Thomas Doughty should say to Edward Bright in Master Drake's garden, that the queen's majesty and council would be corrupted. So Bright holding up his finger, said, How like you this gare, sirrah? Why, Ned Bright, said Master Doughty, what should induce thee thus to belye me? thou knowest that such familiarity was never between thee and me; but it may be, that I have said, if we brought home gold, we should be the better welcome; but yet this is more than I do remember. Then it came out, on further evidence, that Master Doughty should say, that my lord treasurer had a plot of the present voyage. No, that he hath not, quoth General Drake. The other replied, that he had, and had it of him. See, my masters, said Drake, what this fellow hath done, God will have this treachery all known; for her Majesty gave me special commandment, that of all men my lord treasurer should not know it; but you see his own mouth hath betrayed him. So this was a specious article against him to hurt his throat, and greatly he seemed to rejoice of this advantage.

“ Then Master Doughty offered him, if he would permit him to live, and to answer these objections in England, he would set his hand to whatso was there written, or to any thing else that he would set down. Well, once let these men, quoth the general, first find whether you are guilty in this or no, and then we will talk further of the matter: And then he delivered (after they had all taken their oaths, given by John Thomas) the bills of indictment, as I may term them, unto Mr. John Winter, who was foreman of this inquest. Then Master Leonard Vicary, a very assured friend of Master Thomas Doughty, said unto him, General, this is not law, nor agreeable to justice, that you offer. I have not to do with your crafty lawyers, neither do I care for the law; but I know what I will do.—Why, quoth Master Vicary, who was one of his jury, I know not how we may answer his life. Well, Master Vicary, quoth he, you shall not have to do with his life; let me alone with that; you are but to find whether he be guilty in these articles that here are objected against him, or no. Why, very well, said Master Vicary, then, there is, I trust, no matter of death. No, no, He is declared Master, Vicary, quoth he. So with this the jury went guilty together, finding all to be true, without any doubt or stop made, but only to that article that Edward Bright had objected against him; for it was doubted of some whether Bright were sufficient with his only word to cast away the life of a man. And truly it did argue small honesty in a man to conceal such a matter if it had been spoken in England, and to utter it in this place where will was law, and reason put in exile; for an honest subject would not have concealed such matter, which made some doubt of an honest dealing. But, to be brief, answer was made, that Bright was a very honest man; and so the verdict being given in, it was told to the general, that there was a doubt made of Bright's honesty. Why, quoth Master Drake, I dare to swear that what Ned Bright has said is very true, (yet within a fortnight after, the same Bright was in such disliking with him as he seemed to doubt his life; and having displaced him of the Pelican, and put him into the Marygold, he gave for reason, that himself would be safe, and he would put him far enough from him.) Thus having received in the verdict he rose off the place, and departed to the water-side, were calling all the company with him, except Master Thomas Doughty and his brother, he there opened

opened a certain bundle of letters and bills, and looking on them, said God's will; *I have left in my cabin that I should especially have had,* (as if he had there forgotten his commission :) but whether he forgot his commission or no; he much forgot himself, to sit as judge without shewing that he had any; but, truly, I think he shewed to the uttermost what he had: for here he shewed forth, first, letters that were written, as he said, by Master Hankins to my Lord of Essex for his entertainment; secondly, he shewed letters of thanks from my Lord of Essex unto him, and how much he had pleased him; then read the letters that past from my Lord of Essex unto Secretary Walsingham in his great commendation; then shewed he letters of Master Hatton's unto himself, tending for the acceptance of his men John Thomas and John Brewer, for their well usage in this voyage; and lastly, he read a bill of her Majesty's adventure of a thousand crowns (but I most marvelled that so many noblemen and gentlemen did leave their letters in his hands, except it were to shew in this place for his credit.) So when he had all done, he said, Now, my masters, you may see whether this fellow hath sought my discredit or no, and what should hereby be meant but the very overthrow of the voyage; as first, by taking away of my good name, and altogether discrediting me, and then my life; which I being bereaved of, what then will you do? you will fain one to drink another's blood, and so to return again unto your own country: you will never be able to find the way thither. And now, my masters, consider what a great voyage we are like to make, the like was never made out of England; for by the same the worst in this fleet shall become a gentleman, and if this voyage go not forward, which I cannot see how possibly it should, if this man live, what a reproach it will be, not only unto our country, but especially unto us, the very simplest here may consider of. Therefore, my masters, they that think this man worthy to die, let them with me hold up their hands; and they that think him not worthy to die, hold down their hands; at the which, divers that envied his former felicity, held up their hands; some others again, for fear of his favourity, stuck not to lift their hands, although against their hearts; but some, again lifted up their hands and very hearts unto the Lord; to deliver us of this tyrannous and cruel tyrant; who upon the same, coming to his former judgment seat, pronounced him the child of death, and persuaded him withal, that he would by this means make him the servant of God: and said farther, if any man could, between this and next meeting, devise any way that might save his life he would hear it; and wished himself to devise some way for his own safeguard. Well, general, quoth he, seeing it is come to this pass, that I see you would have me made away, I pray you carry me with you to Peru, and there set me ashore. No, truly, Master Doughty, I cannot answer it to her Majesty, if I should so do; but, how say you, Thomas Doughty, if any man will warrant me to be safe from your hands, and will undertake to keep you sure, you shall see what I will say unto you. Master Doughty then calling on Master Winter, said, will you be so good as to undertake this for me? Then Master Winter said unto Master Drake, that he should be safe of his person, and he would warrant him, if he did commit him to his custody. Then Drake, a little pausing, said, See then, my masters, we must do thus; we must nail him close under the hatches, and return home again without making any voyage, and if you will do so, then speak your minds. Then a company of desperate bankrupts that could not live in their own country without the spoil of that, as others had by the sweat of their brows, cried, God forbid, good general! which voice was no less attentively heard, for there needs no spur to a willing horse. Thus telling Master Doughty to prepare for his death, and having given him one whole day's respite, to set all things in order, he rose and departed, promising that his continual prayers to God should not cease, that it would

please him to put it into his head how he might do him good; but he had so often before sworn that he would hang him, that, I think, at this present he meant to do him little good. Thus Master Doughty continuing all this night, the next day, and the second night in his prayers, except some small time that he used in settling his worldly business in some way, and distributing to such as he thought good; such things as he then had with him, was the 2d day of July commanded to prepare himself, and to make ready to die. Then Master Doughty, with a more chearful countenance than ever he had in all his life, to the shew, as one that did altogether condemn life, prayed him, that ere he died he might receive the sacrament; which was not only granted, but Drake himself offered to accompany him to the Lord's table, for the which Master Doughty gave him hearty thanks, never worse terming him than, My Good Captain. Master Drake offered him withal to make choice of his own death, and for that he said he was a gentleman, he should but lose his head, the which kind of death was most agreeable to his mind, in as much as he must needs die. And, truly, I heard say, that Master Drake offered him if he would, that he should be shotten to death with a piece, and that he himself would do that exploit; and so he should die by the hands of a gentleman. But, in fine, they together received the Lord's supper; the which I do ever assure myself that he did take with as uncorrupted a mind as ever did any innocent of the world; for he sure shewed himself to have all his affiance and only trust in God; he shewed himself so valiant in this extremity, as the world might wonder at it; he seemed to have conquered death itself, and it was not seen, that on all this day before his death, that ever he altered one jot of his countenance, but kept it as staid and firm as if he had some message to deliver to some nobleman. They having thus received the sacrament, there was a banquet made, such as the place might yield, and there they dined together, in which time, the place of execution being made ready, after dinner, as one not willing any longer to delay the time, he told the general that he was ready as soon as pleased him, but prayed him, that he might speak alone with him a few words, with the which they talked apart the space of half a quarter of an hour, and then with bills and staves he was brought to the place of execution, where he shewed himself no less valiant than all the time before; for here kneeling on his knees, he first prayed for the queen's majesty of England, his sovereign lady, and mistress; he then prayed to God for the happy success of this voyage, and prayed to God to turn it to the profit of his country: he remembered also therein divers his good friends, and especially Sir William Winter, praying Master John Winter to commend him to that good knight; all which he did with so chearful a countenance, as if he had gone to some great prepared banquet, the which, I sure think, that he was fully resolved that God had provided for him; so at the last, turning to the general, he prayed him that he might make water ere he died, For, quoth he, the flesh is frail, and withal turned him about and did so; and coming again, said, Now truly I may say as said Sir Thomas More, that he that cuts off my head shall have little honesty [credit] my neck is so short; so turning him, and looking about on the whole company, he desired them all to forgive him, and especially some that he did perceive to have displeasure borne them for his sake, whereof Thomas Cuttle was one, Hugh Smith was another, and divers others; whereupon Smith prayed him to say before the general then, whether ever they had any conference together that might redound to his (the general's) prejudice or detriment. He declared it at his death, that neither he nor any man else, ever practised any treachery towards the general with him; neither did he himself ever think any villainous thought against. Then he prayed the general to be good unto the same Hugh Smith, and to forgive him for his sake. So the General said, Well, Smith, for

He receives the communion;

Dines with the admiral.

Sentence of death pronounced on Doughty.

1578

He is executed

Master Doughty's sake, and at his request, I forgive thee; but become an honest man hereafter. So then Master Doughty embracing the general, naming him his good captain, bid him farewell, and bidding the whole company farewell, he laid his head to the block, the which being stricken off, Drake most despitefully made the head to be taken up and shewed to the whole company, himself saying, See this is the end of traitors."

We have already observed that there have been various accounts of this matter. In one of these we find it related, that at Port St. Julian, Drake called a sort of council of war or court martial, and shewed his commission, by virtue of which the queen gave him power of life and death, which was said to be delivered with these words from her own mouth: "We do account, Drake, that he who strikes at thee strikes at us." Here likewise it is pretended that he exposed Mr. Doughty's bad practices from the time of their leaving England, appealing to the company for his cordial behaviour to the gentleman accused, supporting his charge by producing papers under his own hand, "*to which Mr. Doughty [a circumstance not very probable] added a full and free confession.*" Nor is what follows, at all more likely, viz. That the accused having it left to his choice to be executed on the island, where they then were, to be set on shore on the main land, or to be sent home to abide the justice of his country; after a day's consideration, gave his reasons [to be sure they must have been *weighty ones*] for chusing to be executed at Port Julian, "and having received the sacrament with the general from the hands of Mr. Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the fleet, and made a full confession, his head was cut off with an ax, by the provost marshal, July the 2d, 1578."

The execution of Doughty was followed by some instances of partiality against particular persons, which at the same time that they marked the partiality of Drake, seemed strongly to indicate his doubts relative to the expedition in which he was engaged, and wherein it appeared plainly enough that all the queen's concern was that of having condescended to advance a considerable sum as a private adventurer.

The last proof which we shall here adduce to support the opinions we have advanced we shall draw from this commander's speech to his men on the 6th of August, a few days before he left Port Julian.

Remarkable
speech of
Drake to his
company.

"Commanding his whole company ashore, and placing himself in a tent, one side of which was open, he called Master Winter on one side of him, and John Thomas on the other side; his men laid before him a great paper book, and withal Master Fletcher offered himself to make a sermon. Nay, soft, Master Fletcher (said he) I must preach this day myself, although I have small skill in preaching. Well, all ye the company, are ye [all here] or not? Answer was made that they were all there. Then commanded he every ship's company severally to stand together, which was also done. Then said he, My masters, I am a very bad orator, for my bringing up hath not been in learning, but whatso I shall here speak, let every man take good notice of, and let him write it down, for I shall speak nothing but what I will answer it in England, yea, and before her Majesty, as I have it here already set down.*

"Thus it is my masters, that we are very far from our country and friends; we are compassed in on every side with our enemies, wherefore we are not to make small reckoning of a man, for we cannot have a man if we would give for him ten thousand pounds, wherefore we must have these mutinies and discontents that are grown amongst us redressed; for, by the life of God, it doth even take my wits from me to think on it. Here is such controversy between the sailors and the gentlemen, and such stomaching

between the gentlemen and sailors, that it doth even make me mad to hear of it. But my masters, I must have it cease; for I must have the gentlemen to haul and draw with the marines, and the marines with the gentlemen; and let us shew ourselves to be all of a company, and let us not give occasion to the enemy to rejoice at our decay and overthrow. I would [fain] know him that would refuse to set his hand to a rope; but I trust, there is not any such here; and as gentlemen are very necessary for government sake on the voyage, so have I shipt them for that purpose, and to some further intent, and yet, though I know sailors to be the most envious people of the world and so unruly without government, yet may I not be without them.

"Also if there be any willing to return home, let me understand of them, and there is the Marygold, a ship that I can very well spare, I will furnish her to such as will return, with the most credit that I can give them, either by my letter or any way else; but let them take care that they go *homeward*; for, if I meet them in my way, I will sink them; therefore you shall have time to consider hereof until to-morrow, for, by my troth, I must needs be plain with you; I have taken that in hand that I know not in the world how to go through withal; it passeth my capacity, it hath even bereaved me of my wits to think on it. [Well yet the voice was that none would return, they would all take such part as he did.] Well then, my masters, quoth he, came ye all forth with your own good-wills or no? They answered all, Willingly.† At whose hands, my masters, demanded he, take ye to receive your wages? At your's, answered the company. Then said he, How say you, will you take wages, or stand to my good courtesy? To your courtesy, good captain, was the reply.

"Then he commanded the steward to the Elizabeth to bring him the key of the stores, the which he did. Then turning him unto Master Winter, he said, Master Winter, I do here discharge you of your captainship; and so in brief he said to all the officers. Then Master Winter, and John Thomas asked him what should move him to displace them? He asked, in return, whether they could give any reason why he should not do so? So willing them to content themselves, he willed silence in these matters, saying, ye see here the great disorders we are entangled into; and although some [meaning Doughty] have already received condign punishments, as by death, who, I take God to witness, as you all know, was to me as my other hand, yet you see, over and besides the rest, his own mouth did bewray his treacherous dealings; and see how, trusting to the singularity of his wit, he over-reached himself at unawares. But see what God would have to be done; for her Majesty commanded that of all men my lord treasurer should have no knowledge of this voyage, and to see that his own mouth hath declared that he had given him a plot [plan] thereof. But truly, my masters, and as I am a gentleman, there shall no more die; I will lay my hand on no more, although there be here who have deserved as much as he: and so charging [charged] one Worrall, that was present, that his case was worse than Doughty's, who, in Master Doughty's extremities, was one of Drake's confellows, who [he] humbling himself to Drake, even upon his knees, prayed him to be good unto him. Well, well, Worrall, said he, you and I shall talk well enough of this matter hereafter. Then he charged one John Audley with some ill dealings towards him, but opened no matter, but said he would talk with him alone after dinner.

"Here is some again (said he) my masters, not knowing how else to discredit me, say and affirm that I was set out on this voyage by Master Hatton; some, by Sir William Winter; and some, by Master Hankins;

* "But whether it were in his book or not (says the author) that I know not, but this was the effect of it, and very near the words."

† But we have already noticed, it was to sail to Alexandria, and not with a view to the enterprise wherein they were now engaged.

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



Dodd delin. *Goldar. sculp.*

*M^r Doughty beheaded by
order of Sir Francis Drake,
at Port St Julian, on the Coast
OF PATAGONIA.*

kins; but these are a company of idle heads that have nothing else to talk of. And, my masters, I must tell you, I do know them as my very good friends; but to say they were the fitters forth of this voyage, or that it was by their means, I tell you it was nothing so. But indeed thus it was. My lord of Essex wrote in my commendation unto Secretary Walsingham more than I was worthy; but by like I had deserved somewhat at his hands, and he thought [reported] me in his letters, a fit man against the Spaniards for my practice and experience that I had in that [the Spanish] trade; whereupon indeed Secretary Walsingham did come to consult with his lordship, and declared unto him that for that her majesty had received divers injuries of the king of Spain, for the which she desired to have some revenge; and, withal he shewed me a plot [plan] willing me to set my hand, and to write down where I thought he might be most engaged; but I told him some part of my mind, but refused to set my hand to any thing, affirming that her majesty was mortal, and if it should please God to take her majesty away, it might be so that some person might reign that might be in league with the king of Spain, and then will [would] mine own hand be a witness against myself. Then was I very shortly after, and on an evening, sent for to her majesty by Secretary Walsingham; and the next day coming to her majesty, these or the like words she said: Drake, so it is that I would be gladly revenged on the king of Spain for divers injuries that I have received. And [as Drake asserted,] she said further that he was the only man that might do this exploit, and withal craved his advice therein, who told her majesty of the small good that was to be done in Spain, but the only way was to annoy him by his Indies.

“Then, with many more words he shewed forth a bill of her majesty’s adventure of a thousand crowns which however he said at some time before, that her majesty did give him towards his charges. He shewed also a bill of Master Hatton’s adventure, and divers letters of credit that had passed in his behalf, but never let them come out of his own hands. He said also that her majesty did swear by her crown,—That if any within her realm did give the king of Spain hereof to understand (as she suspected but *two*) they should lose their heads therefore.

“And now, masters, said he, let us consider what we have done—We have now set together by the ears three mighty princes; namely, her majesty, [and] the kings of Spain and Portugal; and if this voyage should not have good success, we should not only be a scorning, or a reproachful scoffing stock unto our enemies, but also a great blot to our whole country for ever, and what triumph would it be to Spain and Portugal, and again the like would never be attempted.

And now, restoring every man again to his former office, he ended, shewing the company that he would satisfy every man or else he would sell all that he had, even unto his plate:—For, quoth he, I have good reason to promise, and am best able to perform it; for I have somewhat of mine own in England; and besides that I have as much adventure in this voyage as three of the best whatsoever; *and if it be so that I never come home, yet will her majesty pay every man his wages; whom indeed you and I and all come to serve*; and for to say you come to serve me, indeed I will not give you thanks; *for it is only her majesty that you serve*, and this voyage is only her fitting forth. So willing all men to be friends, he willed them to depart about their business.

The reader will easily perceive that how subtly forever Drake thought he had formed this speech (which
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* The Day before they weighed anchor we find he came on board the Elizabeth, and swore that he would hang thirty of his men, and repeated his charge against Worrall, still seeming to retain that resentment against particular persons which he had promised to banish from his breast.

† None of our modern voyagers have been less than 36 days. Captain Wallis was four months in his voyage through these streights.

might be well enough calculated to impose on men who were under his command, and being so far distant from their country, had no other dependance than on him for their future fortunes) yet it abounded with inconsistencies, and seems to furnish sufficient reasons to doubt the authority by which he acted, at the same time that it shews his own doubts and fears about the expedition in which he was engaged.

The number of the ships being reduced to three, Drake quitted * Port St. Julian, and entered the streights of Maghellan on the 20th of August, in the intricate passage of which an island was discovered, to which the English gave the name of Elizabeth, in honour of their queen.—They came on the 24th to an island, where they killed 3000 penguins in one day.

At length they passed the Streights, which sometimes seem entirely shut up by capes and head-lands, yet the ships made good their passage.

Maghellan observed many harbours here, but remarked that in most of them no bottom was to be found, which however does not seem to appear to be an accurate account; the harbours being in general good, though the tides and blasts continually rushing in from various directions create the danger. The land on both sides rises into innumerable mountains; the tops of them were encircled with clouds and vapours, which, being congealed, fell down in snow, and increase their apparent height by hardening into ice; yet in the winter time, even at that season which answers to our February, they found the valleys in some places, green, fruitful and pleasant.

Anchoring in a bay near Cape Forward, Drake, imagining the strait quite shut up, went in his boat to endeavour to find some other passage out; and, and having found an inlet towards the north, was returning to his ships; but curiosity occasioned him to stop for the sake of observing a canoe or boat with several natives of the country in it. He could not, at a distance, help admiring the form of this little vessel, which seemed inclining to a semicircle, the stern and prow standing up, and the body sinking inward; but much greater was his wonder when upon a nearer inspection, he perceived it was made only of the barks of trees, sewed together with thongs or filaments of the seal skin in such a manner, that scarcely any water entered the seams of that little vessel. He found the people here well shaped, and painted like those who have been already described. On the land they had a hut built with poles, and covered with skins, in which they had water vessels and other utensils, made likewise with the barks of trees. Among these people natural sagacity and unwearied industry supplied the want of such manufactures or natural productions, as appear to us absolutely necessary for the support of life. Though the inhabitants were wholly strangers to iron and the use we make of it, yet instead of it, they substituted the shell of a muscle of prodigious size found upon their coasts. This they ground upon a stone to an edge that was so firm and solid, that neither wood nor stone were able to resist it; and with instruments made of shells, they were able to perform all their mechanical operations.

Thus Drake, though not at a favourable season, passed the Streights of Maghellan in the space of † 16 days, and after he had surveyed the country, having directed his course N. W. and entered the great South Sea on the 6th of September, intending to hold on his way towards the Equinoctial line.

But the very next day, after having observed an eclipse of the moon, the fleet was overtaken with so violent a storm, that the ‡ ships were in a manner left
I to

A terrible storm for a month.

‡ The Marygold was separated from the rest of the fleet, during the continuance of this storm on the 30th of September. Having entered a harbour on the 7th of October, they were once more forced out to sea by a violent gust of wind, and Captain Winter was so much discouraged, that regaining the streights he made the best of his way to England.

1579

to the mercy of the winds, which after beating about in great distress for above a month, drove them 200 leagues out of their way, and they were forced at last into 55 degrees of south latitude.

Here they discovered a number of islands, and came to an anchor close by one of them for the sake of refreshing themselves, where they found good greens and excellent water. Entering another bay, they met with some Indians in their canoes, crossing along shore with whom the English held a traffic, exchanging for such provisions as they stood in need of, those toys and trinkets they found most valued by the natives.

Another tempest overtook them after their departure from these coasts, and drove them to the very extremity of the South-American coast, where they saw for the first time the conflux of the western and southern oceans, and at length enjoyed the happiness of a smooth sea, to which they had so long been strangers.

Drake now held his course for the 30th degree of south latitude, steering, at the end of October, for the rendezvous appointed in case of separation for his little fleet, having met with certain islands in his way, where he supplied himself with a great quantity of fowls. When he arrived at the desired latitude, he found no ships, nor any safe port; he therefore proceeded till he came to Macao, where the Indians making a shew of friendship, and presenting the English with two sheep and some fruits, and shewing them a watering place, the latter came the next day with their barrels; when two of their company who were sent before were slain in their way by the natives, who had also laid in ambush behind the rocks, from whence they discharged such a shower of arrows into the boat, as wounded every one of the crew. The commander himself received a dangerous hurt by an arrow entering under his eye, while the situation of the English and the element itself fought so strongly against them, that not one of the Indians (though they came close to the boat) was killed or wounded by their weapons*.

The same afternoon they set sail and came to an anchor on the 30th of November in Philip's Bay, where their boat's crew that had been sent out upon discovery returned with an Indian of a graceful stature and complacent behaviour, whom they had made prisoner in the course of their expedition: using him well, and setting him on shore again, he persuaded the natives to come and traffic with the English, who were thereby served with what the country afforded, and afterwards accepted of this man as a pilot to conduct the fleet to the harbour, called by the Spaniards Val Parizo, in lat 33° 40' S. near the town of St. Jago, where the adventurers were more plentifully supplied with provisions and wines from the storehouses, and had besides the good fortune to take a ship which had on board not only wines, but 60,000 pezoës of gold. They were at first taken for friends by the Spaniards, and invited to carouse with them. But when the mistake was discovered, and the place alarmed, the townsmen fled, instead of endeavouring to defend their property, which was left to the mercy of Drake and his men, who found a large booty in the chapel, and employed three days in securing what they had amassed.

Having conveyed the Indian to the place from whence they took him, after giving him a reward for his services, intending to put their ship into some place of safety where they might build a pinnacle for

the convenience of running up creeks and harbours, for this purpose they sailed into the bay near Coquimbo on the 17th of December. The town was inhabited by Spaniards, a hundred of whom came out against them on horseback. Drake's men prudently retired, one only excepted, who obstinately persisted in remaining on shore, and being slain by the Spaniards, after a stout resistance, they ordered some of the Indians who attended them to the amount of 200, to behead and tear the heart out of his body in sight of the English, who presently quitted this place in search of a more secure harbour.

Having found a bay, where they built their pinnacle, Drake went to seek his companions; but returned in two days: the wind proving contrary. Landing afterwards at a port called Sarcipaxa, and having found a Spaniard asleep with bars of silver lying by him, to the amount of 4,000 Spanish ducats, they took away the treasure, leaving the guardian of it to his repose. Their next exploit on this coast was taking the burdens from the backs of eight Peruvian sheep, (driven by a Spaniard) which loads were of silver, each of these animals carrying 100lb. weight of that metal in leathern bags across his back. They found some Indian towns farther on, the natives of which visited them passing the watry element sitting on two seal-skins blown up with wind, which they managed very dextrously. These people trafficked with them for glass and toys in the usual manner of those countries†. On the 20th of January they arrived at Mor-morena, from which place continuing their course northward, on the 7th of the next month they came to Arica, which is situate in latitude 8° 36' south latitude‡. Here they found three small vessels, on board of which there were 57 slabs of silver, about the size of a brick, and nearly of the same form, weighing near 20lb. each. The crews of the vessels being all on shore, the English met with no resistance, but made an easy prize of the treasure. Drake did not think fit to attack the town, judging his numbers not sufficient for the enterprize; he therefore sailed to Chuli, after having stopped a coasting vessel, whose lading consisted of linen and cloaths, out of which he took such articles as his men most wanted, and then suffered the Spaniards to proceed on their voyage.

From Arica an express had been sent with information of his being on the coast, which arriving two hours before he could reach the port, the master of a ship that had 300,000 pezoës of silver in bars on board, had thrown it into the sea, as they were informed by an Indian that was left alone in the vessel, the rest of the crew being gone on shore for security. Drake hearing these tidings departed immediately for Lima, where he arrived on the 15th of February. He found a number of Spanish ships§ in the harbour, but met with no resistance from them, and had a good booty there, taking from one vessel a chest full of rials of plate; and silk, and linen cloaths, to a considerable amount from other ships; the surprise the Spaniards were in, and the reputation of this extraordinary adventurer not suffering them to act as they might have done for their own defence, the consequence of which might have been Drake's destruction.

But he rested, not here; having being informed that the rich ship called the Cacafuego had sailed three days before for Païta, he resolved to go in pursuit of her; but finding afterwards that, instead of Païta, she was

* The island was peopled by Indians who had fled from the Spanish conquerors of the continent of America. They seemed to have mistaken Drake and his crew for Spaniards, on whom they consequently endeavoured to revenge old injuries.

† Here Drake invited the Spaniards to traffick with him, which they accepted; and supplied him with necessaries, selling to him, among other provisions, some of their sheep, whose bulk almost equalled that of a cow, and whose strength was such, that one of them could carry three tall men on his back; their necks being like a camel's, but their heads like those of our sheep. They were the most useful animals of this country, not only affording excellent fleeces and wholesome flesh, but serv-

ing as carriers over rocks and mountains, where no other beast can travel; their feet being of a particular form, enabling them to tread firm on the steepest and most slippery places. On this coast, it is said, the mountains were so impregnated with silver, that from one hundred weight of common earth, five ounces of fine silver might be separated.

‡ At this port the Spaniards used to land their merchandise, and to embark the silver which was carried from thence to Panama, but after Drake's incursion they altered their plan, carrying it over land to Lima.

§ Some writers say they were 30 sail, others mention but 12; however there were some ships of force among them.

was gone for Panama, he altered his course accordingly, promising that the first man who espied her should have his gold chain, which reward was gained by his brother John. It was on the 1st day of March that they came up with this vessel, and after a slight resistance took her, when they found her so richly laden that it was the 6th day before they could bring away the treasure with which she was freighted. She had on board a quantity of jewels, 13 chests of money about 80 pounds weight of gold, and wrought plate to a great amount, besides six tons of unrefined silver. After the departure of the English from Lima, in pursuit of the *Cacafuego*, a Spanish writer * tells us that news was brought of Drake's being upon the coast; the governor having before assembled the force of the country to oppose him if necessary, finding he made sail and stood out of the harbour, ordered three ships with six pieces of cannon on board, and 250 men to be got ready to go in pursuit of him; but the time necessary for equipping these vessels, gave Drake the advantage of escaping them, and he came up with the *Cacafuego*, off Cape Francisco. Juan de Anton, the captain, seeing a ship coming towards him, with all her sails set, thought she might be sent with some message to him from the viceroy, and lay to, in order to receive her. He did not perceive his mistake till too late, when his attempt to escape proved vain, Drake pouring in the shot from his great ordnance fast upon him, which as he could not answer in the same way, he was obliged to strike.†

The commander having dismissed the Spaniards, stood off again to sea, and shaped his course to the westward; while three Spanish ships which were sent in quest of him by the viceroy of Peru, having been too late to come up with him, sailed with a view to intercept him at the straits of Maghellan. In the mean time this fortunate admiral, in his way, fell in with a vessel from the East Indies, whose lading consisted of china ware, silks, and cottons. The owner being on board, made him a present of a falcon wrought in solid gold, with an emerald of an extraordinary size set in the breast, and this) together with a gold cup that he received from the pilot, proved a ransom for the vessel, which was accordingly dismissed by the captors.‡

Finding a convenient harbour in a little island which they made on the 13th of March, the English put in there, anchoring in five fathom water. On the 20th of the same month, their pinnace found a small coasting vessel that was passing by. They took out of her a quantity of sarsaparilla, butter, and other goods; in the room of which Drake put on board her the gold and silver from his own ship, which he wanted to heave, and refit for sea. This employed his people till the 26th, when they took in the loading again, and having taken in wood and water, they, together with the little Spanish frigate, put to sea again. They gave chase to a ship on the evening of the 6th of April, above two leagues from the main land, and boarded her the next day before the crew were up. They took great quantities of bale goods from this vessel; and among the persons found one called Don Francisco Xarate, who had intended to sail

for Panama, and from thence to China, being charged with letters from the Court of Spain to the governor of the Philippines, as also a set of sea charts for the voyage, which became very useful to the captor.|| A Spanish pilot, whom they took from this ship was likewise kept to direct them into some safe port, who accordingly brought them to Anguatulco on the 13th of April, where they remained till the 26th, and then proceeded to sea, having dismissed their Spanish pilot, and likewise Nuno da Sylva, whom they had brought from the Canaries.§

When they landed at Anguatulco, the admiral Surprises the Spanish judges at Anguatulco marched his men immediately up to the town where the chief magistrate was then sitting in judgment on some Indians who were accused of having entered into a conspiracy to set fire to the place. These wretches had doubtless been sentenced to death, but for the arrival of the English, who made the judges and criminals alike their prisoners, and conducted them in procession to their commander's ship. When they were come on board, the judge was obliged to write an order to the commander to deliver up the town, where the conquerors found no small treasure.**

Having succeeded thus far, these lucky adventurers They prepare for their return, considering that Fortune is often fickle, and being equally fearful of losing, as they were desirous of enjoying, what through so many perils and dangers they had acquired, began seriously to think of returning, while their commander represented the necessity of first finding out some harbour wherein they might refit, and also urged the great convenience as well as honour which would accrue if they could find out some shorter passage from one sea to the other, a matter, which he then saw no reason to deem impracticable.

They accordingly sailed into a port in the Isle of Canes, when there they took in wood and water and prepared for the voyage, intending if possible to discover a north-west passage, but coming to lat. 43° the cold proved so intolerable to them who had so long been cruising in the warm climates, that they were obliged to lay aside their project and change their course.

Not discouraged by this disappointment, Drake resolved to put in execution the plan which he had before laid down in case of the failure of his first scheme; which was to steer for the Moluccas, and return by way of the Cape of Good Hope into the Atlantic Ocean. In pursuance of this design they spread their sails to the northern winds, and steering southward had arrived in 38° 30' north lat. when they discovered a commodious harbour, in which they anchored on the 17th of June.

The next day a man in a canoe approached the shipping, who seemed to make a sort of oration in his language. He repeated his visits a second and a third time, and at the end of his last speech gave them a crown of black feathers and a basket filled with a sort of herb, that he threw into the boat, and in exchange for which he was not willing to receive any thing.

It was not, however till three days afterwards that the

* Lopez de Vaz.

† "There was in this ship (says the Spaniard in his account) 850,000 pezoës of silver, and 40,000 pezoës of gold, all which silver and gold was customed; but what treasure they had uncustomed, I know not; for many times they carry almost as much more as they pay custom for; otherwise the king would take it from them if they should be known to have any great sum. Wherefore every ship carries a bill of custom that the king may see it. All the treasures which Drake took was merchants and other mens goods, saving 180,000 pezoës of the king's. He had also out of this ship good store of victuals, and other necessaries which were to be carried from Panama, and was five days in taking out such things as they needed.

‡ This done, he sailed to the coast of New Spain, without going to Panama. The ships that were sent by the viceroy of Peru from Lima, arrived off Cape Francisco 20 days after Drake had taken the *Cacafuego*, and had intelligence by a ship coming from Panama, that he had taken a ship with silver and was not gone to Panama; whereupon the commander

of the three ships thinking that Captain Drake had been gone for the straits of Maghellan, directed his course that way to seek him."

§ Drake, however, knowing China porcelain to be a scarce commodity at that time in Europe, took four chests of that ware out of her, before he suffered her to depart.

|| They also took a young negro girl, whom either the commander or some of his crew got with child, and afterwards cruelly deserted her.

§ In return for his services he was landed on the continent, and consequently left to the mercy of the Spaniards, who carrying him to Mexico, put him to the torture, to force him to make discoveries. Then he was sent to Spain, where, having told all that he knew, he was discharged and sent home in safety.

** They are said to have found there a great pot full of plate "as big as a bushel," some jewels, and a gold chain, the latter of which was taken from a gentleman who was intercepted while he was endeavouring to make his escape from the town.

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the commander chose to bring his ships, which stood in need of repairs, close to this friendly coast. Landing, in order to take out the lading, the English yet dubious of the sincerity of the natives, raised a fortification of earth, fenced with palisadoes, a work which the Indians, whilst it was going on, surveyed with admiration. The admiral, at length, convinced of their sincerity, having prevailed on them to lay aside their bows and arrows, presented them with linen and some other necessary articles, which were received by them with equal demonstrations of wonder and respect.

The Indians
behaviour and
ceremonies.

They returned two days afterwards, their numbers being greatly increased, stopping on the top of a neighbouring hill, and by their voices and gestures drawing the attention of the English, who conceived by their manners at the first meeting, and the loud noises they afterwards made, that they were inclined to pay them a sort of worship according to the custom of their country. Drake and his followers were confirmed in this opinion, by a long oration that one of the Indians now made, all of them bowing their bodies, at the end of it and repeating the word *Oh* as expressive of their approbation. Then they laid aside their bows, and the men coming down towards the tents thus unarmed, were kindly received by the English commander; while the women, who surveyed what passed at a distance, began to tear themselves with their nails, and throw themselves on the ground, in token of reverence to the strangers. Soon after came two ambassadors from the High or king, who demanding certain tokens of peace, which request being granted, the king himself paid a visit to the settlement. A person preceded him bearing a kind of sceptre of black wood, ornamented with chains made of horn or bone, which they use as tokens of distinction. The monarch himself came next. His apparel was a coat made of skins, and on his head he wore a crown of feathers curiously interwoven. He had a hundred tall men for a guard. His attendants who followed him wore a dress somewhat resembling his own, and the common people brought roots and fish in baskets, which were contrived so as to be capable of holding water. Though the procession had every appearance of peace, and the natives, notwithstanding they were stout men, had no weapons adequate for defending themselves or assaulting others, their bows being too weak to be properly considered as warlike implements, yet Drake took the precaution of drawing up his men in order; while they approached, and when they stopped, the sceptre bearer began a sort of song and dance, the men accompanying him. But the women were observed to dance only, without joining in the song. In the mean time every look and gesture so fully denoted their peaceable designs, that the English admitted them into their camp, and after a repetition of their dance and song, another speech was made, the purport of which was the desire the king had of conferring his kingdom on Drake, who was accordingly crowned, had the title of High given him, and was invested with all the insignia of royalty that were used in the investiture of sovereign princes in that country. He having gone through these ceremonies, took possession of the place for queen Elizabeth, and then the common people retiring, tore their flesh as before, in token of respect, a ceremony which they repeated till at last they were given to understand that it was highly disagreeable to their guests; at the same time that by proper applications they cured the wounds by which these poor creatures testified their love and submission. When these ceremonies were laid aside,

Drake takes
possession of
New Albion
for the queen.

they still continued these visits, while Drake and some of his men, in return, went up the country, which they found fertile enough by nature at some distance from the sea shore, and full of large deer, and remarkable for a particular sort of conies*. The English found the houses of the natives like some already described to be nothing but holes dug to a convenient depth, with rafters meeting so as to form the roof at the top. The fire was made in the middle of each house, without a chimney, the smoke being suffered to issue out at the door. Rushes served these simple people instead of beds; the women wore nothing but each a petticoat of bulrushes, and the men in general went quite naked. They seemed ignorant of the useful arts of life, they took fish, but wanted not the assistance of nets, being so dextrous as to catch them in their hands whenever they swam near the shore.

Though it does not appear that the possession of this land, which was useful only to Drake by furnishing him with provisions and a resting place, could be of any great use to his country, yet he seems to have valued himself upon the acquisition, and before his departure, caused the account of the resignation of it to be engraven on a brass plate, and fixed up by way of memorial. The inhabitants greatly lamented the loss of these their guests, kept them as long as possible in their sight from the hills, and after they set sail, lighted up fires as if intended for sacrifices, which the English construed as the last token of respect they thought they could shew to such wise and beautiful strangers, who had deigned to honour them with their presence. Vanity might possibly have a share in some of these conclusions; however, when it is considered with what esteem next to veneration the Spaniards were at first received by the Americans, we may well credit, in general, the account given of the reception of the English in this hospitable country, to which the commander gave the name of New Albion, from the white cliffs that surrounded it.

They quitted this harbour on the 23d of July, and after having touched at some neighbouring islands, it was resolved in a general consultation to sail for the Moluccas, whither they directed their course on the 25th of the same month, steering westerly, without coming in sight of land, till they discovered some islands on the 30th of September in 20° north lat. from whence the inhabitants at first came to them peaceably to exchange provisions for European commodities, but at length growing insolent, Drake thought proper to give them an idea of his power by his ordnance, which, without hurting them, had the desired effect of preventing further insolence from the untutored savages. †

It was on the 3d of November that our adventurers arrived at the Moluccas, intending to touch at Teridore or Tidore: as they coasted along the island of Mutua, the viceroy of the king of Ternate paid them a visit recommending to them to make application to his master for supplies, and not to the king of Portugal, who was at enmity with him. The commander was accordingly prevailed on, and anchored on the 5th before Ternate. Three large barges with the viceroy and several of the principal nobility came out to conduct the vessel safe into harbour. The king likewise, having been presented with a velvet cloak in sign of amity, afterwards came in great state, and was received under the discharge of the cannon, the music striking up as he approached. ‡

This prince had guards who understood the use of fire-arms, though javelins, and bows and arrows were their principal weapons. He is described as a person

of

* These are described as having bags under their chins which serve them to carry food to their young, with rats tails and paws like those of a mole.

† They at first brought fruits and other things of small value, and were contented with a regular exchange; but afterwards thinking slightly of the force of the English, a number of men in canoes were sent, who insolently took whatever they could lay their hands on, without giving any thing in exchange. It followed, that at last they were desired to keep away, on which they

began hostilities with a shower of stones; but Drake in this instance shewed his moderation, by firing his great guns without hurting them, but the sound of which so affrighted them, that jumping into the water, they hid themselves under their canoes, for fear of these terrible engines, which indeed, might have been used for their destruction.

‡ He was so well satisfied with this mark of respect, that he invited the performers on board his own barge, in token of his approbation.

of a majestic mien and graceful aspect.—Those that attended him were dressed in cottons or calicoes, and some of them were of a venerable aged appearance. He withdrew when the ship came to an anchor, having given his subjects leave to traffic with the strangers, and promised to return within the space of two days*.

Description of the court of Java. Drake having sent some gentlemen on shore, they were conducted to the castle †, and being introduced at court, found there near 1000 people. On each side of the outward gate there waited four old interpreters of other countries. Among the courtiers were 60 privy counsellors. When his majesty appeared on this public occasion he was dressed in cloth of gold, and had his hair woven into golden ringlets; he had diamond rings on his fingers, and a gold chain round his neck. Near his chair there was a page with a fan set with sapphires, which was useful in moderating the heat of the weather, and he sat under a rich canopy, where he received the English in state, and with marks of honour and respect ‡.

On the 9th of Nov. the English quitted this harbour after having shipped between four and five tons of cloves, and sailing southward, put in at an uninhabited island which was pleasant, woody, and full of a kind of flies, which shone by night like fire. Here they put in to refit their ships which had become leaky and foul, and landing, stayed twenty-six days there to refresh themselves, where they found fruits of an excellent flavour, and a remarkable large sort of tortoises.

When the English took the Mulatto girl on board the Spanish vessel, as has been already mentioned, they also took a Negro lad, and it was on this island that they resolved to set them both on shore together, the girl not yet fifteen, being near the time of her delivery. To effect this cruel purpose, they found means to send both of them a great way up the country, and while they were far enough off, weighed anchor, and left the harbour on the 12th of December, abandoning them to their fortune, and they were never heard of more.

The ship strikes upon a rock. In their course they fell in with a number of islands, from which just when they thought themselves disentangled, they struck on a concealed rock in the night of the 19th of January. The shock was so much the greater as the accident was unexpected. When the crew perceived their situation murmurs began to arise among them, and their commander escaped not some severe reproaches. Fletcher the chaplain in particular accused him, intimating that the men were likely to suffer for the crimes of their captain, an observation which severely hurt the latter; but he well knew this was no time to take up the matter, and therefore bore what in other circumstances would have called forth his resentment. As matters were now situated he rather strove to reconcile differences than to augment them, at the same time that he tried all means which prudence could suggest to surmount this difficulty. In the first place, as the vessel had not bulged on the rock, he lightened her by causing the guns and water-casks to be thrown overboard, and having recourse to the pump, found the water did not gain upon them. After this, he would have tried to bring her to with an anchor, but could find no place proper to fix one,

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* However he did not keep his word, but sent his brother with an excuse. He also invited the commander on shore proposing to stay as an hostage; but Drake not chusing to go, sent others along with the king's brother, and kept the viceroy as a pledge for their safety.

† This fortress which did not appear to be of great strength, was formerly erected by the Portuguese, who settling there after murdering the king, had miscarried in their design of bringing the island under subjection.

‡ A Chinese gentleman who reported himself to be descended from the imperial race, came on board Drake's vessel while they remained at Ternate. He said, that having been accused of some capital crime in his own country, not being able to clear himself by evidence, he was sentenced to an exile, the term of which was to be extended till he could return with some intelligence that might be honourable or advantageous to the empire. After an absence of three years, the same of Drake

as the rock rose perpendicular, and stood alone in the sea. This discovery however he was at no small pains to conceal; but at length having been stuck fast for 24 hours, he began with the rest, to lose all hopes of deliverance; on which account he gave his crew an exhortation to forgive all injuries and prepare themselves for the worst event. While they were in this situation, Fletcher administered the Sacrament to them all, and this confirmed their reconciliation.

But whenever one had given up the hope of escaping from this perilous situation, the wind suddenly changed, and blowing briskly from a different quarter heaved the ship off the rock, without doing her any considerable damage.

Thus relieved, they proceeded slowly and cautiously, They come to till they reached the island of Baratene §, where they repaired their vessels, and found the country fertile and possessed by handsome people. Baratene.

Departing from thence they proceeded to the isle of Java, where they were well received by the king, who entertained Drake on shore, and gave him liberty to get what provisions they stood in need of, himself coming on board to survey the ship, which was victualled there; and had her bottom payed, to fit her for the voyage, after which the admiral departed, and was much mortified to find his company insisted on his immediate return home, while he entertained designs of a different nature.

It was now that he thought proper to shew his resentment against the chaplain: under pretence of his spiriting up the people to oppose him, he caused him to be made fast by one of his legs with a chain, and a staple knocked fast into the hatches, in the fore-castle of the ship. He called all the company together, and then put a lock about one of his legs; and Drake, sitting cross-legged on a chest, and a pair of pantofles in his hand, he said, "Francis Fletcher, I do here excommunicate thee out of the church of God, and from all the benefits and graces thereof, and, I renounce thee to the devil and all his angels;" and then he charged him, upon pain of death, not once to come before the mast; for if he did, he swore he should be hanged, and Drake caused a *possey* to be written and bound about Fletcher's arm, with charge, that if he took it off, he should then be hanged; the *possey* was, "*Francis Fletcher, the falsest knave that liveth.*"

The commander, however, was obliged to comply with the desires of his people, and steering for the Cape of Good Hope, doubled it on the 15th of June, passed the line on the 12th of July, and arrived at Sierra Leona on the 22d, without experiencing those great dangers which were generally supposed to attend the navigation, and which the Portuguese thought it their interest to exaggerate. After two days stay at Sierra Leona, they once more spread their sails to favouring gales, the perils and difficulties of their undertaking being ended, and after a prosperous voyage fell in with the island of Ferrara on the 11th of September, and then proceeded for England in a direct course, all being impatient once more to behold their native country.

They entered Plymouth harbour on the 3d day of November, 1580, Drake having brought home an immense treasure, as well as gratified his own private pique, and his mistress's resentment against the Spaniards,

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had brought him from Tidore, in order to converse with one who had visited so many countries. The English commander ordered one of the company to recite twice over those occurrences which were most remarkable in the course of his voyage, and the exile thanking Heaven that he had met with so much information, departed well satisfied, in order to return to China, whither he strove in vain to persuade Drake to accompany him.

§ The island was governed by a number of rajas subject to one principal king, three of these having come on board together, by their favourable report, induced the monarch himself afterwards to honour the strangers with his presence. They found the Javans to be at once a warlike, sociable, happy people, not at all given to that prettykind of thieving so common among the Indians in those parts; happy among themselves, and remarkably hospitable to strangers.

Drake
knighted.

1585 niards, who were highly sensible of the affront, and waited but an opportunity to revenge the injury.

In token of her hearty approbation, on the 4th of April, in the following year, her majesty coming to dine on board Drake's ship, royally attended, after dinner conferred on the commander the honour of knighthood in reward of his services; though there were not wanting those that thought the breach with Spain, which would naturally follow the depredations that this adventurer had made on their Indian territories in the new world, would counterbalance all the wealth that had been acquired by this successful piracy. The Spanish writer already quoted (Lopez Vaz by name) says, "That Drake carried from the coast of Peru, 866,000 pezos of silver, equal to 866 quintals, equal to 100lb. weight each quintal, amounting to 1,139,200 ducats. He also carried away 100,000 pezoës of gold, equal to ten quintals, each quintal valued at 1500 Spanish ducats; and all this besides the treasure in the ship, which was not entered, consisting of gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, coined money, and other things of great value; he also rifled the ships from the Philippines, laden with spices, silks, velvets, and other rich merchandize, the value not known." By the above relation, the silver only at 5s. per oz. amounts to 259,800l. and gold to 48,000l. sterling. But other accounts make the value of the whole cargo brought home by the Golden Hind (for that was the name that Drake chose his ship, the Pelican, should be known by) amount to 800,000l. though that which was divided among the crew was only, 80,000l. The remainder was most likely to be disposed of at the court, and we can hardly doubt but that the queen was well recompensed for her "adventure of 1000 crowns." We have even the authority of history for an account of Queen Elizabeth's refunding a part of the plunder to the Spaniards, which could hardly have been the case if she had not been greatly benefited by this voyage. And indeed, the honour which she conferred on Drake at a time when he was not without enemies, and the people were divided in their opinions of his expedition seemed to verify what Mr. Thomas Doughty was charged so heavily for uttering, that "If they brought home gold, they should be the better welcome."

Drake who was thus honoured by his sovereign was the first captain that ever surrounded the globe, and lived to return home in safety from his expedition. The passage of Maghellan had so often been tried in vain, after the death of that unfortunate captain, that at length all men seemed to have laid aside the project *

* A Knight of Malta called Gracca de Loaisa, with seven ships attempted to follow Maghellan's tract—his own ship returned to Spain, he passed the streights, but lost some of his vessels, and his own life—two of the vessels only reached the East Indies, where he and his men perished. The Genoese made an unsuccessful attempt of this kind in 1526. The famous Sebastian Cabot, in the Portuguese service, tried in vain to find the streights; and Americus Vesputius, from whom the continent of America received its name, had afterwards as ill success in the like undertaking. Simon de Alcazara with a strong squadron sailing with an intention to make his passage through the streight, was forced to return on account of a mutiny among his men, which put an end to his expedition.

† "Certain Jesuits (says Linschoten a Dutchman then at Goa) came from the island of Japan, and with them three princes, being the sons of so many kings of that country, wholly apparelled like Jesuits, not one of them above the age of fifteen years, being minded by the persuasion of the Jesuits to visit Portugal, [Portugal and Spain were then both ruled by one sovereign] and from thence to go to Rome to see the Pope, thereby to procure great profit, privileges, and liberties for the people of that island. In 1584 they set sail for Portugal, and from thence travelled into Spain, where they were received with honour by the king and the Spanish nobility, and presented with many gifts—which the Jesuits kept for themselves. Out of Spain they went to see the Pope; that done, they travelled throughout Italy, where they were much honoured, and received many rich presents, by means of the great reports made of them. They returned to Madrid, where, with great honour, they took their leave of the king, who furnished them with letters of recommendation to the viceroy and all the governors of India. So they went to Lisbon, and there took shipping in 1586, and came to Goa in the ship called the St. Philip, [where both the princes

till our navigator accomplished it, and attempted a north-west passage, which had never been the object of their search. All this contributed greatly to raise his fame; and his ship was ordered to be preserved as a memorial of the greatness of his undertaking.

Though we have thus accompanied this extraordinary man round the world, yet we cannot so far disappoint the curious reader as to leave him without a brief relation of the enterprises wherein he was afterwards engaged. As we have begun with his life, so we shall not finish our relation till that period when death, dropping the curtain, put an end to his mortal existence.

In the year 1585, our successful adventurer was employed by the queen as commander in chief on an expedition to the West Indies; wherein St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine were taken. Two years afterwards, he was sent to Lisbon, but having had intelligence of a fleet assembling at Cadiz for the purpose of invading England, he sailed thither, and surprising the Spaniards, burned 10,000 tons of shipping and all their warlike stores, which was a heavy stroke, and severely felt by the enemy. He also fell in with, and took a rich ship on his return, called the St. Philip, which was coming from the East Indies. †

Repeated successes promoted Drake to honours. In 1588 he was advanced to be vice-admiral ‡, under Lord Effingham Howard, then high-admiral of England, who commanded the force destined to oppose the Spanish armada. Every one the least acquainted with history, knows the fate of that unwieldy armament, which was beaten back with disgrace, and the loss of some of the finest vessels, to appearance, of any at that time seen in Europe, and which had been for three years preparing in the ports of Spain for the long projected invasion of England.

Drake had his share in the honour of this victory, which however he hazarded in some measure by pursuing some of the hulks belonging to the Hans Towns, in order to gratify that desire of plunder so habitual to a man who had turned his attention chiefly to piratical enterprises §. Being intrusted to carry lights to direct the admiral, he misled him by his conduct, and yet made the most advantage of any by the success of the English arms ||.

Thus far good fortune had attended him and his royal employer, who having a great dependance upon his abilities, a still greater on the terror of his name, and because he possessed a spirit in some measure, congenial to her own, sent him out next year as admiral of a squadron intended to place Don Antonio, a pretender to the

and the Jesuits were received with great rejoicing] which ship, on her return to Portugal, was taken by Captain Drake, being the first that was taken coming from the East Indies, which the Portuguese took for an evil sign, because the ship bore the king's own name." It seems that bad weather having driven this vessel on her way to Goa into Mozambique, meeting with another vessel called the St. Laurence there, which was very much damaged, the former on her return put in again at Mozambique in order to take in the mending of the other ship, which was rendered unserviceable, which enabled her to make her voyage to Europe, about the usual time; and this fortunate circumstance contributed to Drake's success.

‡ He had under his command the Captains Martin Forbisher, Knolles, and other experienced officers.

§ In those of a more regular nature he was generally rather impatient of superiority, and not a very agreeable colleague. His deportment on this occasion however, did him more honour as appears from a letter to the lord treasurer, in which he observes, "That though the strength of the enemy outwent report, yet the cheerfulness and courage which the lord admiral expressed, gave all who had the honour to serve under him assurance of victory."

|| The admiral, by means of this misconduct of Drake, mistaking the lights of the Spanish commander for his, got into the middle of the enemy's fleet, in the night, from whence he happily escaped undiscovered. Drake afterwards acquired both honour and money by taking a large galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who was supposed to have planned the invasion, who set him at first at defiance, but as soon as he heard his name surrendered to him upon his summons. In this ship besides valuable goods he found 50,000 ducats, which well rewarded him for his trouble.

His conduct in the sea fight with the Spanish armada.

He undertakes an expedition to Portugal.

the crown of Portugal, on the throne of that kingdom. The following is Rapin's account of that expedition.

"As the queen, (says the historian) was extremely frugal, and an undertaking against Spain could not but be very expensive, she so ordered it, that Drake and Norris took upon them to be at the charge, in hopes of making themselves amends by the booty they should meet with. So she only found them six ships of war, with a present of 60,000*l.* with leave to raise soldiers and sailors for the expedition. Drake had already tried the Spaniards in America, and in the channel, and was convinced they were more formidable in common opinion than in reality; wherefore joining with Sir John Norris, and some other private persons, they equipped a fleet, and embarked 11,000 soldiers, and 1500 marines. The Hollanders having also added some ships, the fleet consisted, according to Stow, of 146 sail, transports and victuallers included. Drake commanded at sea, and Norris was general of the land forces. They took, with them Don Antonio, who hoped, by the assistance of the English, to be put in possession of his kingdom, where he pretended to have many friends.

"They sailed from Plymouth on the 18th of April, and soon after arrived at the Groyne, where landing their troops, they assaulted the lower town, and carried it by storm; but Norris having advice that the Conde de Andrada was approaching with a body of troops to relieve the place, suddenly raised the siege to march against him; and overtaking him, slew 3000 of his men. This done, he burnt several villages; and without returning to the siege, re-embarked his troops, their principal design being against Portugal.

"Whilst they were sailing towards the coasts of that kingdom, they were joined by the earl of Essex, with some ships he had armed at his own charge, unknown to the queen. Some days after, they arrived at Panicha, a little town in Portugal, and, taking it, restored it to Don Antonio; from thence Norris marched to Lisbon, Sir Francis Drake promising to follow with the fleet up the Tagus. The army proceeded 40 miles without opposition; and encamping before Lisbon, took the suburbs of St. Catharine; but, as Drake performed not his promise, and the army wanted cannon and ammunition, it was resolved in a council of war to retire. This resolution was taken, because there was no appearance that the Portuguese were inclined to revolt, as Don Antonio had expected; and because there was no news of the succours he had boasted of from the king of Morocco. The army marching towards the mouth of the Tagus, met Sir Francis Drake, who had taken the town of Cascaes, and excused himself upon the impossibility of performing his promise; some days after the castle of Cascaes surrendering, it was blown up, and to make themselves amends for the charges of the expedition, the English seized sixty vessels laden with corn, and all manner of naval stores (to equip a new fleet against England) belonging to the Hans towns. Then they went and took Vigo, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, and firing the town returned to England."

This expedition (it is added) did some damage to the king of Spain, but was of no benefit to Elizabeth; and the booty was not sufficient to pay for equipping the fleet; though Camden says they brought home 150 pieces of cannon and a great booty. Above 6,000 men perished in this expedition.

Sir Francis Drake's fun of glory appeared at this time to have been on the decline. Norris, the general of the land forces, made a heavy complaint against him, alledging that to his conduct alone the ill success of the enterprize was owing. Yet Hawkins and Drake seeming resolved not to abandon their design of

distressing Spain, and enriching themselves as long as there was an opportunity, procured 26 of the queen's ships, which were equipped by private adventurers. From an armament so considerable, great matters were expected; but the commanders seemed to have forgotten that such a fleet could not be fitted out with as much secrecy as three or four vessels, nor proceed with so much expedition. The Spaniards received intelligence of their equipment; they heard their destination was to the West Indies, and found the means, by threatening a second invasion to get the ships detained till the 28th of August, before which time the plate fleet had arrived in safety, one ship only excepted, which had sprung her mast. The queen communicated these unwelcome tidings to the adventurers, advising them before they pursued their principal undertaking to attack Puerto Rico; by which means they might take the galleon, as they had lost all hopes of intercepting the flota.

Nor did their main design succeed according to their expectations, Sir Francis Drake pitching on a plan foreign from that of the undertaking. This plan was to make an attack upon the Canaries in their way. It was conceived crudely, and failed upon the trial. And, to add to the misfortune of this miscarriage, one of the English ships was taken by some of the Spanish frigates, whereby the principal circumstances of the intended attack were discovered: the enemy being forewarned, took care to prepare for their reception. It was on the 12th of November that the fleet came before Puerto Rico*, and the officers having been convened in a council of war, an assault on the shipping in the harbour was resolved upon. This had not the desired effect; no impression was made upon the fortifications of the place, and the English at last abandoned their design. They afterwards came to Rio de la Hacha, where they burned the town, and made some other descents upon the coast. At length arriving at the desired place, they landed their soldiers, who were to go across the isthmus to Panama, but after enduring a great deal of toil and fatigue, they came back without having been able to effect their purpose." And now, (says Fuller) began the discontent of Sir Francis Drake to feed upon him. He conceived that expectation of a merciless usurer, computing each day since his departure, exacted an interest and return of honour and profit proportionable to his great preparation, and transcending his former achievements. He saw that all the good which he had done in his voyage, consisted in the evil he had done the Spaniards afar off, whereof he could present but small visible fruits in England. These apprehensions accompanying, if not causing, the dis-

ease of the flux, wrought his sudden death; and sickness did not so much untie his cloaths, as sorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality asunder. He lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it."—"And thus (adds he) we see how great spirits having mounted to the highest pitch of performance, afterwards strain and break their credit in striving to go beyond it."—This account of the death of Sir Francis Drake bears the marks of authenticity. Disappointments of such a nature are not easy to be endured by men used to a series of successes, and borne up on the wings of popular applause. The commander, of whom we are writing, had great perseverance and fortitude in danger; but it will be easily perceived that this character was not without its defects.

Drake, was a man of great assiduity and industry, calculated not only to plan, but also to execute; but both the plan and execution must be solely intrusted to him, or small hopes were to be formed upon his endeavours for success. He was not, (as he himself declared) a man of *learning*; but all the world must

1589

Another successful expedition.

Sir Francis Drake's death.

Observations on his character.

own

* Sir John Hawkins, had been seized with a disorder which proved fatal to him.—And on the very evening when that commander died, while the officers were at supper, a cannon-ball entered the cabin, which killed Sir Nicholas Clifford

wounded two other gentlemen, (one mortally) and shot away the stool on which Sir Francis Drake sat, just as he was drinking success to the attack, which was ordered to be made the next day.

The fleet returns without effecting the design for which it was sent out.

1590

own that he was a man of abilities. In the art of navigation at those times he had not his equal; we cannot find among the navigators of more modern date, in many respects any that can be considered as his *superior*. He was the first man that ever completed the circumnavigation of the globe, and returned with safety and honour to his own country. He passed the Straights of Maghellan in less time than any other commander had ever done. He sailed upon an unknown sea, guided by his own judgment more than any other help, as his countrymen being ignorant of the navigation in those parts, he could not have the benefit of sea-charts, nor the guidance of any thing but the compass, whose variation was one of the wonders of the age. Yet, amidst all these difficulties, he still proceeded, surmounted every obstacle, and stands upon record as one of the most able mariners that ever plowed the ocean.

We are sorry to say that here his praise must end. As impartiality guides our pen, we cannot give the tribute of applause to actions which are rather deserving of censure. The person in question, whatever some may have said or wrote of him, in the course of the voyage, most celebrated by his panegyrists, acted in a manner which, however it might be the

fashion of the times, certainly deserved to be reprobated as cruel and unjust. Without a commission, without a war declared, he seized on the treasures of the king of Spain; and what was infinitely more reproachable, after surprising men asleep or unprepared, he pillaged private property, and became the terror of numbers of harmless people who entertained no ideas of the length to which his avarice would carry him, or the consequences which they were to apprehend from his mistress's resentment.

It would be absurd to deny this adventurer one jot of his merit as a naval commander—but this merit appeared only when he stood alone—His attachment to self-interest, joined to his impatience of controul, generally rendered abortive all schemes he was embarked in, when he had not the sole command; of which there was a striking instance in the miscarriage at Lisbon, wherein he was so justly complained of by Sir John Norris.

On the whole, however, catching the spirit and manners of those days, and being favoured by his sovereign, Sir Francis Drake maintained his reputation, and has been considered as a pattern to succeeding ages.

THE VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN THOMAS CAVENDISH,

The Second English Circumnavigator.

1586

Account of Captain Cavendish's family.

WE are not so much at a loss to give an account of Captain Cavendish [or Candish as he is called by some] as we have been to trace the family of other illustrious navigators mentioned in this work.—This gentleman was of an antient family, seated in Suffolk, and could trace his descent to the time of William the Conqueror.—His father left him in his minority, heir to three manors; but of this circumstance he made little advantage, being addicted to the extravagancies of the times, he presently ran out his estate, and finding himself reduced to unexpected necessities, determined to have recourse to the chance of the seas in order to mend his shattered fortune. This was the æra of adventure, and he took the advantage of it accordingly.

His connexion with Sir Walter Raleigh.

Mr. Cavendish was first concerned in a voyage to the New World; from which however the former reaped but little advantage, the experience excepted of what might be done in those parts to annoy the Spaniards, with whom the English were now at war. Having his mind bent upon embarking on an expedition of his own, and being encouraged by the late example of Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Cavendish, raising a sum of money upon his estate, built two ships and a bark at Harwich, which he proposed to employ on an expedition to the Spanish settlements in America.

He fits out vessels on his own account.

Having got all things in readiness with as much secrecy as the nature of such a business would admit, he embarked at Plymouth on Thursday the 21st of July in the year 1586, having with him, the *Desire*, a ship of 120 tons, the *Content* of 60, and a bark called the *Hugh Gallant* of 40 tons, taking on board various articles for trade, purchasing for the present only a small quantity of provisions, and privately taking in arms and ammunition, the better to cover his design, nor did any man on board know whither he was going, till after the embarkation*.

Embarks at Plymouth.

July the 26th, Captain Cavendish found himself 45 leagues from Cape Finisterre, where their little fleet fell in with five sail of Biscayners, with whom they engaged three hours, till night parted the com-

batants. They made the Canaries, on the first day of August, on the 15th were 50 leagues off Cape Verd, and on the 26th came into harbour at Sierra Leona, having ran by account 930 leagues in 36 days.

The fleet arrives at Sierra Leona.

Hearing by a Negro that came on board them, that there was a Portuguese ship within their harbour, the admiral sent the *Hugh Gallant*, which however could not get above 4 leagues up for want of a pilot, finding the navigation to be very dangerous.

This design thus laid aside, upon the day following being Sunday, several of the crew were sent on shore, who mixed among the Negros, and joined in their sports, with a view to gain intelligence, and as they were returning descried a Portuguese that had hidden himself among the bushes, whom they took and brought on board. By him they learned that the ship lay at the town, the passage to which by water he affirmed to be very dangerous. But the next day the captain landing with 70 men, they marched up thither, and burned two or three houses, taking what little they could find, while the inhabitants fled from them; but on the retreat of the English kept them in view, and discharged poisoned arrows at them from their woods and hiding places, by which three or four of the men were hurt, but at that time none died of their wounds.—A number of the crew afterwards landed at the watering place, and remained uninterrupted while they were washing their linen, but the next day as

Skirmishes with the inhabitants.

they were expected by the enemy, an ambush of Negros was laid for them, which was luckily discovered by the carpenter of the captain's ship—Yet they could not be so quick in returning to their ships but that several of them were again wounded with arrows, one of whom being shot in the thigh, breaking the weapon, and leaving the head of it behind; which he would not discover to the surgeon for fear of its being cut out; as the shaft was envenomed, he swelled, and died the next morning.—Notwithstanding this attack, many of the English went on shore again on the third day, and brought off fruits, and also caught plenty of fish, without meeting with any misadventure.

* At first he raised but half his complement of men, taking the rest on board at Plymouth. The vessel was built at Har-

wich, and he had the sole management of the whole preparation.

1586 *ture.* On the 6th they left Sierra Leona, steered for the Cape Verde Isles, and anchoring about two miles off one of them about five the same evening, landed there. Upon this island they found there was a town whither the negroes sometimes came, but found no provision there. The rest of the island appeared like one continued wood, and the spot on which the houses stood was surrounded with plantain trees. Leaving this place on the 10th, they sailed towards Brasil, and dropped their anchor between St. Sebastian and the main land on the first of November; there they remained about three weeks employing themselves in building their pinnace; during this interval a canoe bound from Rio Janeiro to St. Vincent came in their way. There were on board six slaves and one Portuguese, who knowing Christopher Hare, master of the admiral's ship, having seen him in the Minion at St. Vincent, they let him proceed thither in hopes to have been visited by an Englishman who resided there, and to have had some provisions sent them. But the Portuguese whom they charged with a letter to him, neither returning nor sending any message to them, they set sail from this place on the 23d, and made the coast of America on the 16th of December, in lat. 47 degrees 20 m. south bearing about six leagues to the westward.

Cavendish arrives at Port Desire.

Still coasting along shore, the next day they entered a harbour, to which they gave the name of Port Desire. Here they saw two small islands, on which were a vast number of seals.* They found also plenty of fowls, some of which burrowed like rabbits in the ground, and were not able to fly, having on their pinions nothing but down, and feeding on fish, which they caught in the sea.

As the harbour was convenient for making necessary repairs in their vessels, the admiral resolved to remain there some time for that purpose. While they were thus resting in security, a man and a boy that went on shore were attacked and grievously wounded by a discharge of Indian arrows, which were made of canes headed with flint-stones; but the assailants, though amounting to about sixty in number, fled when the admiral came up with about 20 men.†

A Spaniard made prisoner.

Leaving Port Desire on the 28th of December, they touched at an island three leagues off, where they salted the penguins which they had taken, and after falling in with an unknown rock, stood for the straits of Maghellan, anchoring under a cape, which Cavendish lays down in 52° 45' south, till a great tempest was over, which rendered it dangerous for them to enter those straits. In the passage through, they took a Spaniard named Hernando, after which they anchored off Penguin Island, on the 8th day. On the 9th proceeding on their course SSW. they came to King Philip's city, which had been built by the Spaniards, which Mr. Prettie says had four forts, and every fort had in it one cast piece that was buried in the ground, the carriages being standing; Cavendish's men, however, digging for them, recovered them all, to their no small satisfaction.

Account of a Spanish town intended to command the straits.

"They had contrived their city very well, says our author, and had seated it in the best place of the straits for wood and water, they had built up their churches by themselves; they had laws very severe

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* These seals, says Mr. Prettie, (who wrote an account of the voyage) are of a wonderful bigness, huge and monstrous of shape; and for the fore part of their bodies, cannot be compared to any thing better than to a lion; their head, neck and fore part of their bodies, are full of rough hair, their feet are in the manner of a fin, and in form like unto a man's hand; they breed and cast every month, giving their young milk, yet continually get they their living in the sea, and live altogether upon fish; their young are extraordinary good meat, and being boiled or roasted are hardly to be known from lamb or mutton. The old ones are of such bigness and force, that it is as much as four men are able to do to kill one of them with great staves; and he must be beaten down with striking on the head of him, for his body is of that bigness that four men could never kill him, but only on the head; for being shot through the body with a harquebuss, or a musquet, yet he will go his way into

among them, for they had erected a gibbet, whereon they had done execution on some of their company. It seemed unto us, that their whole living for a great space was altogether upon muscles and limpets; for there was not any thing else to be had, except some deer which came out of the mountains, down to the fresh rivers to drink. These Spaniards came to fortify the straits, to the end that no nation should have passage through into the South Sea, saving their own only; but as it appeared, it was not God's will so to have it; for during the time that they were there, which was two years at least, they could never have any thing to grow, or in any way prosper; and on the other side, the Indians often preyed upon them, until their victuals grew so short, (their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spain, and having no means to renew the same) that they died like dogs in their houses, and in their clothes, wherein we found some of them still, at our coming, until that, in the end, the town being wonderfully tainted with the smell and savour of the dead people, the rest which remained alive were driven to bury such things as they had there in their town, and so to forsake the town, and to go along the sea side to seek their victuals, to preserve them from starving, taking nothing with them, but every man his harquebuss, and his furniture, that was able to do it, (for some of them were not able to carry them for weakness) and so lived, for the space of a year and more, on roots, leaves, and sometimes a fowl which they might kill with their piece. To conclude, they set forwards, determined to travel towards the river of Plate, there being only 23 persons left alive, whereof two of them were women, which were the remainder of 400. In this place we watered and wooded well and quietly. Our general named this town Port Famine: it standeth in 53° by observation to the southward."

From hence the admiral sailed to Cape Froward, and so continued his course. On the 22d he went with the ship's boat a league up a river on the banks of which in a plain country the English discovered certain savages who fed on raw flesh, and whom, by their manners they judged to be cannibals; and the writer of the voyage asserts "that they had lately preyed upon some of the Spaniards before mentioned. These people endeavoured to draw the English farther up the river; but instead of being so deluded the admiral gave orders to fire upon them, in consequence of which several of the savages were killed; and the fleet departing, came afterwards to the river St. Jerome, and then proceeded through the straits, finding harbours at the end of every mile or two for 90 leagues, which he computed to be the length of the whole passage.

Having effected their purpose thus far, they entered the South Sea, on the 24th of February (after being detained for a long time by bad weather and contrary winds). And now they began to entertain hopes of a more agreeable voyage, when on the first day of March, in lat. 49° 38' south, and 45 leagues from land, the Hugh Gallant was separated from the other ships in a storm, which continued till the 4th day, in the course of which time that vessel proving leaky, was in danger of being lost and it was not till

The fleet enters the South Seas.

the sea, and never care for it at the present.

† Mr. Prettie describing them, says "They are as wild as ever was a buck or any wild beast, for we followed them, and they ran from us, as if we had been the wildest things in the world. We took the measure of their feet, and it was 18 inches long. Their custom is when any of them die, to bring him or them to the cliffs by the sea-side, and upon the top of them they bury them, and in their graves are buried with them their bows and arrows, and all their jewels which they had in their life time, which are fine shells that they find by the sea-side, which they cut and square after an artificial manner; and all are laid under their heads. The grave is made with large stones of great length and bigness, being set all along full of the dead man's darts which he used when he was living: and they colour both their darts and their graves of a red colour, which they use in colouring themselves."

1587

till the 15th of March that running in between St. Mary and the main, she met with her consorts, who had rid out the storm at the island of Mocha, in 38° south lat. where the Indians engaged some of the crew that landed for refreshment, taking them for Spaniards, whom they accounted their mortal enemies.

These Indians are described as fierce and warlike, coming from a place called Arancho, which they had defended from the Spanish power, though the place being reported to be full of gold was sufficient to bring them perpetually into jeopardy from a cruel and rapacious enemy.

They touch at
St. Mary's.

Account of the
Indians there.

Coming to the west side of St. Mary's island the admiral went on shore on the 16th at the head of between 70 and 80 men, who were met by the Indians headed by two of their chiefs. The Natives here were Christians and had been brought into the greatest slavery by the Spaniards who had however converted them to the Christian faith. They conducted the English to a place where their masters had erected a church, about which stood some storehouses full of ready threshed wheat and barley, as good as any in Europe. Potatoes were likewise made up ready in order in the same manner. All these things were kept untouched till the Spaniards should come for their tribute, who kept these people in such strict subjection, that though they had swine and poultry in plenty, yet they durst not eat a pig or a hen themselves. The English, taking advantage of these peoples idea, that they were subjects of the king of Spain, got themselves plentifully supplied with provisions here; after which they invited the two chiefs and feasted them on board the admiral's vessel, when they began to discover their mistake, but seemed by no means to dislike the strangers for not being Spaniards. On the contrary, they endeavoured, as it was supposed, to make them understand by signs, that there was abundance of gold to be found in Arancho, being sensible that to point out one place where that metal was to be had, was the greatest mark they could give of their friendship to any of the natives of Europe.

Whether the admiral did or did not well understand them, or whether he was unwilling from other motives to undertake an expedition to Arancho, it appears that he paid no regard to this intelligence but departed from this island on the 15th day of the month, and on the 30th came to the bay of Quintero which he computed to lie in 33° 50' south.

Bay of Quintero.

Soon after the ships had come to an anchor in this bay, a man who kept cattle on an hill which commanded the road, who was asleep when the vessels came in, awaking presently afterwards, mounted a horse and riding off at full speed, alarmed the country. In consequence of this, three horsemen came down soon after the English had landed, and pretended to treat with two of them by means of Hernando the Spaniard, who was sent to speak to them. As they would not admit Cavendish's men to come near them, so the admiral was obliged to take what passed upon his report. He said, that the result of the conversation was, that the English should be furnished with provisions; but being sent again to bring this treaty to a conclusion, and left alone with his countrymen, he got on horseback behind one of them and rode up into the country: on this, the admiral finding that he had been deceived in this man, who had promised him very fair, ordered the crews to take in water, and resolved to send in search of the Spanish town, with a view to destroy it.

The Spaniard
escapes.

An expedition
up the coun-
try.

"The next day (says my author) Captain Hayers accordingly went up into the country, on the 31st of March, with 50 or 60 men, with their shot and furniture with them, and they travelled seven or eight miles into the land: and as they were marching along, they espied a number of herds of cattle, of kine and bullocks, which were wonderfully wild: they saw also great plenty of horses, mares, and colts, which were very wild and unhandled: there was al-

so great store of hares and conies, and of partridges, and other wild fowls. The country was very fruitful, with fair fresh rivers all along, full of wild fowls of all sorts. They travelled so far, that they could go no farther for the monstrous high mountains; they rested themselves at a very fair fresh river, running in, and along fair low meadows, at the foot of the mountains, where every man drank of the river and refreshed himself: having so done they returned to their ships the likeliest way they thought their [the Spaniards] town would be.

"So they travelled all the day long, not seeing any man, but they met with many wild dogs; yet there were 200 horsemen abroad that same day, by means of the Spaniard whom they had taken from them the day before, who had told them that their force was but small, and that they were wonderfully weak; and though they did espy them that day, yet durst they not give the onset upon them, for they marched along in array, and observed good order, whereby they seemed a greater number than they were, until they came unto their ships that night again.

"The next day being the first of April, 1587, their men went on shore to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waterside: and, being hard at their business, were in no readiness, mean while, there came pouring down from the hills almost two hundred horsemen, and before our people could return to the rocks from the watering place, twelve of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners; the rest were rescued by the soldiers who came from the rocks to meet with them; for though only fifteen of them had any weapons on shore yet they made the enemy retire in the end, with the loss of twenty-four of their men, after they had skirmished with them for an hour." The English afterwards continuing at anchor, supplied themselves with wood and water, and then departed out of the bay on the 5th of March, and also took a number of penguins on a little island at about a league distant. Having stocked themselves with these birds they sailed to a place called Morro Moreno, in 23° 30' south lat. where they found a convenient harbour.

At this place the admiral went on shore with 30 men, and the Indians, who were a peaceable set of people, came down with provisions to meet them. These people lived in a most simple manner, their houses consisting only of a few sticks laid across, standing upon others that were forked, and stuck in the ground, with boughs laid over them by way of covering. Their food was chiefly raw fish, which they often kept till it stunk. At the death of any one, they were accustomed to bury his bow and arrows with him. Their boats, like some we have before described, were made of seal skins blown up with wind, which served them for the purpose of fishing.

A small bark coming out of Arica Road, was taken by the pinnace on the 23d. They also laid aboard a ship of 100 tons, but found in her neither men nor goods. In the mean time the fort fired upon them, and the whole power of the place being assembled, the Content staying 14 leagues behind, to seize on some wine, Cavendish did not think proper to attack the town.

A flag of truce was afterwards sent, to know of the Spaniards whether they would redeem their great ship; but they refused to enter into any treaty of ransom or exchange, according to positive orders which they had received for that purpose from the viceroy at Lima.

A sail coming from the southward, the admiral sent his pinnace and boats to take her, but signals being made from the town, this bark on board of which were some friars, was run on shore, and most of her cargo taken out before the English could come up with her. At length they took her and sunk her and set the great ship on fire, and not being able farther to annoy the Spaniards, they departed from the harbour.

In their way they took another small bark, on board which was one George, a Greek pilot, well acquainted

They take a
ship of 100
tons burnt.

1587 acquainted with the coasts of Chili. They found also three Spaniards and a Fleming, all of whom had been sworn to throw overboard some letters of advice which they were carrying to Lima, in case of meeting with Cavendish. This they accordingly performed; but at last by the force of torture were obliged to confess their errand*.

The fleet came next to a bay near which there were three little towns. Here some of the crew landed, and plundered certain houses, in which they found bread, wine, poultry and figs; but the sea ran too high for them to land at the best of these towns, so they sailed from thence, having left the Content, which was the vice-admiral, at the island of Seals; and on the 10th of May the Hugh Gallant lost sight of the admiral's ship, which former vessel the next day put into a place where they found a river, and going on shore to take in water, luckily for them, as they were in want of provisions, they found near 500 bags of meal, of which they took what they thought proper for an immediate supply, and after experiencing some trouble before they could regain their boat, having at length happily got on board, they left this place on the 14th in the morning, and afterwards the Hugh Gallant, with only 16 men, took a large vessel that came from Guianil, of 300 tons burden, and manned with 24 mariners. The English took on board a Negro called Emanuel, and a pilot of the name of Gonfalso de Ribas. Timber and provisions were the ship's lading, which they left leaky, after having taken away the fore-sail, besides what else they wanted, and sunk her boat. The fleet joined again on the 17th of May, when it appeared that the ship from which they had been separated, had taken two prizes, one laden with meal and marmalade, and the other with these articles, and a thousand hens, "besides one of these ships (says the voyager) was worth 20,000*l.* had it been in England, or in any other port of Christendom, where we could have sold it. We filled all our ships with as much as we could of these goods, burning the rest, and the ships [*their ships*] also, and set the men and women that were not killed ashore.

After this the fleet came to Païta, where they anchored on the 20th day of the month.—There the admiral landing at the head of about 70 men, had some skirmishes with the townsmen, "At last, (says my author) the English drove them all to the top of a hill over the town, except a few slaves, and some others of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the governor to stay below at a place which was building for a fort, having with them a bloody ensign, and being in number about 100 men. Now, as we were rowing between the ships and the shore, our gunner shot off a great piece out of one of the barks, and the shot fell among them, and made them to fly from the unfinished fort as fast as they could run; but having got upon the hill, they, in their turn, shot among us with their small shot. After we were landed, and had taken the town, we ran upon them, and chased them so fiercely for the space of an hour, that we drove them in the end away by force; and being got up the hill, we found where they had hid what they brought out of the town. We also found the quantity of 25*lb.* weight of silver, in pieces of eight, and abundance of household goods, and storehouses full of all kinds of wares. But our general would not suffer the men to carry too much cloth or apparel away, because they should not clog themselves with burdens; for he knew not whether our enemies were provided with fire arms, according to the number of their men, for they were five men to one of us, and we had an English mile and a half to our ships. Being come down in safety to the town, which was very well built, and kept very clean in every street, with a town house or guild-hall in the midst of it, and had to the number of two or three hundred houses

at least in it, we set it on fire, and burnt it to the ground, and goods to the value of about five or six thousand pounds.—There was also a bark riding at anchor in the road, which we burnt and departed, directing our course to the island of Puna. On the 25th we arrived at that island, where is a very good harbour. There we found a great ship of 250 tons riding at anchor, with all her furniture which was ready to be hauled on ground, for there is a special place for that purpose. We sunk it, and went on shore, where the lord of the island dwelt, which was by the water-side, exceedingly well contrived with many singular good rooms and chambers in it, and out of every chamber was framed a gallery, with a stately prospect towards the sea on one side, and into the island on the other; with a magnificent hall below, and a very great storehouse at the end of the hall, which was filled with pitch and bast to make cables with; for the most part of the cables of the South sea were made upon that island. This great Cacique obliged all the Indians to work and trudge for him; he is an Indian born, but is married to a beautiful woman who is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation, and his great wealth. And this Spanish woman his wife, is honoured as queen of the whole island, and never walketh upon the ground on foot, but accounteth it too base a thing for her: But when her pleasure is to take the air, or go abroad, she is always carried upon a sedan, [a sort of palanquin] upon four mens shoulders, with a veil or canopy over her, to shade her from the sun and the wind, having her gentlewoman still attending about her, with a great troop of the best men in the island with her.

"Both she and the lord of the island (with all the Indians in the town, were nearly fled out of the island before we could get to an anchor, by reason we were becalmed before we could get in, [they] were gone over the main land, carrying with them 100,000 crowns, which we knew by a captain of the island, an Indian, whom we had taken at sea, as we were coming into the road, being in a balsa or canoe, for a spy to see what we were.—On the 25th (adds he) our general himself, with certain shot and some targeteers, went over to the main unto the place where this Indian captain told us the Cacique, who was lord of all the island, was gone, and had carried all his treasure with him: But at our coming to the place where we went to land, we found newly arrived three or four great balsas, laden with plantains, bags of meal, and many other kinds of victuals. Our general marvelled what they were, and what they meant, asking the Indian guide, and commanding him to speak the truth upon his life. Being then bound fast, he answered, being much abashed [surprised] as well as our company were, that he neither knew from whence they should come, nor who they should be; for never a man was in either of the balsas: Yet he told our general before, that it was an easy matter to take the said Cacique and all his treasure, and that there were but three or four houses standing in a desert place, and no resistance:—and that if he found it not so, he might hang him.—Again, being demanded upon his life, to speak what he thought those balsas should be? He answered that he could not say what they were, nor from whence they should come, except it was to carry fifty soldiers, who he did hear were to go to a place called Guiaquil, which was about six leagues from the island, where two or three of the king's ships were on the stocks in building, and where there were continually an hundred soldiers in garrison, who had heard of us, and had sent for sixty more for fear of our burning the ships and the town.

"Our general, not any whit discouraged either at the sight of the balsas unlooked for, or at the hearing of the sixty soldiers, not until then spoken of, bravely ani-

* Though they threatened the Fleming, who was an old man, with death, and even put a rope round his neck, and began to hoist him up, yet he continued firm, dreading death itself less

than perjury. Thus is this man honoured by the account of his enemies.

They find a
seasonable re-
lief.

Arrive at
Païta.

Their arrival
at Puna.

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animating his company to the exploit, went presently forward, [it] being in the night, in a most desert path through the woods, until he came to the place, where, as it seemed, they had kept watch either at the water-side, or at the house, or at both, and were newly gone out of the houses, having so short warning that they left their meat both boiling and roasting at the fire, and were fled with their treasure, or else [had] buried it where it could not be found. Our company took hens, and such things as they thought good, and came away."

Cavendish's people afterwards went in the ship's boat to an island adjoining, whither the hangings and furniture of the Christian Cacique's house were conveyed. There they burned a church, and took away the bells, and were afterwards attacked (on the 2d of June) by an hundred Spanish soldiers, with whom they skirmished, according to their own account, killing 46 of the Spaniards, with the loss of only 12 Englishmen. In the end, the latter set fire to the town, destroyed a number of the gardens and orchards, burned four ships, and departed.

They then sailed towards Anguatulco, and took a new ship of 120 tons in their way, on board of which they found and made prisoner Michael Sancius, a native of Marseilles, one of the best coasters in those parts. At Anguatulco they landed, and burned the town and custom-house, with a great deal of public and private property.

Arriving on the 24th at the haven called de Natividad, Michael Sancius informed the English there would be a pinnace, but before they came thither she was gone out on the pearl fishery. However, Cavendish's people took there a Mulatto, who was sent with advice of their arrival, whose horse they killed. They left him, but took his letters, set fire to two new ships, each of 100 tons burthen, which were building there, and so returned to their shipping.

The fleet afterwards touched at St. Jago, and came to a little bay called Malacca, a league to the westward of Port Natividad, and on the 9th day of the month, having come into the bay of Chacalla, Captain Havers going up the country with forty people, took three men with their wives and families; the women the English obliged to fetch them plantains, pine-apples, lemons, and oranges, and other fruits of the country, and afterwards sent away their husbands, keeping only one Diego a Portuguese, and Sembrano, a Spanish carpenter.

Thus they proceeded to the road of Mascatlan, and from thence to an island about three miles from that road, where they trimmed and refitted their ships, and digging in a sandy soil, found water at the depth of three feet. Afterwards they sailed for Cape St. Lucar, on the west side of California, which they fell in with on the 14th, where they found a bay, called by the Spaniards, Aguada Secara. They watered in a river which they found there, and kept off and on the cape with westerly winds.

"The 4th of November, (says my author) beating up and down upon the head-land of California in 23 degrees 40 minutes to the northward, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, one of the company of our admiral, who was the trumpeter of the ship, going up unto the top, espied a sail bearing in from the sea with the cape; whereupon he cried, with no small joy to himself and all the company, A sail, a sail! With which chearful words, the master of the ship, and divers others of the company, went also up to the main-top, who perceiving his speech to be very true, gave information unto our general of this happy news, who was no less glad than the cause required; whereupon he gave in charge presently unto the whole company, to put all things in readiness; which being performed, he gave them chace for three or four hours, standing with our best advantage, and working for the wind; in the after-

noon we got up to them, giving them a broad-side with our great ordnance, and a volley of small shot, and presently laid the ship aboard, whereof the king The English of Spain was owner, which was admiral of the South engage and Sea, called St. Anna, and thought to be 700 tons in take a ship be- longing to the king of Spain. burthen. Now, as we were ready on the ship's side to enter her, there not being above fifty or sixty men at most in our ship, we perceived that the captain of the Santa Anna had made fights fore and aft, and laid their sails close on their poop, their mid-ship, with their fore-castle, and not one man to be seen, they standing so close under their fights with lances, javelins, rapiers, targets, and an innumerable quantity of large stones, which they threw overboard upon our heads, and into our ships so fast, and being so many of them, that they put us off the ship again, with the loss of two of our men who were slain, and four or five wounded. But for all this, we now trimmed our sails, and fitted every man his furniture and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordnance, and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and wounding of many of their men. Their captain, still like a valiant man, with his company stood very stoutly unto his close fights, not yielding as yet. Our general, encouraging his men afresh, with the whole noise of trumpets gave them the other encounter with our great ordnance, and all our small shot, to the great discouragement of our enemies, raking them through in divers places, killing and wounding many of their men. They being thus discouraged and spoiled, and their ship being in hazard of sinking, by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were under water, after five or six hours fight, set out a flag of truce, and parlied for mercy, desiring our general to save their lives, and to take their goods, and that they would presently yield. Our general promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sails, and to hoist out their boat and to come on board; which news they were full glad to hear, and presently struck their sails, hoisted out their boat, and one of their chief merchants came on board, unto our general, and, falling down upon his knees, offered to have kissed our general's feet, and craved mercy. Our general pardoned both him and the rest, upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company, concerning such riches as were in the ship; and sent for their captain and pilot, who, at their coming, used the like duty and reverence as the former did. Our general promised their lives, and good usage. The said captain and pilot presently certified the general what goods they had on board, viz. 122,000 pezoës of gold; and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with were silks, sattins, damasks, with musk, and divers other merchandise, and great plenty of all manner of provisions, with the choice of many conserves, and several sorts of very good wines. These things being made known to the general by the aforesaid captain and pilot, they were commanded to stay on board the Desire, and on the 6th day of November following we went into an harbour, which is called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

And in this place Cavendish set ashore 190 Spaniards of both sexes, where they were likely to have good accommodations, as there was a river of fresh water, and there were also numbers of hares and rabbits to be gotten. Besides, the admiral furnished them with a sufficiency of provisions and arms for defence against the Indians, giving them the sails of their ship to make tents, and a quantity of planks for the purpose of building themselves a boat, which indulgence proved some alleviation of their misfortune.* The captain was afterwards discharged with a handsome present, after he and his Spaniards had been entertained with the sight of some fireworks, which the admiral had caused to be played off in honour of the anniversary of his mistress's coronation, being the

7th

* It appears, however, that in sharing the treasure taken on board his vessel, so much discontent arose that there was

at length a mutiny, "which nevertheless (says the author) was pacified for the time."

7th of November; and left the harbour on the 19th, carrying with him two lads, who were natives of Japan, in the language of which country they could write and read fluently, and three boys born in the Manilla isles, the eldest 15, the next 13, and the youngest about nine years of age. He had also taken a Spaniard, whose name was Thomas de Erfola, who understood the navigation from Acapulco and the coast of New Spain to the Ladrones islands, on which account the English concluded he would be useful to them in the course of their voyage. Before his departure he burned the king's ship, with 500 tons of goods on board, to the great satisfaction of all his company.

The wind now proving favourable they sailed from California, bending their course towards the Ladrones, and leaving the Content behind, she parted company from the fleet, and they proceeded without her, with favourable gales, till the beginning of January, and the 3d day of the month, made one of the islands called Guarfa, at a small distance from which a number of the natives came off in their canoes, which appeared to be constructed with a great deal of art, having images of their idols standing at the prows of them. These barks were about seven or eight fathoms in length, and about half a fathom wide, their heads and sterns being made alike. They had masts and sails, the latter of which were made of mats, in a square or triangular form, and they were able not only to go on before the wind, but also to make good their way against it. The people brought fish and potatoes, as also plantains, cocoas, and other fruits, for which they took iron and other things in exchange; but when the English had trafficked as long as they thought proper, they would not leave them, but kept swarming still about the ship, till one or two of the canoes were run down. The crews, however, saved themselves by swimming; as seemed to be the case afterwards, when the admiral ordered his men to fire at them because they would not keep off; these nimble people escaping by diving in the sea, into which they would fall backward with great expedition. The men were of an olive complexion, generally of a larger stature than the Europeans, and some of them wore their hair long, whilst others had it tied with a knot on the crown, according to each man's particular fancy.

Departing from hence the English fell in with Cabo del Spirito Santo, a cape or island at the distance of about 310 leagues from the isle of Guana. They found the land abounding in wood, and the inhabitants mostly Pagans. The distance from Manilla (the chief of the Philippines) was computed at about 60 leagues. Manilla was at that time inhabited by between 6 and 700 Spaniards, and was well planted, but these Spaniards resided in an unwall'd town that had four block houses of no great strength. The place was rich in gold and silver, and had an advantageous traffic with Acapulco, as also with China and other parts.

After passing a strait between two islands, they came to another named Capul, where, as they found the bay convenient, they came to an anchor, and were presently visited by a canoe, on board of which was one of the principal caciques of the place, who took them for Spaniards, and brought them cocoas and potatoe roots, in exchange for which the islanders received at the rate of a yard of cloth for four

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* While they were at anchor here, Nicholas Rodrigo, the Portuguese whom the English had taken in the great St. Anna, informed the admiral of a plot laid by a Spaniard, named Thomas de Erfola, (whom we have mentioned, they had taken for a pilot) to acquaint the people of Manilla by means of the islanders where the ship now lay, of the achievements, designs, and situation of the English, advising them not only to strengthen their town, but to endeavour to send a force to surprise their enemies at Capul, which he thought might be effected. This writing was said to be locked up in the Spaniard's trunk; he was examined, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged; pursuant to which sentence he was executed on the 16th of January.

cocoas, and as much linen for a basket of potatoe roots, the quantity of a quart; "which roots, says our author, are very good eating, and very sweet either roast or boiled"—a piece of information which our readers at this day do not want; but it is to be observed that potatoes were first brought hither from America, and at the period when Captain Cavendish made his voyage were but little known to the English. Here they were also supplied with hogs and poultry at the same rate as the Spaniards were accustomed to purchase them, and remained nine days before the island.*

† The natives were of an olive complexion, the cloathing of the men consisted only of a girdle about their waists, woven with plantain leaves, and a sort of apron, which coming from their backs covers their nakedness, being fastened to their girdles before.†

‡ The chiefs of this island as well as of a vast number of others whom Cavendish had made pay him tribute in hogs, potatoes, and poultry, were summoned on the 23d day of January, when having spread his ensign, with the sound of drum and trumpet he declared himself and his people to be Englishmen and enemies to the Spaniards, and paid them for all the articles which they had thus brought in, and these chiefs highly satisfied, promised in return all their services, in order to assist them whenever they should come again, to annoy and vanquish their enemies. This promise was received by the admiral with tokens of friendship, while the canoes rowed round his ship by way of diversion, and a piece was shot off at parting, which was matter of equal pleasure and surprise to these friendly people.

Departing from this place, the English sailed along the coast of Manilla, and in their way chased a frigate, and their boat took a canoe, in which were six Indians, who escaped by diving, and a Spaniard who was made prisoner. Soon after this, about 60 Spanish soldiers appeared on the neighbouring beach, who from the shore exchanged a few shot with them, but which did no execution. A vessel was likewise manned to take the boat, but the latter, by the help of her oars, got off, and regained the ship, bringing the Spaniard on board with them, but found him so simple a fellow, that they could get little or no intelligence from him.

§ In the mean time observing that the Spaniards had judiciously divided, and properly stationed their soldiers, the whole place being thoroughly alarmed, after lying all that night at anchor, the admiral gave orders to set sail, and passed between the two islands of Panama, and another called the Island of Negros, which was very large and inhabited by blacks; they at length gained an opening in a S. S. W. direction. The boat which had gone on before, then coming on board, and thus they ended their design upon Manilla.‡

¶ Cavendish now proceeded on towards Java, and having passed the freights between Java Minor and Java Major, anchored to the south-west of the latter, on the 1st day of March. Here taking some of the ships crew into the boat with a negro who could speak the Moorish language, he followed some of the inhabitants that were fishing in a bay. They ran on shore at first for fear of the English, but being called to by the negro, answered from the beach. These fishermen he informed that the English were in want of fresh water and victuals, and were also disposed to

M

trade

† They had a strange custom of causing every male child to have a peg thrust through the upper part of his privities, the head of which peg had something like a crown cut on it. This was inserted in such a manner as to be put in and taken out at pleasure.

‡ They set the Spaniard on shore, by whom the admiral sent his compliments to the Spanish commander, desiring him to provide himself with a quantity of gold, as he (Cavendish) intended within a few years to see him at Manilla, adding, that he only wanted a larger boat, or he would have seen him at that time.

1588

trade with their king for diamonds or other rich jewels. They received a favourable answer from the fishermen, as to the article of provisions; and after having furnished themselves with wood and water, some canoes brought them fresh fish, oranges, and limes, giving them to understand, that if they would bring their ship nearer, they should be more plentifully furnished. Accordingly the admiral weighed anchor, and stood in; but in his way was met by a canoe, sent from the king, for which reason he shortened sail, till the canoe came on board, and afterwards came to anchor again in the bay. This royal boat brought the king's secretary and his interpreter.* The former was all naked except about his waist, a broad arrow was wrought upon his breast; he went barefoot, but on his head wore a turban of died silk. He brought the admiral, a present consisting of hens eggs, fresh fish, and a hog, also some sugar canes, and a clear wine, as strong as aqua vitæ. Cavendish feasted and entertained him with music, and gave him to understand that he and his men were of England, and had been trading to China, adding, that they were on their way to the Moluccas, and that their business at Java, was only to make certain necessary enquiries. In return, he learned that the Portuguese had factors on the island who stayed there to traffic for sugar, spices, and many other commodities.

The king supplies the English with provisions.

On the 5th at break of day, the wind not permitting before, nine of the king of Java's canoes approached laden with provisions, consisting of two oxen, ten hogs, a vast quantity of hens, ducks, and geese; besides eggs, sugar, cocoas, bitter limes, sweet oranges, with wine, salt, and other articles. With these canoes came some of the king's officers. There were likewise two Portuguese, dressed in loose jerkins and hose, having on fine lawn shirts, but their legs entirely bare. These people being ill affected towards the Spaniards, who held their kingdom in possession, enquired much concerning Don Antonio, whom, as we have already observed, the English had a design of placing on the throne of Portugal, which design miscarried partly by the ill conduct of Sir Francis Drake. Cavendish informing them that his queen was a firm friend to the king of Portugal, and enumerating his own exploits undertaken under her auspices against the Spaniards, they were highly pleased with these tidings, and freely communicated to the admiral all that they knew relative to the policy, manners, and customs of the kingdom of Java, the substance of which account was to the following purport:

That the country was fertile, abounding in fruits as well as the necessaries of life, and that its commodities were well calculated for foreign commerce. That the king of that part of the island was called the Raja Balamboan, and was a person highly feared and respected by his subjects. Without his licence the common people durst not bargain or deal for any thing with the people of another nation, on pain of death. They said that the Raja himself was a man advanced in years, but entertained no less than 100 wives—his son and heir having 50. At the king's death it was customary to burn his body and preserve the ashes: five days after this ceremony, the wives were summoned to a particular place, where the principal one throwing a ball, wherever it fell they used to go all together, each having a dagger ready, then turning to the east, they finished the solemnity by stabbing themselves, and, falling flat on their faces, thus received their death. As to the people; the men were observed to be of a subtle genius, and most desperate in fight, ready to go on any enterprise, commanded by their king, who generally put them to death if they returned without accomplishing his commands. If wounded

in battle, they were often known to run upon the weapon which hurt them, resolved on conquest or immediate death. The women were fair, and not without apparel, but the men went mostly naked, and were of a tawny complexion.

Having entertained these Portuguese in the most friendly manner, who are said to have told him that if Don Antonio would come among them, there was no doubt of his having all the Moluccas and the Phillippine islands; they were dismissed with a salute of ordnance, and the English sailed on the 16th of march, for the Cape of Good Hope. "The rest of March (says Mr. Prettie) we spent in traversing that mighty and vast sea between the island Java and the main of Africa, observing the heavens, the crossers or the south pole, the other stars, the fowls, which are marks unto seamen of fair and foul weather, approaching of lands or islands, the winds, the tempests, the rains, and thunder, with the alterations of tides and currents." On the 10th of May they met with a violent storm; afterwards they saw land, which they took for the Cape of Good Hope, but which proved to be another cape between forty and fifty leagues short of it, which is called Cabo Falso, or Cape False; and it was not till the 16th that they came in view of the extremity of the African continent, after having been nine weeks in their course from the island of Java. Having doubled the Cape, they held on their course, and on the 8th of the succeeding month, they made St. Helena, where the admiral came to an anchor in 12 fathom water, on the NW. side of the island, on the 9th, about one in the afternoon, two or three cables length from the shore. The writer of the voyage gave the following account of the state wherein he found it in the year 1588.

Cavendish arrives at St. Helena.

"This island (says he) is very high land, and lieth in the main sea, standing, as it were, in the midst of the sea, between the main land of Africa, the main of Brasil, and the east of Guinea; it lies in 15° 48' to the southward of the equinoctial line, and is distant from the cape of Buena Esperanza between five and six hundred leagues.

"The same day, about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, we went on shore, where we found an exceeding fair and pleasant valley, wherein divers handsome buildings and houses were set up, and one particularly, which was a church, was tiled and whitened on the outside very fair, and made with a porch; and within the church, at the upper end, was set an altar, whereon stood a very large table set in a frame, having in it the picture of our Saviour Christ upon the cross, and the image of our Lady praying, with divers other histories, curiously painted in the same. The sides of the church were hung round with stained cloths, having devices drawn on them. There are two houses adjoining to the church, on each side one, which serve for kitchens to dress meat in, with necessary rooms and houses of office. The coverings of the said houses are made flat, where is planted a very fair vine, and through both the said houses runneth a very good and wholesome stream of fresh water. There is also over against the church a very fair causeway, made up with stones, reaching unto a valley by the sea side, in which valley is planted a garden, wherein grow pompions and melons; and upon the side causeway is a frame erected, whereon hang two bells, wherewith they ring to mass; and near to it a cross is set up, which is squared, framed, and made very artificially of free stone, whereon is carved in cyphers what time it was built, which was in the year of our Lord, 1571.

"This valley is the fairest and largest low plat in all the island, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant, and planted in every place, either with fruit or with herbs. There are fig-trees which bear fruit continually

* Our author says, "the secretary to the king and his interpreter lay one night on board our ship: the same night, because they lay on board, in the evening, at the setting of the watch, our general commanded every man on board the ship to provide his harquebuse and his shot; and so, with shooting off 40 or 50

small shot and a sacre, himself set the watch." This was no small wonder to these heathen people, who had not commonly seen any ship so furnished with men and ordnance. The next morning we dismissed the secretary and his interpreter with great humanity."

tinually and very plentifully; for on every tree you may see blossoms, green figs, and ripe figs all at once, and it is so all the year long: the reason is, that the island standeth so near the sun. There is also great store of lemon trees, orange trees, pomegranate trees, pomecitron trees, and date trees; which bear fruit as the fig trees do, and are planted carefully, and very artificially, with pleasant walks under and between them; and the said walks are over-shadowed with the leaves of the trees; and in every void place is planted, parsley, fennel, basil, fennel, anniseed, mustard-seed, radishes, and many very good herbs. The fresh-water brook runneth through divers places in this orchard, and may with very small pains be made to water any one tree in the valley. This fresh water stream cometh from the tops of the mountains, and falleth from the cliff into the valley the height of a cable; and hath many arms issuing out of it, that refresh the whole island, and almost every tree in it. The island is altogether high mountains and steep valleys, except it be on the tops of some hills, and down below in some of the vallies, where great plenty of all those fruits before spoken of do grow. There is much more growing on the tops of the mountains than below in the vallies; but it is very toilsome and dangerous travelling up unto them and down again, by reason of the height and steepness of the hills.

"There are also upon this island great store of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great haste to fly away, though one come very near them, but only run away and get up into the steep cliffs; we killed some of them with a fowling piece; they differ very much from our partridges which are in England, both in bigness and also in colour, for they are almost as big as hens, and are of an ash colour, and live in covies, twelve, sixteen and twenty together; you cannot go ten or twelve score paces but you shall see or spring one or two covies at the least.

"There are likewise no less plenty of pheasants in the island, which are also very big and fat, surpassing those which are in our country in bigness and in numbers in a company; they differ not very much in colour from the partridges before spoken of. We found, moreover, on this island, plenty of Guinea cocks, which we call turkeys, of a colour black and white, with red heads; they are much the same in bigness with ours in England; their eggs are white, and as big as our turkey's egg.

"There are in this island thousands of goats, which the Spaniards call cabritos, which are very wild. You shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may see them go in a flock almost a mile long; some of them (whether it be the nature of the breed of them or of the country, I know not) are as big as an ass, with a mane like a horse, and a beard hanging down to the very ground: they will climb up the cliffs, which are so steep, that a man would think it impossible that any living creature could go there. We took and killed many of them for all their swiftness, for there are thousands of them upon the mountains. Here are, in like manner, great store of swine, which are very wild and fat, and of great bigness; they keep altogether upon the mountains, and will very seldom abide any man to come near them, except it be by mere chance, when they are found asleep, or otherwise according to their kind, are taken lying in the mire.

"We found in the houses at our coming, three slaves who were negros, and one who was born in the island of Java, who told us that the East Indian fleet, which were in number five sail, the least whereof was in burden eight or nine hundred tons, (laden with spices and calicut cloth, with store of treasure, and very rich stores and pearls) were gone from the said island, St. Helena, but twenty days before we came thither.

2

* The vessels were the Leicester, commanded by the admiral; the Roebuck, Captain Cocke, vice admiral; the Desire, Capt.

This island was found long ago by the Portuguese, and hath been altogether planted by them for their refreshment as they come from the East-Indies; and when they come, they have all things in plenty for their relief, by reason they suffer none to inhabit there, that might eat up the produce of the island, except some very few sick persons of their company, whom they suspect will not live until they come home; these they leave there to refresh themselves, and take them away the year following with the other fleet, if they live so long. They touch here rather in their coming home from the East Indies, than at their going thither, because they are thoroughly furnished with corn when they set out from Portugal; but are meanly victualled at their coming from the Indies, where there groweth but little corn. The wind is commonly off the shore at this island of St. Helena."

St. Helena now belongs to the English; and it is to be observed, that in some respects it does not now answer the above description; neither is corn produced in the island, as will be noticed in the course of the voyages to the East Indies. The crew having refreshed themselves, and taken in wood and water at this island, of which they had conceived so good an opinion, and which by its situation must generally prove agreeable to mariners after so long a voyage, set sail on the 20th of June, steering directly homewards. They passed the equinoctial line in the beginning of July, and after lying becalmed from the 12th till the 15th of the same month, sailed before a constant north east wind to the latitude of 38° N. They afterwards came in view of Flores and Corvo, and sailing from thence for England, after weathering a violent storm, arrived safe at Plymouth on the 9th of September.—

Thus Cavendish accomplished his voyage round the world, in the course of which, like Drake, he did much mischief to the Spaniards, taking and destroying a number of their vessels, and keeping the American coasts in a continued alarm. This was the most fortunate voyage of that adventurer, who brought home a considerable treasure. Nevertheless we find him in 1591, engaged in another undertaking of the same nature, from whence he promised himself much; but which, from a variety of concurring circumstances, he found in the event, not at all answerable to his expectations.

Having collected together some of the ablest commanders, and a company of the stoutest mariners of the times, all things being prepared, they departed from Plymouth with two large ships, and three barks, on the 26th of August, holding on their course towards the Brazilian coast, and fell in with the bay of Salvador, on the 29th of November, after having been becalmed 27 days near the equinoctial line, a circumstance which probably contributed not a little to the difficulties and misfortunes that afterwards attended this unhappy expedition.

In a vessel which the admiral took in his way; he found nothing worth his trouble; except a friar that had hid himself in a meal tub; but the pilot of that vessel informed the English of their distance from Cape Frio, and from Santos. At an island called Placentia, they afterwards landed and plundered a few Portuguese houses, and before their arrival at Santos, the crew began to shew such a disorderly disposition, as gave but an ill preface of their future success.

However, they determined to make an attack on the last mentioned town, the Portuguese having informed them that it was but weakly defended. On this account also, the commander judged that the long-boat and shallop properly manned, would be of sufficient strength to undertake the business; but his men being all eager alike for plunder, it caused a very warm dispute upon this point, as only an hundred men were ordered to make the assault.

Cavendish however found means to appease this disturbance,

Davis rear admiral; the Dainty, Capt. Coffen, and a bark called the Black Pinnace.

1592

Cavendish
takes Santos.

turbance, and the design, which was well laid, was as luckily executed; for a party of English landing while the Portuguese were at mass, there was little resistance; those that had arms being obliged to deliver them, and the conquerors keeping them prisoners till the rest of their company came up. There were some, however, in the town who retired and betook themselves to flight, with whatever money or property they were able to secure*; nevertheless, besides sugars, meal, and other provisions, they found some gold and silver here, which was most greedily sought after in secret places by the plunderers. As to the prisoners, they were all discharged the day after the town was taken, except a few of the principal persons,† who were retained as pledges for the farther supplies of necessaries while the English remained in possession. And after a stay of two months (which seems to have been an imprudent waste of time) the admiral resolved to depart, so destroying many of the larger mills between Santos and S. Vincent, and having burned the latter, the fleet sailed out of the harbour on the 24th of January.

He enters the
Streights of
Maghellan.

Directing their course towards the Streights of Maghellan, a hard gale arose on the 7th of February, when they were near the river Plate, and increased by the 8th to a most horrible tempest, in which the fleet was separated; but it being generally understood that Port Desire should be the rendezvous in case of such an accident, (though it is disputed whether the admiral ever gave such an order) as Captain Davis in the Desire, had met with Cocke in the Roebuck at sea, and afterwards with the Black Pinnace,‡ these vessels made that port, after having with great difficulty weathered the storm abovementioned. And being thus met again, having refreshed the men at this port, they sailed on the twenty-eighth day of March, Cavendish himself, according to Jane's account, having shifted from the admiral's ship, and come on board Captain Davis, with whom he continued till they entered the Streights. They were a considerable time detained beating off Port Famine, and when at last they doubled the Cape, they were kept about eight days in that port, and forced to subsist on muscles and what fruits they could find, as the natives, whom they sometimes saw, were not able to supply them with any thing better. While they were on their passage through these streights, they, like many other voyagers to those parts, experienced as much inconvenience from cold as from want of provisions. One Knivet, who afterwards passed through a series of strange adventures, lost several of his toes by the inclemency of the weather at Port Famine; and we find it related, that in the midst of this bad weather, and while the passage remained doubtful, all the sick men belonging to the Leicester, were set on shore in the woods, while the admiral remained on board the Desire; a circumstance which every one must own to be shocking to humanity.

Hardships en-
dured there.

The difficulties which they had met with in this attempt, the incapacity of the ships to proceed, and every other concurring circumstance, occasioned the universal voice of the mariners to be in favour of returning to the coast of Brasil, instead of pursuing any farther the intended voyage to the South Sea, on which the admiral's heart had been set; and he was therefore obliged to yield to those whom he deemed a mutinous company, and on the 15th of May they set sail, in order to repass the streights, the admiral having returned to his own vessel.

As China was an object of this voyage, it is said

Cavendish re-
turns towards
the Brasilian
coast.

* The need in which the English stood of provisions, seemed to have been the principal motive for this undertaking; but according to some accounts, Captain Cocke was so negligent, that he suffered the Indians to carry out what the inhabitants could not have secured, so that when Cavendish himself came on shore, eight or ten days afterwards, this circumstance obliged him to endeavour getting by intreaty what before he had in his power, and, after all, to re-embark without the very things for the sake of which he had caused the town to be surprised. As Harris observes, that the Indians were very friendly to the new comers, so it is possible that the former found means thus to

that the commander still deemed it not impossible for him to put his design in execution, thinking to sail thither by way of the Cape of Good Hope; yet here too he was over-ruled by the resolution of the mariners, and accordingly stood for the Brasilian coast. But on the 20th of May the Desire and the black pinnace were separated from him, which separation Cavendish charges upon Capt. Davis, but other accounts lay it upon the admiral's having altered his course, and give a circumstantial detail of the matter, the substance of which we have subjoined in its proper place.

The Desire is
separated from
the admiral;

Not long after, the Leicester lost the Roebuck in a storm, and not without much difficulty reached the harbour of St. Vincent, where some of the ship's company, being persuaded by an Indian, got permission to go on shore, to the number of 30, neglecting the advice of their commander not to trust themselves too far up the country, were attacked by 80 Portuguese and 300 savages, and massacred to a man, the Indian only returning with the tidings, whose intelligence relative to the provisions to be got in the country, had led them into this fatal error, some wounds that he had received in the conflict bearing testimony to his honesty and to their imprudence.

And also the
Roebuck.

As the admiral had thus lost 30 men and his boat besides, he had great reason to regret this accident, he had however the good fortune to take an old boat from the Portuguese, which made some small amends for his loss; but what more contributed to comfort him was the appearance of the Roebuck in this bay; yet on examination, he found her in such a shattered condition that he could not at that time expect much assistance from such a consort.

The Roebuck
found.

He still ardently wished for an opportunity to revenge himself upon the Portuguese, but as on the Brasilian coast the harbours are mostly barred, so as not to admit any vessels of burden, so he found that a design he entertained of battering the town could not be accomplished, and all that was in the power of the English was to destroy a few farm-houses.

The Portuguese next proposed to the admiral the taking or battering of the town of Spirito Santo, but he was not able to bring the ships over the bar, and they had thoughts of departing, when they discovered three ships at anchor near the town, which the admiral proposed cutting out in the night. His advice was not followed then, but over-ruled by the murmurs of his men. The next day, however, they insisted on being sent to do what was then become impossible. Approaching with their two crazy boats in the face of the enemy, and landing to attack the town, whence they were fired on, they were repulsed with disgrace, two thirds of them were slain, together with Captain Morgan, who was sent to head them, and whom they forced to proceed in this desperate enterprise. All those that returned brought back nothing but unprofitable wounds, as the reward of their rashness.¶

Cavendish's
men attack
Spirito
Santo.

Cavendish leaving this place, sailed for the island of St. Sebastian, and in his way thither, the Roebuck|| which he had so lately regained, voluntarily parted from him in the night, taking away both the surgeons, and above double the proportion of victuals necessary for the 46 men that she had on board.

The Roebuck
again parts
company with
him.

Notwithstanding all this, yet Cavendish had not laid aside his purpose of returning to the streights; but as it may easily be imagined, this ship's crew who were never highly pleased with the project, now put a down-

deceive the latter, under the mask of friendship, and afterwards to make a merit of supplying them with part of what they had before taken away.

† Jane says only four poor old men were kept as hostages.

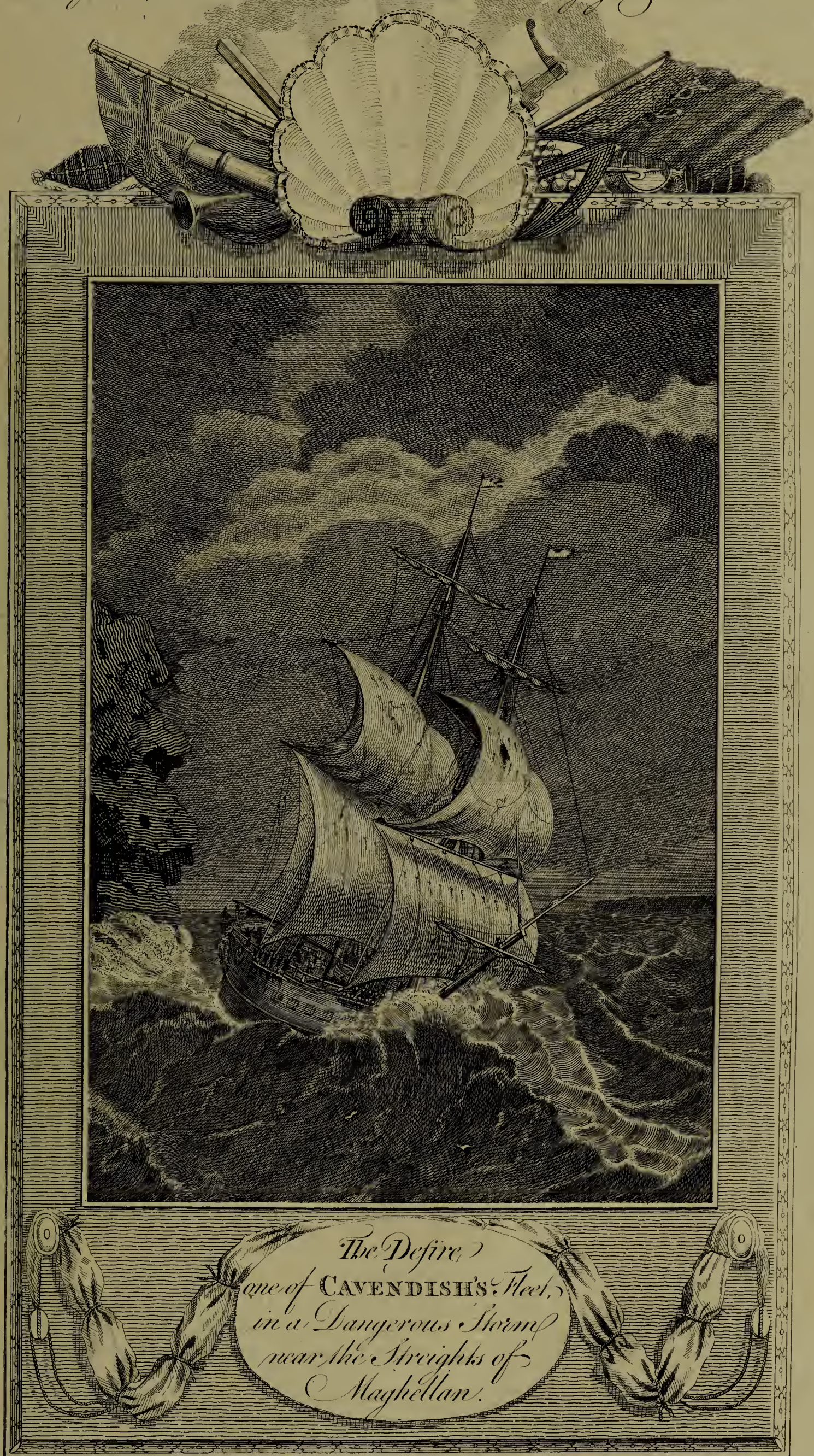
‡ The other pinnace (the Dainty) made the best of her way to England, leaving her captain on board the Roebuck, the crew taking with them all the provisions, and even his wearing apparel.

§ He left 80 men, and had 40 wounded in this attack.

|| Jane says the men expected that he intended to burn that vessel.

Engraved for Moore's

Voyages & Travels.



Vernet pinx.

Pollard sculp.

a downright negative upon the resolution. Threatenings were vain; and he could have but little to promise, so was under a necessity of abandoning his favourite scheme, and steering towards St. Sebastian, 200 leagues to the westward of Spirito Santo, when he had no more than one cask of water left.

Being separated from the Portuguese at this island only by a small creek, and suspicious of his own people, he was in the most distressful situation that could be imagined, and, as to the former (led on as it is said by an Irishman belonging to his ship) they came over one night and killed and took prisoners a number of his men, most of whom were sick and wounded; and then retiring, left parties of Indians, so disposed amongst the trees and bushes that they were perpetually annoying the remains of the English, that they were forced to depart before they had taken in so much wood and water as was deemed necessary for their voyage.

This little remnant so much dreaded their commander's design of returning to the streights of Maghellan, that having overshot St. Helena, they could not be persuaded (for the admiral seems to have lost all command) to steer the coast to the southward, but insisted on sailing directly to England, whither as it appears, he never lived to return.*

As the commander complained much of the conduct of Captain Davis, of the *Desire*, so were not the captain and crew of that vessel in general backward in justifying themselves from the imputation. And since the reader may be curious to know what befel her after her separation, we have here set down the principal events extracted from one who wrote a regular account of the voyage.

After having related, journal-wise, all that passed till their entrance into the streights of Maghellan, he proceeds to observe, That after having doubled Cape Froward on the 18th of April, Mr. Cavendish being on board the *Desire*, the ships were forced by the fury of the storm to put into a little cove, about four leagues from the cape, where they had continual tempests, and snow, and their men died of cold and famine, and the sick were put on shore, as we have already seen. "In these great extremities of cold and snow (he adds) Mr. Cavendish asked our captain's opinion, because he was a man that had good experience of the N. W. parts, in his three several discoveries that way, when employed by the merchants of London. Our captain told him that this snow was a matter of no long continuance, and gave him sufficient reason for it, and that thereby he could not much be prejudiced or hurt in his proceeding. Notwithstanding he called together all the company, and told them, that he purposed not to stay in the streights, but to depart upon some other voyage, or else to return again for Brasil: but his resolution was to go for the Cape of Good Hope. The company answered, that if it pleased him, they did desire to stay God's favour for a wind, and to endure all hardships [hardship] whatsoever, rather than to give over the voyage, considering they had been here but a small time; and because they were within 40 leagues of the South Sea, it grieved them now to return; notwithstanding, whatever he ordered, that they would perform. So he concluded to go for the Cape of Good Hope, and to give over this voyage. Then our captain, after Mr. Cavendish was come on board the *Desire*, from talking with the company, told him, that if it pleased him to consider the great extremity of his situation, the slenderness of his provisions, with the weakness of his men, it was no course for him to proceed in that new enterprise.—For if the rest of your ships (said he) be furnished answerable to this,

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* In his letter to Sir Tristram Gorges, which was written not long before his decease, after mentioning the death of a cousin of his, he says, "What with his grief occasioned by that event, and the continual trouble endured among such hell-hounds, (his ship's crew) I wished myself upon any desert place in the world, there to die, rather than thus basely to return home again; which course I had put in execution, had I found an

it is impossible for you to perform your determination; for we have no more sails than masts, no victuals, no ground tackling, no cordage more than is overhead, and among 75 persons, there is but the master alone that can order the ship, and but 14 sailors; the rest are gentlemen, serving-men, and artificers; therefore it will be a desperate case to take so hard an enterprise in hand. These persuasions did our captain not only use to Mr. Cavendish, but also to Mr. Cocke. In fine, upon a petition delivered in writing, by the chief of the whole company, to the general, he determined to depart out of the streights of Maghellan, and to return again for Santos in Brasil."

And accordingly, we find that they set sail on the 15th, Cavendish being then in the *Desire*; but on the 20th they parted from him, after he had gone again on board the *Leicester*, of whose crew he once had so ill an opinion, that he declared he was inclined to stay in the *Desire*.—Of the separation, which the admiral deemed to be wilful, we have the following account: "That being athwart of Port Desire, in the night as they supposed, the general steered his course," and thus he was lost: "For (adds he) in the evening he stood close by a wind to seaward, having the wind N. N. W. and we standing the same way, the wind not altering, could not on the next day see him; so that we then persuaded ourselves that he was gone for Port Desire to relieve himself, or that he had suffered some mischance at sea, and was gone thither to remedy it." This being the general opinion, notwithstanding they had no boat nor anchors, nor cables fit to trust to, they went thither. There they arrived on the 20th of May, and suffered many difficulties; though they were somewhat relieved by getting good fresh water unexpectedly, and lived on mussels and smelts, in order to preserve their provisions. While they lay there, the author tells us, that "the general having in their ship two pestilent fellows, who had entered into a plot to murder the captain, and master, and their friends, into which they had drawn the rest of the company, he adds, "There were marks taken in his cabin how to kill him with musquets through the ship's side; and bullets made of silver for the execution."—But as soon as the boatswain heard of this plot, he discovered it to the master, and so it came to the captain; yet James Parker and Edward Smith, the two leaders of this intended mutiny were punished only with admonitions; and as it appeared that the source of the mischief was derived from a resolution, of the captain to take the pinnace, and go in search of the admiral, when he found that the ship's company were all most violently bent against the undertaking, he desisted, giving them good words for their bad, and concluded his controversy with Parker and Smith, by saying, "The Lord judge between you and me—which, says the author, came to a most sharp revenge, even by the punishment of the Almighty." After this the captain desiring they would set their hands to an account of their losing the admiral, and of the extremities to which they were reduced, they agreed to the proposal, in consequence of which a paper was drawn up in the following words:

"The testimonial of the crew of the *Desire*, touching the losing of their general, which appeareth to have been utterly against their meanings.

"The 26th of August, 1591, we whose names are here underwritten, with divers others, departed from Plymouth, under Mr. Thomas Cavendish our general, with four ships of his, viz. The *Leicester*, the *Roebuck*, the *Desire*, and the *Black Pinnace*, for the performance of a voyage into the South sea. [After

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island which the charts make to be eight degrees to the southward of the line. I swear to you I sought it with diligence, meaning (if I had found it) there to have ended my unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happiness to light upon me; for I could by no means find it; so was forced to come towards England."

The Portuguese kill a number of his men.

The crew counteracts the admiral's desires.

Account of their distress situation and voyage to England.

1592

ter recapitulating the chief events that had happened in their course, the memorial proceeds thus] On the 21st of May, being athwart of Port Desire, 36 leagues off the shore, the wind then north east and by north, at five of the clock at night, we suddenly cast about, lying north-east, the fleet following the admiral, our ship coming under his lee, shot a-head of him, and so framed sail fit to keep company. This night we were fevered, by what occasion we know not, whether we lost them or they us. In the morning we only saw the Black Pinnacle, then supposing the admiral had overshot us. All this day we stood to the eastward, hoping to find him, because it was not likely he should stand to the shore so suddenly. But [thus] missing him, towards night, we steered to the shoreward, hoping by that course to find him.

On the 22d of May at night, we had a violent storm, with the wind at north-west, and we were forced to hull, not being able to bear sail; and this night we perished our main trossel trees, so that we could not use our main top-sail, lying most dangerously in the sea. The pinnacle likewise received a great leak, so that we were enforced the next day to seek the next shore for our relief. And because famine was like to be the best end [that we could otherwise expect] we desired to go for Port Desire, hoping with seals and penguins to relieve ourselves, and so to make shift to follow the general, or there to stay his coming from Brasil. The 24th of May we had much wind at north. The 25th was calm, and the sea very lofty, so that our ship had dangerous and foul weather. The 26th our fore-shrouds broke; so that if we had not been near the shore, it had been impossible for us to get out of the sea.

“And now, being here moored in Port Desire, our shrouds are all rotten, not having a running rope, whereto we may trust, and being provided of only one shift of sails, all worn, our topsails not able to endure any stress of weather; neither have we any pitch, tar, or nails, nor any store for the supplying of these wants, and we live only upon seals and mussels, having but five hogheads of pork within [on] board, and meal three ounces a day, with water to drink.

“And forasmuch as it hath pleased God to separate our fleet, and to bring us into such hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect relief; though otherwise we are hopeless of comfort, yet, because the wonderful works of God in his exceeding great favour towards his creatures, are far beyond the scope of man's capacity; therefore by Him we hope to have deliverance in this our deep distress. Also, forasmuch as those upon whom God will bestow the favour of life with return home to their own country, may not only remain blameless, but also to manifest the truth of our actions, we have thought good, in Christian charity, to lay down under our hands the truth of all our proceedings even until this time of our distress.

Given in Port Desire, the second day of June, 1592.

Having put their hands to this paper, they began to set themselves to work upon such things as were most necessary for their preservation.—Accordingly they set up a forge, to make bolts, nails, and other iron works; and also made ropes out of their cables. The others were employed in procuring smelts for them. They also found an island abounding with seals, whither they sent the pinnacle, and were highly satisfied when a quantity of them was taken.

On the 6th of August having kept watch from the high lands in order to discover the admiral, but in vain, it was resolved to go for the Straights of Maghellan, where his vessel could not pass by them if she came that way. Accordingly they set sail, and after encountering a storm, and other difficulties, made the Straights, where they found the weather extremely cold, yet they describe the people on the neighbouring shores as going naked, painting their bodies like the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and generally

living in the woods and wilds of these comfortless regions, where now it was the very middle of winter.

Anchoring in a cove about 14 leagues from the South Sea, by account, they stayed a fortnight for the admiral; but the men dying fast through cold and famine, the master of the vessel advised to enter the Pacific Ocean, and to steer directly for the island of Santa Maria, which advice being followed, (not without a view of meeting with Cavendish, who, as they concluded, must pass by that island, they set sail on the 13th of December, but were forced back again on the 14th, and returned to a cove about three leagues from the South Sea. However they went forward again as soon as the wind permitted, and, with the loss of an anchor in a storm, came once again in view of the desired ocean. Here a dispute arose; some of the company wishing to go again to Port Desire, and to be set on shore there, while others wished to proceed. “Whereupon (says Jane) the captain said to the master—Master, you see the wonderful extremity of our estate, and the great doubts among our company, of the truth of your reports, as touching relief to be had in the South Sea. Now, good master, forasmuch as you have been in this voyage once before, with your master the general, satisfy the company of such truths as to you are best known, and you, the rest of the general's men, who also have been with him in his first voyage, If you hear any thing contrary to the truth, spare not to reprove it, I pray you.—Then the master said, if you think good therefore to return, I will not gainsay it; but this I think, if life may be preserved by any means, it is proceeding for at the Isle of Santa Maria, I do assure you of wheat, pork, and roots enough. Also I will bring you to an isle where pelicans be in great abundance; and we shall have meal in great plenty, besides a possibility of intercepting some ships upon the coast of Chili and Peru. But if we return, there is nothing but death to be looked for [expected] Therefore do as you like; I am ready; but my desire is to proceed. These his speeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyages, there was general consent for proceeding, and so, on the second of October we put into the South Sea, and were free of all land.”

But whilst all were agreed in pursuing this counsel of the master of the vessel, the elements fought against them. That very evening a gale sprang up which increased with such violence that the crew on board the ship were informed by those in the pinnacle, that the latter had no hope left of outliving the storm, but being themselves reduced to great extremity, and in view of a lee shore, they were obliged to abandon her with all on board to their fate, and the next night lost sight of her for ever.

Thus they proceeded, lashed on by tempests, and drifting fast upon a dangerous shore. But on the 10th of October the sun suddenly shining out bright, gave the captain and master an opportunity of discovering their true situation, and consequently of finding the true course they must shape for the recovery of the Straights. Yet though this at first encouraged the mariners, it could not properly be considered as matter of great consolation to those who were rather subject to the course of the winds and waves than to the guidance of their own skill and judgment. And thus indeed it happened, that the less danger was only passed and the greater was yet to come, a most striking picture of which being drawn by the author already quoted, we shall give it here in his own words.

“On the 11th of October (says he) we saw Cape Descaldo, the cape on the south shore (the north shore being nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, isles and shoals.) This cape being within two leagues to the leeward of us, our master greatly doubted that we should not double the same, nevertheless, being a man of good spirits, he resolutely made quick dispatch, and set sail. Our sails had not been half an hour on board [hoisted] but the foot-rope of our foresail broke, so that nothing held but the

the oylet-holes. The seas continually broke over the ship's poop, flew into the sails with such violence that we still expected the tearing of our sails, or oversetting of the ship; and besides, to our utter discomfort, we perceived that we fell still more and more to the leeward, so that we [believed we] could not double the cape. We were now come within half a mile of the cape, and so near the shore, that the counter-furf of the sea would rebound against the ship's sides, so that we were much dismayed with the horror of our present end. Being thus at the very point of our death, the winds and the seas raging beyond measure, our master veered some of the main-sheet; and, whether it was by that occasion or by some current, or by the wonderful power of God (as we verily think it was) the ship quickened her way, and shot past that rock, where we thought we should have been shored. Then between the cape and the shore there was a little bay, so that we were somewhat farther from shore; and when we came unto cape, we yielded unto death: yet the father of all mercies delivered us, and we doubled the cape about the length of our ship, or very little more; being shot past the cape, we presently took in our sails, which only God had preserved to us; and when we shot in between the high lands, the winds blowing trade, without an inch of sail, spooned before the sea, three men not being able to guide the helm, and in six hours we were put 25 leagues within the streights, where we found a sea answerable to the ocean."

A narrow escape.

This was indeed an unexpected escape, but the unfortunate crew of this weather-beaten vessel were far from being near the end of their trouble. In the midst of this wintry climate, which stiffened their sinews with cold, to add to their other misfortunes, they were almost devoured with the most loathsome vermin, that not only swarmed about them, but also burrowed in their flesh. On this account, having laboured to clear their vessel from water, it was judged proper to put into one of the coves with which it has been noticed that these streights abound. This was accordingly done for the refreshment of the men, and they stayed till the 21st of October, when they again put forward into the channel, with tolerable good weather. But these inclement regions before night produced another tempest, and the vessel owed its safety only to the care of the captain, who had drawn so accurate a plan of the streights, at his first passage through them, that being properly attended to, it guided her through all the intricacies of that channel in a most gloomy and tempestuous night.

While they were at anchor on the coast, the boat being sent in fair weather to collect a quantity of the birds from whence that land takes its name, one of the usual storms arose, and the birds were obliged to be thrown overboard, lest they should be lost.

The interval had given them time to clear their ships from water; but the crews were still in a disagreeable situation, and even in the midst of these wintry regions, were almost eaten up by the most loathsome vermin. Thus distressed, they had put into one of the coves of the channel, where they stayed till hunger forced them out in favourable weather; but the storm soon succeeded, in the midst of which, by means of a chart drawn by the captain, the ship was conducted through what the author calls "The Hell Dark of Night," where the channel was not in some places above a league broad.

Having escaped this danger at Penguin Island, where they had nearly lost their boat, at the same time that their vessel was driving on a lee shore, but both these difficulties being surmounted by their industry and resolution, at length on the 27th of October they got free of the Streights of Maghellan.—Their boat being sent to the shore, "Parker, Edward Smith, and twenty others, (says Jane) were appointed to stay upon the shore for the killing and drying of these penguins, and the captain promised after the ship was in harbour to send the rest, not

only for expedition, but also to save the small store of victuals then in the ship. But Parker, Smith, and the rest of their faction suspected that this was a device of the captain's to leave his men on shore, that by these means there might be victuals for the rest to recover their country; and when they remembered that this was the place where they would have slain their captain and master, surely (thought they) for revenge here will they leave us on shore; which, when our captain understood, he called God to witness that revenge was no part of [had no part in] his thoughts: They gave him thanks, desiring to go into the harbour with the ship, which was granted. So there were only ten left upon the isle, and [on] the last day of October we entered the harbour, (our master, at our last being here, having taken careful notice of every creek in the river) in a very convenient place, upon a sandy ooze ran the ship aground, laying our anchor to seaward, and with our running ropes, moored her to stakes upon the shore, which he had fastened for that purpose, where the ship remained till our departure. On the 3d of November, our boat, with water, wood, and as many as she could carry, went for the isle of Penguins; but being deep, she durst not proceed, but returned again the same night. Then Parker, Smith, Townshend, Purpet, with five others, desired that they might go by land, and that the boat might fetch them when they were against the isle, it being scarce a mile from the shore. The captain bade them do what they thought best, advising them to take weapons with them; for (said he) although we have not at any time seen people in this place, yet in the country there may be savages.—They answered, "That here were great store of deer, and ostriches; but if there were savages they would devour them." Notwithstanding, the captain caused them to take weapons with them, carlivers, swords and targets: so the 6th of November, they departed by land, and the boat by sea; but from that day to this day, we never heard of our men. The 11th, while most of our men were at the isle, only our captain and master, with six others, being left in the ship, there came a great multitude of savages to the ship, throwing dust in the air, leaping and running like brute beasts, having vizards on their faces like dog's faces, or else they had dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared lest they would set the ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat we much marvelled: they came to windward of our ship, and set the bushes on fire, so that we were in a very stinking smoke; but as soon as they came within our shot we shot at them, and striking one of them in the thigh, they all presently fled; so we never saw more of them. Thereby we judged that these canibals had slain our nine men."—"When we considered (adds the author) who they were that were thus murdered, and found that they were the principal men who would have murdered the captain and master, with their friends, we saw the just judgment of God, and made a supplication to his Divine Majesty to be merciful unto us."

During the time that the English remained in this bay, they found on examining the river that they could go no farther than twenty miles up. Upon the Isle of Penguins, the crew took a quantity of those birds, which they dried and salted, and much rejoiced that they could lay in such a store of provision. They also took gulls and other birds, and eggs, as well as many seals; and found a quantity of the herb called Scurvy-grass, which using train oil for butter, they fried with eggs, and found it very wholesome, removing the chief disorder among the men.

Twenty thousand [a number almost incredible] of penguins were taken, 14,000 of which only the mariners were able to bring on board, and had well nigh lost their ship by the uncertainty of the winds and tides.

They afterwards stood for the Brazilian coast, having been reduced to the allowance of five ounces of meal in a week, to be served twice, three spoonfuls of

1593

of oil for a man three days in a week; for two days a pint of pease for each man. Five penguins for four men every day, and six quarts of water for the same number of people.

Arriving at the Isle of Placentia in Brasil, on the 30th of January, twenty-four of the crew went towards the shore with the captain; but it was not till the next day that the company landed, hoping to take the Portuguese inhabitants in their beds, and there to get Cassavi meal, and what else they could find; but the Portuguese had rased their own houses to the ground, and were fled up the country. The ship was afterwards brought into a creek, where they moored her to the trees, and found water and all conveniences for hooping their casks, a guard being always kept for the protection of such as were employed about their necessary business. On the 5th of February the captain sent the cooper to gather hoops, and provided a guard as usual, himself seeing the weapons delivered. Notwithstanding which, all his precautions could not prevent that mischief of which the writer of the voyage asserts, that some of the crew had a pre-sentiment*.

A massacre.

"All the forenoon they laboured in quietness, and when it was ten o'clock, the heat being extreme, they came to a rock near the wood's side, (for all this country is nothing but thick woods) and there they boiled cassavi-roots, and dined. After dinner some slept, others washed themselves in the sea, all being stripped to their shirts, and no man keeping watch, no match lighted,† and not a piece charged. Suddenly, as they were thus sleeping and sporting, having got themselves into a corner, out of sight of the ship, there came a multitude of Indians and Portuguese upon them, and slew them sleeping; only two escaped, one very sore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we understood of this miserable massacre. With all speed we manned our boat, and landed to succour our men: but we found them slain and laid naked in ranks one by another, with their faces upward, and a cross set by them; and withal we saw very great pinnaces come from the river of Janiero, very full of men; who we suspected came from thence to take us."

The number of the ship's crew was now reduced to 27 persons, though she departed from England with 76. They could take in no more than eight tons of water for want of casks, and yet if they stayed with a view to overcome this difficulty, the ship being made fast to the trees, they were in fear lest their moorings should be cut, or the enemy should make some sudden attack upon them from the shore. Having consoled with each other upon their misfortune here, and at Port Desire,‡ they resolved at last to leave this fatal shore, and rather trust themselves to the mercy of Heaven than remain exposed to the danger which as they concluded threatened them every moment.

Proceeding to Cape Frio, they met with contrary winds, that proved the more hard on account of their want of water, which was, however, seasonably supplied by plentiful showers of rain, and their spirits began to revive, when a new misfortune came upon them.

The flesh of the penguins, which had kept well in the colder climates, began to corrupt as this unhappy company approached the warmer latitudes. A most loathsome worm bred in them, which not only spoiled their provisions, but did them otherwise much

mischief. Notwithstanding all their endeavours to get rid of these animals, they multiplied so fast and were so extremely voracious, that they devoured every thing but iron, their wearing-apparel, linen, and woollen, and even their boots were eaten, and their flesh bitten by them, nor did the timbers escape them, insomuch that the captain and his crew feared they would eat through the side of the vessel. Having passed the equator in this disagreeable situation, the crew were next attacked with a distemper, which is thus described: "In their ancles it began to swell, from thence, in two days, it would be in their breasts, and then fell into their lower parts, and there did swell most grievously and most dreadful to behold; so that they could neither stand nor go. The captain in this extremity, declared that there was nothing which he desired so much as a speedy dissolution. At this time some died in the severest pain, and others in a frenzy." The anguish of the captain indeed was more mental than bodily suffering, as, excepting a boy, he was the only person in health on board the vessel. By this time only 16 of the company remained, and on five of them only, as being sound persons, was all the dependance for labour and safety, the captain and master helping to work the ship, which, for want of better tending, was in a woeful condition, and the sprit-sail and top-sail shattered in pieces. Yet thus they still held on their course, "and thus (says the author) without victuals, sails, or men, God guided us into Ireland." They arrived at Beerhaven on the 11th of June, 1593, and there ran the ship on shore, the Irish helping to fit her for floating, where the captain left the master and some of the crew to keep the vessel, and five days afterwards he and some others of the company took their passage in an English fishing boat to Padstow in Cornwall.—

Such were the miseries endured in this unfortunate voyage, in the course of which, things falling out so adverse, those who have studied the book of human nature will not much wonder to find the commanders and the men falling out among themselves, and with each other. By the last-recited account it seems, however, that Mr. Cavendish had not so much occasion to blame Capt. Davis, as he, in the height of his vexation, might imagine. The manner of the latter's parting from the former, and the pains he took in endeavouring to rejoin him, together with other circumstances which the judicious reader must have noticed in the course of the relation, all tend to corroborate this opinion, though not adopted by the disappointed admiral.

Out of five ships that went out, only three came back from this expedition, namely the Dainty, that parted company with him in the South Sea, the Desire having on board but 26 men, though originally manned with 150, and the admiral's own ship, of the number of men lost from which we are not exactly informed, but it seems that not above fifty in all returned in safety.

When these things are considered, and the accounts here given are compared, it will not be much matter of wonder that Cavendish's men were so unwilling to expose themselves to reiterated dangers. It is one thing to be bold in attempting the achievement of a new but difficult adventure, it is another, after repeated repulses to return to the charge, and combat with ill fortune through mere rashness, when there is no necessity to renew the attempt. This seems to have

Reflexions on the undertaking.

* "Many of the men (says he) had dreamed of murder and of slaughter, one saying to another, This I [last] dreamed that thou wert slain.—Another answered, And I dreamed that thou wert slain."—A circumstance which, he observes, had occasioned the captain to be more than ordinarily careful for the safety of his men.

† The pieces in use in those times were, let off with matches, firelocks being a more modern invention.

‡ The writer of the account from whence ours is extracted, adds here, "And considering what they were who were lost, we found that all those who had conspired the murdering our cap-

tain and master were now slain by the savages, the gunner only excepted." There is nothing wonderful in this and some other similar remarks made by those who wrote in that age, especially when we reflect that, even at this time, men cannot disjoin the idea of a particular providence from that of dealing the judgments of heaven wherever they think proper.—In this case, at least, the rest of the crew seem to have been involved in difficulties and distresses, and some of them, as we find in the sequel, died a more miserable death on board, than their companions had met with on shore from the Portuguese and savages.

have been the error of our adventurer, who likewise appears to have entertained some little prejudices and partialities, not at all consistent with the extensiveness of his undertaking.

As to the expeditions he undertook, they were similar to others, which engaged the high spirits, and enriched some of the successful plunderers of the maiden reign. Private subjects of one state endeavouring to plunder another, tho' sanctified by custom, is doubtless a barbarous method of carrying on a war. At the pe-

riod of which we are writing, the Spaniards had an evident disadvantage in the contest, and their subjects in the New World severely felt the consequences. As to Captain Cavendish, he fell a sacrifice to that desire of wealth and honour which forced him on a second voyage to those parts, where the success of his first undertaking had furnished him with the means which if well managed, might probably have insured him the enjoyment of a competence in peace and security in his native country.

THE VOYAGE OF OLIVER VAN NOORT.

THE voyage of Oliver Van Noort and his company was performed by the ships Maurice, Concord, Henry Fredric, and Hope; the two former of which sailed from Rotterdam on the second of July, and having reached the English coast, remained there waiting for the latter till the 13th of September, and then departed thence upon their grand expedition, having taken on board an English pilot, of the name of Mellish,* who proved very useful to them in the course of their undertaking.

Having passed between Teneriffe and the Gran Canaria, they proceeded southward till they came in sight of the coast of Guinea, on the 3d of November. Afterwards, arriving at Prince's Island, they sent in their boats and demanded a supply of provisions, which a negro who met them at their landing made them believe would be readily granted. But while they were treating about this matter, a great number of them were suddenly cut off by a party that lay in ambush; they were pursued to their boats, which were also attacked, and the admiral's brother was killed in the engagement. The Dutch, in return, resolved to attack the castle; but as they found the experiment too dangerous, they contented themselves with burning the enemy's sugar houses, and having supplied themselves with fresh water, sailed to Cape Gonfalso, where they met with two vessels of their country.† Passing the island of Annabon on the 1st of January, they held on their course till leaving Cape Frio, they stood for Rio de Janeiro, where they arrived on the 9th of Feb. from whence after some loss of time and men, by means of the Portuguese they went to St. Sebastian. There they found no fruits but were accommodated with a good harbour, and plenty of wood and water.

Proceeding on their course, on the 14th of March a storm overtook them, which separated the vice-admiral and Hope from the other ships. The winter in those latitudes approached; the scurvy prevailed, and fearing the extremities to which they might be reduced, the admiral resolved to put into St. Helena, but the fleet could neither make that island nor the Ascension; they only reached a very barren shore, where they could get nothing but some fowls which they knocked down with clubs. Departing from thence, they were carried to the Brazilian coast; but the Portuguese not permitting them to land there, they proceeded to the isle of St. Clara, where there was little else to be found but herbs and a sort of four plumbs, which in about a fortnight cured their sick, a circumstance that at that time yielded them some consolation.

Intending for the streights of Maghellan, they stood for Port Desire, which at last they reached, and furnished themselves with fish and penguins in great plenty, from an island to the southward of that port.

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Sailing up the rivers, they saw a number of beasts resembling stags and buffaloes, as also ostriches and their nests. The admiral afterwards landed to view the country, ordering those that were left to guard the boats, not to stir from them; but these men disobeying the orders of their commander, fell into an ambuscade of Indians, by which means three of them were killed, and one was wounded. These savages are described as tall men, and having their bodies painted, carrying short bows, from whence they shot arrows headed with stone.

Still holding on their course, they endeavoured to enter the streights, but were continually driven back by tempests. They lost their anchors, broke their cables, and were visited by sickness, at the same time that disputes and contentions prevailing among them, rendered their situation every day worse: and thus they spent near 15 months from their first departure, before they were fairly got into the streights of Maghellan.

On two islands near Cape Nassau, on the 5th of November, the Dutch perceiving some men who shook their weapons at them by way of defiance, landed and pursued them to a cave, which they defended so stubbornly, that the assailants could not enter till every one of the savages was slain. The treasure which these people were so fully determined to preserve or perish in the attempt was—their wives and children, whose lives the conquerors were so indulgent as to spare—because they had nothing to hope from their destruction, nor to fear from their safety. Four boys and two girls being selected from among the children were brought on board the ships, where they were kindly entertained.

“ One of these boys (according to Harris) having learned to speak Dutch, gave them this intelligence, that the greater of these two islands was called Castemme, and the tribe that inhabited it Enno; that the smaller island was called Talcke; and that both were well stored with penguins, whose flesh was their food, and whose skins their cloathing; and as for their habitations, they had none but caves; that the adjoining continent abounded with ostriches, which also served for food; that they were distinguished into several tribes, which had their several distinct residences. The Kemenetes, that dwelt in Kaefay; the Kennekin, Karamay; the Karaiks, in Morina;—all which people were of the common size, but broader breasted; and painted all. The men tying the pudenda up with a string, and the women covering those parts with penguin skins; the former wearing long hair, and the latter shaven; but both these sexes naked except a cloak of penguin skins, reaching to the waist. That there was also a fourth tribe of them, called Tirimenen, that dwelt in Coin; and these were of a gigantic stature, *being ten or twelve feet high,*

O

* Mr. Mellish had been with Captain Cavendish in his voyage round the world.

† By the crews of these vessels, Noort's people were informed of the misfortune of Captain Cleerhagen who was lost

with most part of his company on Prince's Island. They had likewise tidings of the voyage of Peter Veerhagens, who had entered the river of Congo, and putting in at this place had buried 38 of his people.

The Dutch
fleet leaves the
English coast.

Arrives on the
coast of Brasil.

1600

high, and were continually at war with the other tribes."

[The reader will be the better enabled to form a judgement of the reality of the existence of giants on the Patagonian coasts, when he compares these accounts of the ancient voyagers with those of the circumnavigators of the present age; for which reason, we shall for the present forbear any comments upon the subject.]

The admiral set sail on the 29th for Port Famine; where he found no mark or remains of St. Philip's city (which has been already mentioned as raised by the Spaniards in order to command the freights) a heap of stones only excepted, which might serve for a memorial of the ill fate that attended that undertaking. Not finding this place convenient for watering, the ships departed on the 1st of December, and the next day doubled Cape Froward, from whence passing into a large bay, they cast anchor.——And here they found the ship of Sebald de Wert, one of Veerhagen's company, which had been driven back with another vessel from the South Sea. The captain told them he had been in the freights upwards of five months, that out of 100 men he had but eight remaining, and had put in there, while the rest of the fleet proceeded, his vessel not being able to sustain the storm in the southern ocean. Leaving this place the admiral steered for Maurice Bay, in which he perceived that several rivers disgorged themselves, and observed that it extended far eastward.——“In the mouth of these rivers (says our author) were vast quantities of ice, which seemed never to melt the year round; for though this was near the midsummer season in that southern climate, yet the ice was so thick that at ten fathoms sounding they could not reach the bottom of it. The land also seemed to be a heap of broken islands, which the height of the mountains made appear like one firm and continued piece.

Distresses of
the Dutch in
the freights of
Maghellan.

In this place they lost two of their people, whom the savages killed while they were picking mussels, on which food they chiefly subsisted, and all the company had at once hunger and storms to contend with during their continuance in these inhospitable regions.

From one bay to another the ships shifted their situation, but in general only to encounter fresh difficulties; till on the last day of February, they were at last relieved from these troubles, by passing Cape Desire, and making in their way to the South Sea, which they entered with 147 men, but on the 12th they lost the vice-admiral's vessel, and not being able to recover the sight of her, they went to La Mocha, an island in the 38th degree of south latitude, which is remarkable for a high mountain, the top of which is cleft, and from thence pours a stream of water into the valley. Here they found an Indian town, the houses of which were built of straw. The natives bartered maize, sheep, and other provisions, for knives, hatchets, and the like; and entertained their guests at their simple habitations with a liquor called *Cici*, which was made of maize steeped in water, and held in great estimation amongst them.——The Dutch accounts say that the men there are allowed to buy as many wives as they can afford. In case of murder, the kindred of the person slain, pronounce sentence and execute justice on the murderer, as all public courts of law are unknown among them; notwithstanding they are not always equally rigid in these matters, as it is sometimes possible by treating with *cici* to escape punishment. The cloathing of these people is made of the wool of a large sort of sheep, of which they are very choice, and which are also useful to them in the carriage of heavy burdens.

The Dutch came next to St. Mary's Island, in lat. 37° 15' S. gave chase to and took a ship laden with meal. They were told by this pilot that two men of war were waiting for them at Arica, where they were expected by the enemy, who had some intelligence of their designs, and the English pilot persuaded them not to attempt going to St. Mary's, where Simon de

Cordes, having being invited on shore, was slain with 23 of his people by the Indians, the Spaniards endeavouring to get his ship into their hands, and giving notice all along the coast of the arrival of the Dutch in those parts.

Afterwards they sailed to Val Paraiso where they heard news of the captain of the Flying Hare, one of Veerhagen's company, who was led into a snare, and made prisoner by the enemy.* Here the Dutch took two ships, some Indians were also slain, but the Spaniards had quitted the place. From thence they proceeded to St. Iago, where they heard of the wars between the Spaniards and the natives of Chili, who had taken the town of Baldivia, putting the inhabitants to the sword. They entered the bay of La Guesco, on the 1st of April, and after remaining there about six days, quitted that harbour, and stood for Morre Moreno. They came in view of the rich city of Lima, on the 25th. And here it is said “They came to understand the vastness of the treasure which the Spaniards had robbed them of [a strange perversion of language] and which otherwise they had found in those ships they took at St. Iago. For by the pilot's confession, there were no less than 52 chests of gold thrown overboard, each chest containing four arobes and 500 pots, and each pot ten or twelve pound; and not only this public, but every man's private treasure was as prodigally flung away, they not caring which way it went, whether to the bottom of the sea or the bellies of the fishes, so the Dutchmen might be never the better for it. This gold came from St. Mary's island, where three or four rich Spaniards engrossed all to themselves, keeping two thousand Indians starving in the mines.”

They come in
view of Lima.

Departing from hence the fleet made the Ladrões, where the company got a supply of cocoas and other fruits, keeping a wary eye upon the nimble fingered natives. Coming to Bagla Bay, they got provisions by pretending they were Spaniards. From hence, passing the Isle of Capul, they proceeded towards the Manilla; and, in their way, took a junk of China which had store of victuals on board, and was bound to the very place whither they wanted to be directed. From the master of this vessel they got the following intelligence, “That there were then at Manilla two great ships that came every year from New Spain thither, and a Dutch ship also that was bought at Malacca; that the town was walled, and had two ships riding before it for its better security. He mentioned the vast trade carried on from China thither, and said that two ships laden with iron and other metals, as well as provisions, was expected to arrive from Japan.——Holding on their course, they made the island of Lufson (which is described as being about the size of Great Britain) after having taken a bark laden with hogs and poultry, designed for the Indian tribute to the Spaniards. At this island they also took one of the Japan ships of 250 tons burden, and, on the 9th of May fell in with two vessels, whose cargoes consisted of hens, hogs, and aqua vitæ.

Arrive at the
Ladrões.

Falling in with the Manilla fleet on the 14th, a smart engagement ensued, in the course of which the Dutch admiral was boarded by the Spaniards, and on the very point of striking to the Spanish admiral, when the former threatening to blow himself and his men up with the vessel, rather than it should be yielded to the enemy, despair giving them fresh courage, upon this declaration they exerted so much vigour, that they drove back the Spaniards, and boarded, and at last sunk the admiral. In this engagement the Dutch lost their pinnace, which was taken by the enemy's vice-admiral, and had besides five men slain, and twenty-six wounded; while by their account it appeared that the Spaniards lost some hundreds, that perished partly in the fight, and partly

An engage-
ment with the
Spaniards.

* This circumstance the captain observed was owing to the wrong placing of the island in the maps.

drowned,

drowned, and knocked in the head after the fight was over."

After this engagement the Dutch fleet sailed for Borneo, 180 miles from Manilla, lying in the 5th degree of north latitude. Here they arrived on the 26th, and putting into a large bay, sent to ask the king's permission to trade there; but that prince would enter into no treaty with them, till he was satisfied they were not Spaniards; afterwards they trafficked for pepper with the Patarees, a people of Chinese original. But at length they found that the Borneans wanted to surprize them, having fitted out an hundred vessels called Praws, for that purpose; who pretended to bring them presents from the king; but the Dutch being on their guard, threatened them with a discharge of their ordnance if they did not keep off. This threat had the desired effect; and thus they escaped the meditated mischief.

They found the island to be one of the largest in those parts, the people all were warlike, and all ranks going armed; even the women were bold enough to resent an affront with the point of a javelin.—Before they left Borneo on the night of the 4th of January, four of the natives attempted to cut their cables, but being discovered and shot at, they escaped, and leaving their prau behind them, it fell into the Dutchmen's hands.

A Japanese junk that they spoke with in these latitudes told them of a great Dutch vessel which bad weather had forced into Japan, only 14 of her crew remaining, and which vessel they concluded to be Veerhagen's admiral.

Having but one anchor remaining, and the cable very much worn, they were happy in taking a junk from Jor, in which they found a skilful pilot, of whose services they stood in great need, being surrounded with islands, and shoals, and in an unknown sea.

Thus proceeding with caution, they arrived at Jortan in Java on the 28th, and heard tidings of Dutch ships at Bantham. The king of that part of the island they were informed had conquered Balam-buan, a little isle to the southward but a short time before their arrival.

Departing from Java, they steered for the cape of Good Hope, and in their way saw a Portuguese vessel of 600 tons fast between the shoals. This ship it was said, was going to Amboyna, in order to engross the trade there.

Having left Java on the N. E. they proceeded on their voyage, and on the 24th of April at night they saw a light which they reckoned to be about four miles north-west of them, which much surprized them as by account they were 36 leagues from land. But the next day they found themselves in 34° 45' S. lat. the weather being calm. At night they saw a light, and the next morning they discovered land to the north-east of them, which was the Cape of Good Hope.

From thence they steered for St. Helena, where

they arrived on the 26th of May, and having refreshed themselves with what the island afforded, they departed on the 30th, and again crossed the Line, in their way to Holland; where they arrived in safety in two months and fourteen days; casting anchor before Amsterdam, on the 26th of August.

The fleet in which Sebald de Wert was, of whom we made mention, consisted of five ships, called the Hope, the charity, the Faith, the Fidelity, and the Good News; Sir Jaques Mohu, was the admiral, Simon de Cordes, the vice-admiral; Benningham Beckholt, and Sebald de Wert were captains of the other vessels. They set sail from Amsterdam June 27, 1598.

The admiral dying, when the fleet had reached the Cape Verd isles, Simon de Cardes succeeded him in the command. From thence they proceeded to Guinea, with intention to trade. A French sailor came on board them while they were on this coast, who offering to do them service with the Negro king, Sebald de Wert was sent to his majesty, whom they found seated on a throne about a foot high, and dressed in something like a gaudy suit of livery. But the place was barren of provisions, so that the admiral was obliged to dine upon his own, under the pretext of shewing his majesty his country fare, to whom he drank in Spanish wine; and this great prince found the liquor so agreeable to his palate, that he drank till he was carried away asleep. Two buffaloes, a boar, and a few fowls were all they could get there; so they left the place on the 8th of November, and after touching at Annabon, sailed for the streights of Maghellan in the beginning of January, and entered them at Penguin Island, on the 6th of April.

Having anchored in a bay 54° south, on the 15th of April, they remained there till the 23d of August, in the course of which time, they lost 100 of their company. On May the 7th, while they were employed in taking gudgeons, they were attacked by some of the gigantic savages, whom they repulsed with their shot, killing some of them; which they afterwards revenged by the death of three Dutchmen.* Some of the natives of these inhospitable regions defaced a monument left by the admiral of a society in which he was engaged with six of the principal persons; which was called *The Fraternity of the Golden Lion*; and likewise pulled the dead out of their graves and horribly dismembered them. They left the streights on the 3d of September, but were separated on the 7th, Captain de Wert was obliged to stay, the Faith and Fidelity were also left behind, and in the midst of sickness, tempests, and unnumbered difficulties reached the streights, where they met with admiral Van Noort, whose situation did not put it in his power to relieve his distressed countrymen. At last they had the satisfaction of leaving the streights on the 22d of January, 1600, and arrived in the Maes, on July 14, 1601.†

1601

Account of
Sebald de
Wert's expedition.

THE VOYAGE OF GEORGE SPILBERGEN.

THIS admiral, with a fleet of six ships, sailed from the Texel on the 8th of August, and passing the Canaries on the 11th of October, steered for the coast of Brasil, which they came in view of on the 13th of December, and on the 20th of the same month, came to the Island of Grandes; on the 30th one of the ships in company called the Hunter,

engaged with the five barks of Portuguese and Indians as they heard by the firing, and presently came up to help her; but a fresh supply reinforcing the enemy, the Dutch were obliged to sheer off. Lying still before this island, a conspiracy was discovered, for which two persons who were found guilty, were executed in the beginning of the new year. After they left this place,

1614

The admiral
sails from the
Texel.

* According to the Dutch, the weapons which these savages used, were darts, with heads the roughness of which resembled saws, so that there was no relief for a person hurt by one of them till it was cut out of the wound.

† In the course of their voyage they discovered three islands without the Streights, to which they gave the name of the Sebaldine Isles.

Treachery of
the Borneans
detected.

The admiral
sails from the
Texel.

1615

place, they sailed to St. Vincent, and took a bark which they burned; 18 Portuguese whom they had made prisoners, being refused by their countrymen to be exchanged for a smaller number of Dutchmen with some goods taken in the prize which were offered into the bargain.

A mutiny.

After having weathered a dreadful storm on the 7th of March, holding on their course, a mutiny on the 21st broke out, which was quelled by the commanders. They entered the Streights of Maghellan on the 24th of the same month, but the winds and tides forcing them out again, they could not re-enter till the 2d of April. In the latitude of 54 degrees, they gave the name of Pepper-Haven to a place where they found the bark of the trees in taste to resemble that spice. They trafficked with the savages, exchanging knives, and such sort of commodities for a kind of pearl; but these people soon after slew two of their men, having surprised a company of them on shore.

At length, on the 6th of May they made good their passage into the South Sea, where they met with a dreadful storm, by which they were much endangered, as they were in fear of splitting on some islands lying near.

Proceeding in the Pacific Ocean they came to La Mocha, (which place had been fixed upon for a rendezvous in case of separation). Here they trafficked with the natives, whom they found to be a warlike people, furnished with military stores, and enemies to the Spaniards. Here likewise the Dutch were supplied with sheep and poultry. Coming on the 28th to St. Mary's Island, they were invited on shore by a Spaniard, but finding by the appearance of some soldiers, that foul play was intended, they declined the invitation, and kept the Spaniard prisoner. Landing afterwards, when they approached the town, the people retired, setting the church on fire; the Dutch did the same by the houses; and four Spaniards were slain, and two Dutchmen wounded in a skirmish.—Here they took 500 sheep and some poultry, and afterwards sailed to meet three Spanish vessels which they understood were sent out in quest of them.

The Spaniards defeated in a sea-fight.

After having passed Arica, on the 2d of July, and on the 16th taken a ship with some valuable commodities on board, they were met by the royal fleet of Peru, of eight sail, commanded by Rodrigo de Mendoza, which they engaged, sunk the vice-admiral and one of their ships called the St. Francis, totally defeated the enemy, and so much damaged the admiral's ship, that she also went to the bottom, after the fight was over. By this misfortune the king of Spain lost a vast sum expended on the ships and their preparation. The commander in chief died of his wounds, and it seems that "all the Spaniards who were not killed in the fight or drowned in the sea, were dispatched by the Dutch, who, on their part had 40 men slain, and 58 wounded. After this fight, the fleet sailed for Callion de Lima, in pursuit of the Spanish admiral's ship, not apprehending that she was sunk at sea. Pursuing their course for Callion de Lima, the Spaniards shot at them from the shore, and were very near sinking one of the Dutch vessels, called the Hunter, with a 36 pounder, having an army of horse and foot on shore, which the viceroy himself commanded.

On the 8th of August they came to Paytos, where they landed 300 men, after having battered it with their great guns. The people, notwithstanding the strength of their fortifications, had fled to the mountains, taking their property with them, so that the Dutch found nothing but bare walls left them.

Of the Spanish dominions in that part of America, Pedro de Madrigo, of Lima, had given them the following account.

State of the Spanish dominions in America.

"That Peru, Chili, and Terra Firma, were under the command of one and the same viceroy, which office was continued for six or eight years—that the profits of it were 40,000 ducats per annum; with 1000 pezoës for the extraordinary ex-

pences of entertainments at the feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, &c. and likewise Easter; and 2000 pezoës per annum, when he set out the silver fleet.—That the viceroy lived in all the pomp and state of a king, not stirring out without his guard of pensioners, and if he went far, he was waited on by 100 lances, and 50 muskets.—That there were in Panama, Quito, Carlos, and Lima, certain courts erected for the judging of all causes, civil and criminal, appeal being made to the Oviidores in civil matters, and to the Alcalds in criminal, both which offices were supported by a yearly stipend of 3000 pezoës; and there was a fifth court of this nature too, established in Chili.—The city of Lima (the city of Kings) was honoured with the residence of the viceroy and the arch-bishop; it stands in a pleasant valley, extended a mile and half in length, and three quarters in breadth, and was then reckoned to contain 100,000 inhabitants, besides foreign merchants. It had four large market-places, and a circado filled with 2000 Indian artificers.—It had plenty of large buildings dedicated to religion, and other pious uses: here were the churches of St. John, St. Marcellus, St. Sebastian, and St. Ann. The monasteries of St. Francis, St. Dominick, St. Augustine, and of Our Lady de Los Meriedes, each of which had two cloisters of friars of their order, and no less than 250 religious within the bounds of every considerable monastery. There were two colleges of Jesuits; the five nunneries of the Incarnation, Conception, Trinity, St. Joseph, and St. Clare. The hospitals of St. Andrew, for the laity; of St. Peter, for the clergy; of St. Ann, for the Indians; of Charity, for women only; of S. Spirito, for sailors; and of S. Lazaro, for incurables. There were likewise in the city two colleges, the King's College, and that of S. Tonne; in the former 24 students were maintained by the king, and in the latter as many by the arch-bishop. There were reckoned 200 doctors of all faculties here, 400 masters of arts, and 1000 inferior students. Here were also the king's treasury, and a court of inquisition; besides the grand office of the crusada, or court of the pope's bulls, with officers and pensions proportionable to the former. There were reckoned in the city, and the suburbs of it, above 20,000 slaves; and it was defended by a garrison of eight companies of foot, and as many of horse. Situate two leagues from the sea, the walls of it were washed by a river, that sometimes so much swelled by great rains, as to carry away the stone bridge of nine arches. The Indians who lived here were free as well as the Spaniards, only they paid every six months, two pezoës, also a hen, eight rials, and a piece of cotton or woollen cloths. The next port of Lima was Callao, in which were about 800 inhabitants.—He added, that Potosi was famous for its silver mines, and there was a good trade thither from Arica, of beasts, wheat, meal, maize, and axicoca, an herb for chewing: and for carriages they made use of a sort of sheep, that were formed something like camels. There was a descent of 400 steps down into the mine, in which, as dark and deep as it was, there were above 20,000 Indians continually at work; and 100 more employed in grinding and carrying, and other things relating to the silver trade. This place was so cold, that nothing would grow for four leagues compass round about, but a certain herb, which they call yeho. It was reported too, that in Potosi (besides the other inhabitants) there were 1500 gamesters, that lived merely by their wits, and were obliged to a pack of cards for maintenance. That not far from thence was Chuquifaca, adorned with religious houses like Lima, and had a bishoprick worth 30,000 ducats per annum. That at 70 miles distance lay the silver mine called Eruco; and about 180 Spanish leagues distant was the fair haven of Arica, in the way to which lay many villages well inhabited.—That there was another silver mine, as cold as Potosi, that lay near Puna, called Chicolá Choca, about which lived 5000 Spaniards.—That Cusco had a bishop, monks, and

and two colleges, with some 600 students, and 6000 Spanish inhabitants—That Arequipa had about 2000 inhabitants, and was honoured with the residence of a bishop, and a corregidore—That St. Iago was the chief city of Chili, which was enriched with a gold mine—That Baldivia was celebrated for the same, and Coquimbo for its plenty of brass—That Auroca was no very rich town, but it was defended by a fort, in which a company of Spaniards always lay in garrison.

They took two strange birds of the eagle kind in the island called Leubes, and an Indian vessel, by which means a quantity of dried fish was added to the provisions of the company. They put to sea again on the 21st of August, and on the 23d anchored before Rio de Tumba. Afterwards they intended to put back to the Isle of Coques, in latitude 5° south but could by no means attain their end. A continuation of bad weather left their ship at the mercy of the elements: and it was not till the 1st of October that they anchored in the haven of Acapulco.

Here a flag of truce being hung out, they trafficked with the Spaniards, receiving provisions in exchange for prisoners, and, what was remarkable enough, the viceroy's nephew Hernando, came on board to take a view of his enemies shipping. Sailing from hence they took a bark intended for the pearl fishery, and anchored in a port in the latitude of 19° north on the 1st of November: after an engagement with the Spaniards on the 11th, they sailed for the Nativity,

where having got what refreshment they wanted, they departed on the 20th, steering for the Ladrones, whither they came on the 23d of January.

On the 7th of February they arrived at the Ladrones, where they found the Indians unwilling to trade with them, because they knew them not to be Spaniards; and after having taken several barks in these seas, they held on their course homewards, passing by Mindanao, but not coming close in with the shore for fear of the dangerous shoals upon these coasts*.

Thus proceeding, after touching at Ternate, the Dutch fleet came to Jacatra on the 15th of September, where the vessels were refitted, when they understood that they were in no danger from the Spanish fleet sent before to the Moluccas, the preparation of which had taken up four years, as the admiral was no more, and the ships had retired to the Manillas. Here they met some ships of their own country full of Spanish treasure; and on the 20th of October fell in with the Concord, a ship of Horne, which was joined to their little fleet. The Nassau came to Bantham from Mocha, on the 10th of November, and on the 12th of December the Amsterdam, and the Middleburgh, came thither from the Straights of Malacca. The admiral setting sail with these, touched at St. Helena on the last day of March, and having completed his voyage, arrived at Zealand in the month of July, 1616.

They arrive at Zealand.

THE VOYAGE OF WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOUTEN, OF HORNE.

THIS voyage was undertaken on the ideas only of Isaac Le Maire, a merchant of Amsterdam, and William Cornelison Schouten of Horne, that there was yet another passage to be found to the South Seas besides that discovered by Maghellan†. For the purpose of making this experiment, two ships were equipped, called the Unity, of 360 tons, and 65 men, the one commanded by the adventurer, whose voyage is the subject of our relation, the other called the Horne, of 110 tons, of which John Cornelison Schouten was master. Being properly provided with guns, ammunition and provisions, the Unity came to the Texel on the 27th of May, and her consort joined her on the 3d of June, 1615. From thence they proceeded on their voyage, touching in their way at Dover, and having sailed by the Canaries, passed the tropics of Cancer on the 15th of July. Anchoring at Cape Verd, they procured a supply of fresh water, and departed on the first of August, and on the 21st of the same month made the high land of Sierra Leona. And, after getting clear of the shallows, anchored at the island of Madrabomba, which the Dutch describe as full of bogs, and marshes, a habitation for wild beasts, where they live uninterrupted by mankind. From thence they came before the village in the road of Sierra Leona, where, having given a pledge for their good intentions, the natives carried on a traffic with them, and the woods on shore furnished the crews with lemons in abundance.

The ships sailed from Sierra Leona, on the 4th of October, and the next day, being in 4° 27' south lat. a strange incident happened, which is thus related:

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* In these parts their best prospect was nothing but a range of hills covered with ice. They saw a vast quantity of penguins, and such numbers of whales that they were obliged to be very cautious in their steerage, lest they should run foul of their enormous bodies.

† The states of Holland had forbidden all their ships, ex-

cept such as belonged to the East India company to pass to the Indies, either by the Cape of Good Hope or the Straights of Maghellan, which prohibition set the invention of some to work to find another passage. Le Maire and our adventurer, in consequence of such a notion entered on this scheme, and the latter embarked in this expedition.

On the third of November they saw Ascension Island, and the company having been apprised of the design of this voyage, to which before they were strangers, the vessels steered for Port Desire, but when they came to 47° 40' south lat. missing the channel, they sailed into a crooked bay, which from the

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A strange shock.

1615

They traffic with the Spaniards at Lima.

1615

Schouten embarks.

The fleet comes to Madrabomba.

1615

number of smelts taken there, they called Smelts Bay, and there they were near losing the *Unity*. But this danger past, they anchored in the haven of Port Desire, on the 8th of November, in 20 fathom water, but the ground being slippery stones, the ships drove from their anchors, and both were likely to be lost, the *Unity* lying with her side on the cliffs, and the horn being stuck in such a manner that a person might walk under her at low water. Yet a flood and favourable weather brought them both off, beyond the expectation of those on board. The next day they proceeded farther up the river, where they found abundance of sea mews, and furnished themselves with some thousands of the eggs of those birds. Two days afterwards they saw ostriches and a kind of harts upon the coast, and, according to the report of these voyagers some burial places were found wherein were deposited bones of an unusual size, which apparently had belonged to the gigantic natives of the country. And here while they were endeavouring to clear the horn, burning reeds under her bottom, she took fire by accident, and was totally consumed; the guns, anchors, and iron-work, however, were saved and put on board the other vessel.

On the 15th of January the *Unity* sailed out of Port Desire, but being becalmed, was obliged to anchor before the haven, which Schouten left with the first fair wind, in order to prosecute his intended discovery. On the 20th he saw Steencrofs Drive, and being 20 leagues to the southward of the Maghellanic Streights, by account, steered south by west, and the next day saw land to the west and west south west, and afterwards to the south; and the north wind made them take in their top-sails while they were lying by an east south east course, to get above the land. Coming close with the shore to the east, on the 25th, they called it Staten Land, and to that which lay westward they gave the name of Maurice-Land. The land upon the south side of the passage at the west end of Maurice Land, appeared to tend west south west, and south west, being a craggy shore as far as was within view.

Thus proceeding they found themselves in a fair way for succeeding in the discovery, which was at length put out of doubt by observing the high land to the south of the streights of Maghellan to end in a point or cape, to which they gave the name of Cape Horne, and laid it down in $59^{\circ} 48'$ south lat. and the streights they had sailed through were termed the Streights of Le Maire, who, as we have said, sailed with Schouten upon the expedition. Having lost sight of land, they perceived a large swell from the southward, and a blueness in the sea, that indicated the conflux of those two mighty oceans, which here meet one another and extend their mighty arms to circle the vast continents of this habitable globe.

During their passage through these new discovered streights they had a series of blowing weather, and a foggy air, and when they lost sight of land were still forced to encounter with heavy gales. But having surmounted all these difficulties, and gone as far as $59^{\circ} 25'$ south, they were at length enabled to hold a northward course, and on the 12th of February had the satisfaction of seeing the Maghellanic Streights to the eastward of them, on which they celebrated their success in a cup of good wine, and presently forgot all former difficulties.

From hence they resolved to steer for Juan Fernandez, which they reached on the 1st of March, at noon, and reckoned it to lie in $33^{\circ} 48'$ south lat. but though they were pleased with the appearance of the land, yet not being able to bring the ship up to an anchor close by it, they departed, having taken a quantity of fish, and supplied themselves with fresh water. Having passed the tropic of Capricorn, on the 3d of April, at which time the flux raged among them, on the 11th they came to an isle, to which they gave the name of Dog Island, lying in $15^{\circ} 12'$ south. Their only refreshment here was some herbs, and they named the island after a set of animals like dogs (probably of the Peruvian breed) which could neither

snarl nor bark. "On the 14th about sun-set (say, on our account) they came within a league of a large low island, from whence a canoe advanced to meet them; the men naked, with long black hair, and their bodies of a reddish colour. They made signs to the Dutch to come ashore, and called to them in their language; and though they answered them in their own, the Spanish, Molucca, and Javan tongues, yet the Indians understood them not; so that both sides were in the dark as to each others minds. When they got up to the island and sounded, they found no bottom; neither was there any change of water, though they were within a musket shot of the shore. Here the Indians and they had another unintelligible conference, but the former could not be persuaded to come up to the ship by any signs the Dutch could make to invite them to it, as neither would the Dutch go ashore to them, though still they kept pointing, while neither side understood one word that was spoken by the other.

"Sailing afterwards 10 leagues to the north-west, to get above the land, they coasted the next morning along shore, where they perceived several of those naked people calling to them (as they guessed) to land. Presently after one of the canoes came towards the ship, but would not come up to it, yet ventured towards the shallop, where the Dutch and those Indians fell to their mysterious conversation again.

"The Dutch gave them beads and knives, and several things that pleased them, which kindness emboldened them at last to come a little nearer the ship, but still they would not go aboard her, but got back into the shallop. Neither had they any great reason to be fond of their company there, for they were a parcel of light-fingered fellows, having much the same degree of conscience and honesty as those at the Ladrones. They liked iron as the Ladronians did, and they loved like them to steal it. The very nails of the cabin windows and the bolts upon the doors could not keep their places for them, but they would have them off; this was found to be true, by an instance of one of them, who had cunningly slipped into the ship, and pulled out all the window-nails, which for security's sake he had stuck into his hair. Nay, they were so very impudent, that whatever they laid hands on was their own (tho' the owner looked on all the while) if he did not recover his right by force. When the Dutch gave them some wine, they drank the liquor and kept the cup, so when they threw out a rope to bring them to the ship, they would neither use the rope nor return it. And their qualities were not more odd than the figure they made; for (besides that they were all naked, except the pudenda, which they covered with a piece of mat, their skin was all over figured with snakes, dragons, and such like vermin, which were very significant emblems of their own subtle and mischievous natures."

The Dutch having a mind to try if any thing were to be done with them, or to be gotten in the island, sent their shallop with eight musqueteers and six swordsmen besides other company of the ship. They were no sooner landed than 30 of these people rushed out of a wood upon them, armed with great clubs and slings and long staves; they would have seized the shallop and taken away the soldiers arms; but the musqueteers letting fly amongst them, kept them from the sin of robbery at that time, and forced them to be honest whether they would or not. This island they called the Isle without Ground, because they could not anchor there: it was not broad, but long, and full of trees, which the Dutch guessed to be cocoas and palmettos. It was a white, sandy ground, and lay in 15° south, about a hundred leagues from Dog Island.

Leaving these people, whose language they could not understand, and of whose manners and morals they had so bad a specimen, the *Unity* departed, and in her course passed two islands, to one of which they gave the appellation of Water Island, on account of its

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low and marshy situation, and named the other Fly Island, from a quantity of flies, which surrounding some of the crew who landed and went into the woods, became a mere pest to them and their companions at their return. It was about four days before they got rid of this plague of flies, and with an hearty good will set sail from Fly Island, where, previous to this inconvenience, a wild man, (which one would think was no very extraordinary sight in those parts) had struck a panic into their company.

The Dutch
take an Indian
bark.

At the distance of about 1510 leagues by account from the coast of Peru, in 15° 20' south lat. they took a bark, the crew of which would not strike when two pieces of ordnance were fired at them, but yielded to the shallop with 10 musqueteers on board, most of the men throwing themselves into the water, and the rest with their women and children surrendering to the conquerors, who used them well (according to their own relation) dressed their wounds, entertained them on board the ship, and sent all that they had taken prisoners freely back again. The bark these Indians were in, the Dutch say, was formed in the following manner: "It consisted of two canoes fastened together, in the midst of which were laid two broad planks of red wood, to keep out the weather, and several others went cross from one canoe to the other, which were made very fast and close above, and hung a good way over on both sides. At the end of one of the canoes on the starboard side, there stood a mast with a fork in the end of it, where the yard lay; the sail was made of mats, and the ropes of such stuff as the fig-frails in Spain consist of. They had neither compass, chart, nor any furniture for the seas, but only a few fishing hooks, the upper part of each of which was stone, and the other black bone, tortoise-shell, or mother of pearl." What was still more extraordinary, we are told that they had no occasion for fresh water, as, besides having recourse to the liquor of a few cocoa nuts, not only the men and women, but even their smallest children could drink with satisfaction out of the sea which flowed around them. The Dutch saw another of these barks on the 11th of the same month, which sailed so fast, that few Europeans could out go her. That day they made two islands, at one of which they anchored. They reckoned it to lie in 16° 10' south lat. and from the number of cocoas growing on the shores, denominated it Cocoa Island.

Here they met with a people who seemed willing to trade and exchange provisions and other commodities with them; but like some of the other islanders in those parts, they found them treacherous enough when they had an advantage. These savages afterwards boarded the shallop in order to take her, and laughed at the first discharge of the musquetry, but the second being better directed, they were convinced of the execution which fire-arms could do, and taught better manners. After this they were as troublesome in their importunities to trade with the Christians, as before they had been in their attempts to rob and murder them. Admiring much at the ship's strength, they not only climbed up her side like clustering bees, but dived under her, and examined her bottom.

The Dutch were well enough pleased with this traffic, which was carried on in a friendly manner, and the king of the savages sent them a hog by the way of present, for which he had taken nothing in return; his son also was kindly entertained on board the ship, though his majesty declined coming in person. Yet notwithstanding all this, on the morning of the 13th, a vast number of large vessels and canoes, containing about 800 Indians surrounded the Dutch ship. Having in vain endeavoured to deceive the Christians by pretending that they came only to direct them to a

place where they might be accommodated, these savages gave a sudden onset, the king himself who was present; leading the way, and pushing his vessel so forcibly on to the attack, that the heads of two of his canoes were dashed in pieces with the shock. But the great ordnance of the Dutch playing upon them, as well as the small arms, they were glad to desist from their purpose. This place the Captain called Traitor's island; yet at the very next isle which he came to, he found much the same sort of treatment, and would have lost his shallop but for the spirited resistance of the crew.

When they came under 16° 5' south latitude, on the 18th of May, it was resolved to steer in such a manner as to fall in southward with New-Guinea. In consequence of this resolution, they directed their course N. N. W. and on the 19th they saw two islands, to one of which they came on the 21st, where they were defied by some Indians coming in two canoes from the shore; but having chastised the insolence of those savages by a discharge of their guns, which killed two of their company; they heard no more of them, but the next day received from their countrymen a supply of cocoas, ubes roots, and roasted hogs, for which beads, knives and nails were given in exchange. The habitations of these Indians, which were full in view, were ten or twelve feet in height, about 25 in compass, and thatched with leaves; their bed was dried herbage, and a club made the whole of their furniture, as well as their defence against their enemies. The Dutch exchanged hostages with these people, sending three of their principal men in the room of six Indians, whom they retained. The king, who seemed to entertain an idea of good faith, caused great respect to be paid to his guests on shore, and would not suffer any of his subjects to disturb such of the crew as came to water.*

But after all, there was very little to be gotten on this island, as the Indians themselves had not at that time a plenty of hogs, for which the Dutch chose chiefly to barter. And besides, it appeared (though the king and his company even set their tiaras of feathers on the heads of two of the Dutchmen)† yet they wanted their guests to be gone; for they would have bought their absence with 18 hogs and a quantity of cocoas, and would have engaged them in a war with the king of the other island. Though all this time both prince and people continued their marks of respect to the Christians, kissing their feet, and laying them cross their necks, in token of awe and veneration. The account of these voyagers, says—"The 30th was made a day of solemnities, by the coming of the king of the other island to visit the king of this. He came with a train of 300 of his naked Indians, that had bunches of green herbs stuck about their middles, of which they prepared their drink: And that he might be sure to be welcome, he also brought 116 hogs along with him. When these two princes were within sight of each other, they began to bow and scrape, and muttered out certain prayers to themselves: When they met, they both fell down with their faces flat upon the ground, and after several very strange gestures used, they got up upon their legs, and walked away to the seats provided for them; where, after they had muttered some more prayers and bowed very reverently to one another again, with much ado they sat down under a canopy provided for them. And now to make the strange king the more welcome, a messenger was dispatched to the Dutch ship, to get drums and trumpets ashore; so the trumpets sounded, and a march was beat up, to the very great entertainment of the two kings. After this they prepared for a solemn banquet; and in order to it, began to make ready their liquor,

* One of the natives detected, was pursued and severely beaten by the king's officers, who said that if his Majesty had known the matter, the offender would have lost his head. This and much more might possibly be accounted for by the fear wherein they stood of the Dutch fire-arms, which was such that the king, though desirous to hear the ordnance go off, and ap-

prised of the effect, yet ran into the woods with all his courtiers, as soon as he heard the discharge.

† These crowns were made of red, green, and white feathers; each of the king's council had one of the doves sitting by him upon a stick.

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liquor which they did in this slovenly manner: There came into the presence a company of fellows, with a good quantity of cana, (the herb of which they make their drink) each of whom having crammed in a mouthful of it they began to chew together; having chewed it a while they put it out of their mouths into a large wooden trough, and poured water upon it, and fell to stirring and squeezing it, and having pressed out all the goodness, they presented it in cups to the two kings. They were so civil likewise, as to offer the Dutch some of it who were ready to vomit at the sight of the preparation. As for the eating part of the entertainment, it consisted of ubes roots roasted, and hogs dressed after a very *nice* manner. They had ripped up the bellies, and taken out the guts of them; and then putting hot stones into their bellies, and singeing off the outside hair, without any farther dressing, or cleansing, they were fit for the king's table. They presented two of these hogs to the Dutch, with all the form and ceremony they used to their kings, laying them first upon their heads, and then kneeling with much humility, left them at their feet. They gave them besides, eleven more alive; for which they received a present of knives, old nails, and beads.—These people were of a dark yellow colour, strong, and well proportioned bodies, so tall and big, that the largest amongst the Dutch would have been matched by the least of them. Some wore their hair curled, some frizzled, some tied up in knots; and some had it standing up-right on their heads like hogs bristles, a quarter of an ell high. The king, and some of his courtiers, had long locks hanging down below their hips, bound up with a knot or two, but the women were all cropped close; and besides, were very ugly figures, being short and ill shaped, and their breasts hanging down to their bellies. Both sexes went naked all to the pudenda: They seemed to be a people wholly void of devotion, and all worldly care and prudence, living just as the inferior animals do upon what the earth itself produced, without the solicitations of art and industry. They neither sowed nor reaped, nor bought nor sold, nor did any thing for a livelihood, leaving all to the care of nature, which if it failed at any time they must starve: and they had as little regard to the laws of decency and modesty too as to those of civil prudence and policy, for they made use of their wives openly, in the greatest assemblies; even before their king too as much as they revered him.—In their manners, in many of these particulars, the reader will find a striking resemblance with those of the Indians mentioned by our modern circumnavigators.

Horne Island.

To this place the Dutch gave the name of Horne Island, and called the bay Unity Bay, from whence they set sail on the first day of June, and for 20 days saw no land, but on the 21st of the same month, discovered a low island, some of the natives of which came off in a canoe, and were in manner and appearance much like the Indians already described, except that they had bows and arrows, which were the first weapons of that sort that Schouten's company had seen since their entering the Pacific Ocean. These people gave these strangers to understand by signs, that there was more land, and a likelihood of better convenience farther to the westward; and the latter shaped their course according to this information. On the 24th they fell in with three isles, which they called the Green islands, and saw another on St. John the Baptist's day, to which they gave his name. Discovering, at the same time very high land to the south west; they concluded it to be the point of New Guinea, and stood for it. Having reached it by noon, they coasted along shore, and the shallop being sent to sound, was assaulted by the natives, as was also the ship the next day; but the Dutch having the victory in both contests, these savages who before would not understand their signs, nor answer to their kind offers, became more intelligent and tractable, ransoming a prisoner taken in the night, at the price of 10 hogs, and supplying the strangers with what they wanted by way of barter.

New Guinea.

The Dutch departed on the 28th, still sailing with the point of this island in view, and also saw several more. On the 30th some other Indians, in appearance more peaceable and modest, came to them in their canoes; and on the first of July they anchored between an island about two miles in length, and the firm land of New Guinea.

Here the ship was surrounded by about 25 canoes manned with those people who had before seemed of so peaceable a disposition, but who now came to try their strength in war, in which contest, as in most of the like nature, the Europeans presently gaining an evident advantage by means of their fire-arms, the assailants were defeated, and the Dutch were suffered to proceed unmolested. Thus continuing their course on the 6th they saw a very high hill to the S. S. W. which they thought to be the hill Geemanapi in Banda, but found their mistake, soon after discovering three other hills, some of which were volcanos, on which account they gave the place the name of Vulcan's Island. "The island (says the writer of the voyage) was well inhabited, and full of cocoas, but there was no anchoring there. The people were naked, and extremely fearful of the Dutch, and their language so very different from all thereabouts, that none of the blacks they [the Dutch] had with them, could understand them. There appeared more islands north and north west; but they held their course to one that lay north west by west, whither they came that evening. The water there they observed to be of divers colours, green, white, and yellow, which probably was the effect of the mixture of some rivers, because it was far sweeter than the sea water, and was full of leaves and boughs of trees, and some had birds and crabs fastened upon them."

Volcanos.

The next island they came to, was inhabited by a people called Papoos, remarkable for nothing but their ill features, which were not at all set off by the uncomely ornaments of rings in their noses, rows of hogs teeth worn round their necks, and such sort of savage finery. In short, their appearance was such as disgusted even to loathing, a people not very curious in the arts of dress, and who have never been remarked for nicety of taste amongst the European nations. The houses of these savages were elevated on stakes about nine feet above the ground, a custom amongst many of the Indian nations, who live as if they were in continual fears of a general deluge.—Leaving the country of the Papoos, the Dutch came to another island, from which they were frightened away, not by the deformity of the people, but by the dear rates at which they valued such provisions as they had to dispose of. And now Schouten's fleet, still proceeding, yet remained in uncertainty, whether they had really been all this while on the coast of New Guinea or not, the charts not agreeing with their observations.

As they sailed, on the 15th, along shore of two islands, on which observing abundance of cocoa trees, the captain dispatched a party properly armed, in the shallop and the boat, to procure some of the fruit, but, notwithstanding all the advantage of their fire-arms, these were so roughly handled by the Indians, that they were obliged to return without having effected their purpose. Afterwards the ship came to an anchor at the smaller island, where a number of the crew landed, and burned several houses of the natives, who afterwards came and made peace with them, bringing fruits of divers kinds, and being presented with beads and toys, the difference was amicably adjusted. Matters being thus accommodated, we find, "They continued trading for cocoas, bananas, cassanie [cassavi or cassada] and papede, of the former they got as much as came to 50 nuts, and two bunches of banana a man. This papede and cassanie are also East-India commodities; and the latter particularly is also admirably good in the West-Indies, and far beyond what they met with here. The people made all their bread of it, and baked it into large round cakes for that purpose. They called their own island Moa, which was the most easterly, the other, over against

A party of the Dutch repulsed by the Indians.

They are reconciled with them.

against it Juson, and the farthermost about six leagues from New Guinea, Arimoa. These people had probably been visited by some Europeans before, as they had Spanish jars and pots, and were not surprised at great guns, as the other Indians usually were, nor so curious in looking into the ship as absolute strangers to such a thing might be supposed to be.

Proceeding by the land in a north west they came on the 21st at noon into lat. $10^{\circ} 13''$ north, and anchored near a cluster of islands where they had tempestuous weather, and after their departure were overtaken by some canoes of Indians, who like the former seemed to be no strangers to the Europeans; but were larger and of a more yellow complexion than those of Moa. They brought a fruit like prunes, cocoas, and bananas, to barter, and others brought porcelain ware. They wore glass beads, and ear-rings, and were armed with bows and arrows. The next day they saw another isle which they called Schouten's Island.

On the 29th as they were holding on their course, they felt a very sensible shock, which alarmed the ship's company, who thought no less than that the vessel had struck upon some unknown rock or shoal, but finding themselves evidently clear of all such dangers, and not being able to get ground upon sounding, they reasonably concluded that it was an earthquake which had thus shaken the watry regions. And when they put into a great bay the next day, the shock was repeated, and a most dreadful thunder-storm ensued with torrents of rain, which probably preserved them from the pernicious effects of the lightnings that glared around them.

In this variable weather, they had twice passed the equinoctial line; and, on the third of August, being in $35''$ north lat. conceived that they had reached the end of New Guinea, having sailed 230 leagues along the coast.

They now saw two islands to the westward, from whence came several canoes with tobacco, rice, and Indian beans. The people of these parts spoke the language of Ternate and the Malayan tongue, and some were acquainted also with the Spanish. Some were clothed with loose silks about their waists, others wore breeches, and the Mahometans among them had silken wreaths about their heads, which were also covered with fine black hair, and they were extremely fond of wearing rings of gold and silver. Linen appeared to be what they most wished to receive in exchange for their commodities, notwithstanding they bartered them also for beads and toys. The people were natives of Tidore, and this was Gilolo, as it was afterwards found, though the Indians were particularly careful not to tell the name of their country. The Dutch kept sailing round the land with various weather; and, on the 18th, spoke with the crews of two canoes that had hung out a signal of peace. These men were of Ternate, and informed them that an English ship, and a Dutch pinnace had lain three months in the road of Soppo to which they offered to conduct the strangers, coming themselves from a village which bore the same name. On the 19th they sailed into a sandy bay, where they bartered for Indian commodities, and for poultry, lying about a

cannon-shot from the shore. And about the middle of the next month proceeded on their course to Ternate, whither they saw another vessel which proved to be the Morning Star, sailing with all expedition. The shallop which had lain in a creek with that vessel reported the intelligence that 10 ships were waiting at the Manillas with a view to intercept the Spanish fleet that was bound for Ternate. They also learned that Peter Bot, on his return, was wrecked with four vessels off the island of Mauritius, only one of the four escaping destruction. Schouten next came to Jacatra, and passing by the island anchored within the harbour. Here they lost one of their crew, being the first man that death had deprived their ship of, and which, with two that the Horne lost, made up the whole number that died during the whole voyage.

But while the captain was here refreshing his men, he little thought of the misfortune that awaited him. The East-India Company, who looked with an envious eye upon all adventurers but those of their own association having (as has already been observed) obtained a prohibition, preventing any others from passing to the eastern countries by the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straights of Maghellan, were not at all pleased with the success of Schouten's undertaking. In consequence of this displeasure, the ship and goods of this unfortunate captain were seized by order from the president of the company, coming from Bantam to Jacatra while he lay there. It was in vain to remonstrate; he was told he might complain at home, (the reader will imagine to how little purpose) he was therefore obliged to put up with the injury. His ship's company afterwards disposed of themselves according to their various inclinations. While some went into the company's service, others sailed for their own country on board the Amsterdam, and the Zealand, under Admiral Spilberghen's command. And they had been but 17 days on their voyage when Le Maire, their principal merchant, died, and, on New Year's Day, the Amsterdam lost sight of the Zealand.

They doubled the cape on the 6th of March, and made St. Helena on the 31st of the same month, where they again found and joined company with the Zealand. On the 24th of April they passed the equinoctial line; and at length came into Zealand on the first of July, with the honour of having succeeded in the attempt, but deprived of all the profit which they might and ought to have reaped from the undertaking.

The conduct of the Dutch government in this case appears to have been as impolitic as it was unjust. To give such an unlimited encouragement to monopolies, can never be the interest of any commercial nation, and to deprive any man or set of men of the fruits of their labours must be a great bar to check others in the course of useful improvements, at the same time that it stamps indelible disgrace upon the state that authorises such monstrous oppression.

The Hollanders, however, ill as they used their countrymen upon this occasion, seem to have been proud of the discovery; while Schouten may be ranked among the number of those projectors, who without serving himself, has contributed to the benefit of society.

Schouten comes to Jacatra.

His ship seized

THE VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN DAMPIER,

With the BUCCANEERS of AMERICA.

THE Buccaneers of America were a set of people collected generally from among those of low origin, or of desperate fortunes, who from small beginnings rose into some consequence in naval history, being rather famous, however, for the mischiefs which they did the Spaniards in the new world, than from any benefit that Europe received from them, or indeed

for any profit that most of them secured for themselves; their irregularities, their want of officers properly commissioned, their perpetual dissensions among themselves, often contributing to defeat their schemes, and generally hindering them from enjoying without interruption, what they had hazarded their lives to acquire.

Schouten's Island.

Effects of an earthquake felt at sea.

1680

These men, however, such as they were, became a perpetual plague to the Spaniards in their settlements, when (following the example of Drake, Cavendish, and others already mentioned) they always found means to plunder and annoy. At first, they fitted out only small vessels, but in time as their company grew stronger, they became more daring, and entering the South Seas, ranged the Spanish main to the no small terror of the inhabitants.

We cannot here forbear observing that this was one of the *happy* effects of the discovery of the American continent in favour of the Spaniards, who neither deserved nor well knew how to preserve this acquisition to their own real advantage. Instead of growing greater, Spain since that æra has decreased in power, nor can all the gold of Mexico and Peru, restore to her that weight which she once had in the balance of Europe, whom the discovery of America has doubtless tended to aggrandise as well as refine, and many of whose states have reaped more solid advantages from it than the Spanish nation, whose vast supply of gold drawn from those parts has only made that metal cheaper on the one hand, while, on the other, it has constantly invited foreigners to plunder her richest settlements on an extensive coast, for the defence of which her greatest power has often proved inadequate.—But to return to the Buccaneers; Those people generally entertained some of the Mosquito men on board their vessels, of whom the following is a true description:

“The Moskitos are a set of Indians that inhabit the main between Honduras and Nicaragua. They are tall, well-made, raw-boned, lusty, strong, and nimble of foot, long visaged, have lank, black hair, look stern, are hard favoured, and of a dark copper-coloured complexion. They are but a small nation, the same perhaps that Drake calls Symérons. They are very dextrous at throwing the lance, fising, harpoon, or any manner of dart, being bred to it from their infancy; for the children imitating their parents, never go abroad without a lance, which they throw indifferently at almost every object that falls in their way, till, by constant practice, they became masters of the art. They next learn to parry a lance, arrow, or dart; and the training of them to this exercise is in this manner: Two boys place themselves at a small distance, and throw light blunt lances at each other; one throws the lance and the other parries, alternately. He that parries holds a small stick in his right hand with which he turns aside the lance that is darted at him, and by constantly practising in this manner, they at last become so dextrous, that they will shoot arrows at each other, and parry them as fast as they are shot. This they will do with a small stick no bigger than the rammer of an ordinary fowling-piece. Before they arrive at manhood, they become so dextrous, that they disregard the arrows of their enemies; and, unless they are poured thick upon them, and come more than one at a time, they will suffer not one in a thousand to hit them. They are no less expert at striking of fish, and two or three of them will, in those seas, maintain a ship's company of 100 men. Turtle and manatee are their principal pursuit; the former will commonly weigh 600lb. and two Mosquito men will strike two of them a day while the season lasts, for many days together.

The manatee is known also by the name of the sea cow, and is struck with a harpoon, so contrived by the Mosquito men as to be thrown with a long stick; but they are very cautious of discovering their art even to the English.”

Captain Dampier who was engaged with these buccaneers, is the person whose exploits we are about to relate, and who having circumnavigated the globe, deserves a place in this department of our work. He was descended from a family of good reputation in Somersetshire; but it does not appear that his parents were blest with the gifts of fortune. At their death he was removed from a grammar school to an English one, where he learned writing, &c. which are often

found more necessary than what is called a learned education. Being afterwards placed with a master of a ship at Weymouth, he made a voyage to France, and when he returned from thence was employed in the Newfoundland fishery, where his station for the summer proved not at all agreeable. But after his arrival in England, leading what is generally termed a life of indolence, which by no means insured the favour of his friends, he retired for some time into the country. Having at length, however, fallen again into the company of some mariners, he was once more persuaded to try his fortune, and made a voyage to Bantam*, in the course of which his curiosity led him to acquire a knowledge of navigation, which proved of use to him in the course of his future life.

The year after his return, he spent his time at home chiefly with his brother, but afterwards entered on board the British fleet, then employed in the wars of King Charles II. with the Dutch. Having been in two engagements, falling sick, he had no part in a third, after his return from which, he was sent with the sick and wounded to Harwich, where he remained till the end of the Dutch war. But he no sooner recovered his health than he began to think of embracing a sea-faring life again.

He was however, for some time diverted from this resolution, by an offer which one Col. Hellier made him of going to Jamaica in quality of a superintendent of his plantation. But a six-months trial tired him of this employment. He afterwards turned logwood-cutter, and coming to England in 1678, went back to Port Royal in Jamaica the next year upon a mercantile scheme, by which it seems he was a considerable gainer. It was at this time a gentleman of the name of Hobby persuaded our adventurer to embark on a trading voyage to the Mosquito shore, of the natives of which coast we have already given a particular account. Sailing from Port-Royal in Jamaica with Captain Hobby, they fell in with Coxen, Sawkins, Sharp, and some others of the Buccaneers at the west end of the island. These having a design upon the Isthmus of Darien, most of those engaged by Captain Hobby, preferring plunder to trade, resolved to go with them, and Dampier at last was engaged among the rest, though, it seems, he took three or four days to consider of the matter.

Being all agreed, they put to sea soon after Christmas, and holding on their course towards Porto Bello, landed near Golden Island on the 5th of April. Captain Sawkins was chosen their leader, and the Buccaneers, to the number of between three and four hundred men, marched towards Santa Martha, on the Pacific Ocean, which though they took, yet they were disappointed, and consequently fell to disputing among themselves, and they parted company in consequence of these contentions.

As the design upon Panama was looked on by some of the company to be worth attempting, a body of them went forward and made an attack upon Puebla Nova, in which attempt, however, they were defeated, and Sawkins their commander was killed; while Coxen went to the North Seas, and there continued his depredations. After the death of Sawkins, Sharp was elected to the command, but the company not being pleased with their choice displaced him, and chose Captain Watling to succeed him. Under his conduct an attack was made upon Arica, which proved unsuccessful, and he experienced the same fate with Sawkins, falling in the action. After this, as it was not probable that the Buccaneers could accomplish any of their schemes without keeping a proper subordination; having had experience of this truth, they proceeded to another election, when it appeared that some were for restoring the former commander, while others as vehemently opposed the measure. At length it was agreed that

* In this voyage he appears to have been only in the station of a foremast man.

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



Spencer's print.

Affecting interview of two MOSKITO MEN, one of whom had been left Three Years on the Island of Juan Fernandez by Capt. J. J. Ampère.

Published weekly.

that these parties should separate, and it being put to the decision of lots, which of them should keep the ship, Dampier's party proved unfortunate. This company consisted of 44 armed men, a Spanish Indian, two Moskito Indians, and five slaves taken in the South Seas. They had the ship's long-boat, and two canoes, with two patararoes, and some ammunition. With this preparation and a small proportion of provisions, they undertook to sail to Santa Martha, and from thence to travel by land to the North Sea; and having parted company with Sharp on the 13th of April, they made good their landing in the bay of Panama on the first day of the next month. But in the river called Santa Martha, up which they were to proceed, was a vessel of force which had been ordered thither on purpose to intercept them. Nevertheless their situation being such as would not admit of their being discouraged at a difficulty of this kind, they struck out a new track which was attended with much trouble and danger, yet at length they succeeded so far as to get safe to the opposite shore. Beginning their journey over land on the first of May, in the space of 22 days they completed their purpose, in which time they travelled 34 leagues, passing over high mountains through unfrequented vales, and fording through or swimming over deep and dangerous rivers, or passing them by such bridges as necessity prompted them to find out, and opportunity furnished them with the means of supplying. It is a just observation that there are in the mind and body of man particular powers which at certain conjunctures only can be called forth; and this is a maxim which was never more fully verified than in the circumstance of these people, who upon a hostile shore, unfurnished with a number of things apparently necessary for the undertaking, and having no resources left but in themselves, were yet found equal to the task of effecting a passage which scarcely any set of men upon the principles of mature and deliberate reason would ever have thought of undertaking.

In effect, they arrived on the north coast, and Dampier was amongst the first of the company who reached the promised shore. They immediately embarked on board the ship of Captain Tristrian, a French commander, and within two days joined eight other Buccaneers vessels, the adventurers who were embarked in them, having then a design of going on another expedition over land to Panama. But the danger attending such an undertaking being represented to them, they resolved to lay aside that scheme, and to proceed to make an attack upon Spanish Town, up Carpenter's river, for which purpose the ships sailed successfully. That on board of which Dampier was, arriving at the place of rendezvous, found an English captain there whose name was Wright, and who had lately taken a Spanish tartan, that with 12 armadilloes, or small frigates of war, had been in quest of the pirates. All those who had come a tedious journey over land, joined in requesting him to fit out this tartan for them, promising still to act under his command, and on that condition their proposal was agreed to. As the expected remainder of the fleet did not arrive at the appointed time, it was justly concluded that they had been taken or dispersed by the armadilloes already mentioned. This conclusion leaving them at liberty to pursue their own particular designs, Captain Wright stood for Carthagena, and being joined by Captain Yankey, they took a prize laden with sugar and tobacco, and the ship by vote fell to Yankey, whose vessel Wright took, which was better than his own. After this the booty being shared, the commanders parted, Captain Wright sailing to the Caracca coast, and Captain Yankey a different way. The former took three barks, one laden with hides, another with European commodities, and a third with earthen wares. Captain Yankey sailing with one Cook on board, who, as quarter-master, was to be second in command according to the buccaneer custom, having taken a Spanish prize, he claimed the command; in consequence of which, all who were so

disposed were free to join him. There were some among them who had come over land from the South Seas, all of whom chose to follow his fortune; but the Frenchmen joining, plundered the vessel of goods, money and arms, and then left them on the Isle of Vacca, Captain Tristrian only taking on board about nine of them, among whom were the Captains Cook and Davis, who were carried into Petit Guavres, and found means to make themselves masters of the ship, and sailed to Vacca, where their companions came on board. Afterwards they made a prize of two vessels, with which they resolved to plunder the Peruvian coasts. All these ships arriving at Virginia, Dampier, and those who travelled over land, joined them there, and set sail in the prize commanded by Captain Cook, from Achamack river, on the 23d of August, and after weathering a violent storm came to Cape Verd, whence, after refreshing themselves, they proceeded to Sal, and thence by advice to Mayo, where the inhabitants refused to traffic with them on account of the treacherous dealing of one Captain Bond, who afterwards surrendered himself to the Spaniards, and taught them by fitting out fire-ships to annoy his countrymen. Departing from thence they came to the African coasts, after having got what supplies they wanted, they sailed for the Straights of Maghellan, but having a contrary wind, doubled Cape Horne; after this they had a storm which continued from Feb. 14, till March 3. Yet by the 17th of the month they came to latitude 48° south, by means of a favourable gale. On the 19th, they met with a ship which at first they supposed to be Spanish, but afterwards found to be an English one, commanded by Captain Eaton. These vessels kept company to the island of Juan Fernandez.

As soon as Captain Cook's ship was moored, Dampier was eager to go ashore to look for a Moskito man, whom they had left in this island, when they were driven from it in the year 1681, by three Spanish men of war, Dampier, being at that time in the ship commanded by Captain Watling, just after Captain Sharp was displaced. This man, when Captain Watling drew off his crew, happened to be in the woods hunting for goats; and the ship was under sail before he came back. Dampier was curious to know whether this Moskito man was yet alive, and if he was, how it had fared with him; and it seemed that the Indian was no less anxious to enquire after his friend, when he perceived the ships that were approaching were English ships. The poor fellow had observed them the day before when first they came in sight, and judging about what time they would come to an anchor, he had killed three goats, and gathered greens, ready to dress as soon as the company should be at liberty to come on shore. He was already upon the beach before the ships could be well secured, and was seen by one of his countrymen who happened to be on board, and it was no small pleasure to mark the excessive joy of these two Indians at their meeting. The Moskito man belonging to the ship was named Robin: he on the island Will. Robin was the first who leaped on shore, and running to Will, threw himself flat on his face at his feet, and who helping him up, and embracing him, fell flat in like manner with his face at Robin's feet, and was by him taken up and embraced as before. The surprize, the tenderness, the solemnity of the interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on both sides, was admired even by the crew of Buccaneers, who were spectators from the ships of what passed on shore. "When Dampier, who was his old friend, came up, Will was no less transported with joy to see him than to meet his countryman, but he expressed it in quite another manner: other friends too he met with among the crew who knew him, and they were all overjoyed at meeting so unexpectedly; for these men are very much beloved on board the ships wherever they sail, for their readiness to assist in whatever service they are put upon. When the ceremonies of congratulation were over, and they had time to make enquiries, he told

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told them that he was several times sought after by the Spaniards, who knew that he was left upon this island; because when the ship set sail he was in sight of the shore, and was seen by them before he could secret himself; but as he was continually upon the watch, and had discovered a safe retreat, they never had been able to find him. He had with him, he said, his gun and his knife, a small horn of powder, and a few shot. These being soon spent, he contrived a way, by notching his knife, to saw the barrel of his gun in small pieces, with which he made harpoons, lance-heads, hooks, and a long knife; heating the pieces first in the fire, which he lighted after the English manner, by striking his gun-flint against the back of his knife: The iron, when it was hot, he hammered with stones, and formed it into various shapes to which he had occasion to apply it. By continued labour and perseverance, he had worked himself such a complete set of instruments, for killing and catching his provisions by land and water, as surprised the people when they were brought out for their inspection. But (says Dampier) it is no more than these Moskito men are accustomed to do in their own country, where they make their own fishing and striking instruments, without either forge or anvil: and other Indians are still more ingenious; for they make hatchets of a very hard stone, with which they cut down trees, make their canoes, and frame their houses.

"Poor Will had built himself a little house about a mile and a half from the shore, which he had made warm and convenient, by lining it with goat-skins. He had likewise raised himself a couch about two feet above the ground, which he had also made soft with the fur of the animals he caught, and with the down of the young birds (for he could catch no others) which he occasionally met with and plucked. Cloaths he had none; for he had worn them to rags among the bushes and brambles, through which he was often obliged to pursue his prey. He had been on the island about three years, and in all that time had never conversed with any human being. He had seen Spaniards, but he always took care, after the first, that none of them should ever see him."

The Buccaneers stayed on this island till the 8th of April, and then sailed towards the Equinoctial line, and afterwards coasted along from the island of Juan Fernandez to the 10th degree of south latitude. On the 3d of May they took a ship laden with timber; and at the same time learned that the Spaniards were apprised of their being in the south seas, and where they had most reason to expect their visits, had taken some pains to prepare for their reception.

A design on
Truxillo abandoned.

After having formed a judgment of the state of the coast, from the intelligence given them by their prisoners, they determined on attacking Truxillo, but having taken certain vessels with flour bound to Lima, (in which they found a wooden image of the Virgin Mary, and a mule intended as a present from the viceroy at Lima to the president of Panama) as they found by a letter taken on board, that Truxillo was fortified; they laid aside their design, and resolved to go for the Gallapagos islands with their prize. Accordingly they sailed thither, where they got together 500 packs of meal, which they laid up, to serve them for a sea-store, while they had plenty of turtle to answer their present occasions.

From thence they sailed for Ria Lexa, where they were given to understand there was much treasure to be taken. An Indian prisoner promised to conduct them thither, to whose sincerity these adventurers thought proper to trust, with a design, however, to touch at the Island of Cocoas, in 5° 40' south lat. where they meant to deposit some part of their meal, one of the stoutest ships which had it on board being taken with them for their purpose; but they were forced to steer for the continent, not being able, with all their skill, to reach the intended port, and on their way lost Captain Cook, whose death disconcerted them, and whom they resolved to bury in Caldera Bay.

2

Anchoring there, while some of the crew were digging the grave, three Indians entered into discourse with them, who being afterwards seized on, proved to be spies sent from a town about 36 miles distant. Turning this artifice of the Spaniards upon themselves, the mariners discovered, after a close examination that the very men who had been sent to watch their actions, were capable of directing them to a spot where plenty of live cattle might be obtained.—It is easy to conceive that this piece of intelligence was attended to, and accordingly one of the prisoners being pitched on for a guide, 24 of the company set out upon the expedition, the success of which will be seen by the following brief account:

"After a march of about four miles, they came in sight of a Savannah, where numbers of cattle were feeding; of which some [very wisely] were for killing as many as they could carry away, whilst others were determined to stay all night, with a view to drive them into the pens, in order to supply the ships at once, before the owners were apprised of the design. This resolution seeming prevalent, Dampier with many of the company withdrew, taking the Indian guide back with them.

The buccaneers fall into an ambush.

"In the morning when these drovers were expected to return with the cattle, none came; and as it was consequently feared some disaster had befallen them, the boats were manned and sent out to look for them. As they were rowing along, some of the company espied a number of people wading up to the middle in water, and approaching them, soon perceived that they were the very persons whom they were in quest of, and therefore made all haste to take them on board. Had they not been thus espied in time, they must in all probability have perished, as the tide would have swallowed them up in the space of an hour. It seems that they had been suffered to sleep all night unmolested; but, in the morning, when they were scattered about among the cattle, and driving them to the pens, were surprised by the sudden appearance of about 60 Spanish soldiers, well armed, who placed themselves in a convenient situation to cut off their retreat. Alarmed at this unexpected ambush, they made haste to join in a body, resolving to sell their lives dear if they found it impossible to make their escape. Accordingly, they looked round them, in order to discover an opening to some other part of the shore than that against which their ships rode, at the same time giving the enemy now and then a volley of shot to keep them at a distance. The Spaniards, generally not over eager to come to a close engagement, kept themselves sheltered behind the bushes, discharging only some random shot at those who retreated, which luckily did not take place. In this cautious manner the small band slowly proceeded towards the beach where Captain Cook had been buried. Then looking about for their boat they saw her in flames by the water's side, where they had grounded her the night before. Their hope of retreat now appearing to be quite cut off, the Spaniards with a view to make sure of their surrender, having posted themselves in such a manner as to cut off all communication with the ships, this little company conceived themselves to be devoted to destruction; when fortunately, they espied a rock just rising above the water, at the distance of about 100 yards from the beach. Rejoiced at this sight, they all determined to commit themselves to the mercy of the ocean [their cause was scarcely good enough to depend on that of Heaven] rather than to fall into the hands of the Spaniards. With this resolution they rushed all together into the tide, holding fast one by another, and determined that if one was lost all should perish. In this manner they reached the rock, where they had continued for seven hours, when they happened to be discovered (in the manner already related) and their companions were suffered by the Spaniards to release them without the latter firing a gun.

This was indeed a lucky escape, but the Buccaneers could not forget that it had been a vain attempt

to

Their adventure at Ria Lixa.

to come at what, by this time they stood in great need of; but they durst not hazard a second enterprize of that nature, and therefore weighed anchor, and sailed for Ria Lexa, which is known by a high peaked volcano. A little island, whereon the Spaniards kept an out-guard, was the first object of the freebooters. They surprised this guard, but from the intelligence gained from their prisoners, understood that the place was too well defended for them to make an attack upon it with any reasonable hopes of success. Abandoning this design therefore, they steered for the Gulf of Amapalla, where they careened their ships, having first agreed that Captain Davis should go before with two canoes, in order to gain intelligence, which was accordingly done, as soon as they approached the gulph. On the first night Davis reached an island on which there was a town called Mangera, but he could not find it till the next morning, and when he found it, all the Indian inhabitants were fled, a friar only excepted with two boys, who shared his fortune. From this friar the captain understood, that there were several Indian villages in the gulph, but only three towns that had churches, and only one white man besides himself who acted as a secretary to the Spanish government in these parts. In consequence of this information, Captain Davis took with him the friar and the boys, and approached the eminence on which Amapalla was situated. While they were gaining the ascent, the secretary, who was attended by the Indian chief, hailed them. Captain Davis said they were Spaniards, sent to clear the coast, and that their ship being foul, they were come thither to refit, and to demand the assistance of his majesty's Indian subjects. The following account includes all the circumstances of their proceeding:

"They were bidden welcome, and received with every possible mark of respect, both by the secretary and the Indian inhabitants; and, after the first salutations were past, they were conducted to the church, where all business of a public nature was transacted. Accordingly, the friar entered first, and was followed by Davis and most of the by-standers; but one or two of the Indians loitering behind, were pushed in by Davis's men; they then suspecting some mischief, sprang back again, and the rest of the Indians followed their example, leaving Davis and the friar looking at one another in high consternation, ignorant of the cause that had occasioned the desertion; while those who had so strangely caused it, fired upon the innocent Indians, for flying. In this confusion the secretary was slain, undeservedly meeting his death from his pretended friends. Davis's design was, when they were all at church, to have shut them in, and to make his own terms; but there was no need of practising farther treachery with them, for notwithstanding all this brutality, the Indians shewed them every kind of civility, helping them to repair their ships, hewing down timber for them, and bringing it to the docks. They furnished them also with cattle and provisions from the main, and assisted them in carrying aboard wood and water. All this time the friar and his two lads were kept prisoners, and it was feared, when they were ready to sail, that they would have carried them off; for these Indians had a great veneration for their priest. He had learned their language, and was very useful to them both by his kind offices and admonitions."

On the 3d of September, however, they set sail, and left the friar and his two lads on shore, to the great satisfaction of the Indians: and the two companies having quarrelled, they were resolved to pursue different courses: Captain Davis directed his course along the main of Peru, and coasting along the

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continent of South America, at length came to the Island of Plata; while Eaton, who had sailed in a different direction, at last being in want of water, came to the same island (where Drake had formerly shared the plunder of the *Cacafuego*): Eaton's men said that in their course they had met with thunder and lightning so dreadful that they feared every moment to be involved in elemental fire. This captain proposed an accommodation, but when he found it was rejected, remained only one night off the island.

Captain Davis's people the next day made an attack upon Manta, at about eight leagues distance. The place was deserted by all the inhabitants, an old woman excepted, whom the Buccaneers brought off. By her means they understood, "That a great many strangers had come over land from the north sea; that they still were in canoes and periagoes, and that the viceroy had commanded all the Spanish trading ships on the coast to be burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy."

These tidings being heard, Davis thought proper to return to the Isle of Plata; and soon after arrived the *Cygnets*, an English ship, originally fitted out for trade by the London merchants. This vessel was commanded by Captain Swan, from London, and intended for trade; but trade being stopped, he was prevailed upon to sell his goods by auction, and to join the adventurers whom he had fallen in with by accident. The new-comers were headed by one Harris, who had the command of a bark under Swan. They regretted now that Captain Eaton had been suffered to leave them, and therefore fitted up a small vessel, which they sent after him, to invite him and his crew to return and share their fortunes.

After this the ships sailed to Payta, and came into the road on the 3d of November, having fallen in with a ship of 400 tons, by which means they were informed that the viceroy had given orders for fitting out ten frigates to be employed in checking their depredations. When they landed at Payta, they found that the inhabitants had deserted the place, and what was worse, had not left a day's provision in the town. By a letter left by those on board the bark sent in search of Captain Eaton, they understood that he had been there and burned a ship the week before, after which he sailed westward, so that they concluded he was gone homeward by way of the East-Indies.

After this information, being under apprehension that some of the Spanish frigates might fall in with them, they examined their arms and ammunition, put every thing in order, and burning Captain Harris's bark, because she was a heavy sailing vessel, they fitted up another small bark to serve as a fire ship, and having made all necessary preparations, sailed for Lobos. They found that Captain Eaton had been there also, and heard that their bark was gone to Plata, which was the place of rendezvous appointed. Then they departed for the bay of Guaiquil; which runs in between Cape Blanco on the south side, and Point Shanday on the east; and in the bottom of the bay lies the Isle of St. Clara.* The ships kept to the southward in entering the port to avoid the shoals on the northern side, where they say a large wreck is sunk†. The houses at Puna, stand upon posts ten or twelve feet high. They are thatched with Palmetto leaves, and their chambers are well boarded. They reckoned 7 leagues from Puna to Guaiquil, which latter they found was considered as a principal port in the south seas. From this city are exported hides, tallow, sarsaparilla, and other drugs, cocoas, and woollen cloth made at Quito. The buccaneers took a vessel laden with this cloth, the master of which told them of the watch at Puna, and informed them

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* The appearance of this island is like that of a corpse in a shroud, the East end representing the head, and the West the feet.

† A person who came from the Spanish coast with a patent to fish for wrecks, was reported to have taken up some of the plate;

but dying, the patent expired. The cat-fish, a wound from whose fin is mortal, swarming round the islands, rendered the attempt dangerous to the Indian divers, who were otherwise very expert at recovering what was lost in those seas.

They are joined by Capt. Swan.

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them that three ships with 1000 negros on board were to sail from Guiaquil, all of which they fell in with and took; but the town was alarmed, and when these adventurers made their attack it was so ill conducted for want of proper discipline and a regular commander, that it could not but fail of success.—The assailants were divided in two bodies, but these by no means co-operated with each other. Captain Davis's people accused Captain Swan of cowardice, because when he found how much they were exhausted he had advised a retreat; in consequence they all proceeded, having two Indian guides, one of whom was fastened by a string to one of Captain Davis's men who was a great boaster, but his courage failing him, as it seems, when he came within musquet shot of the town, he cut the string and the Indian ran away.—Then he cried out that somebody else had cut it on purpose to let the guide escape. This circumstance so much disheartened the people, that they would advance no farther. Accordingly having dressed a cow and taken a view of the forbidden ground, they embarked for Plata, taking 40 of the ablest men out of the negro ships, and turning the rest adrift. Thus ended their hopeful expedition, in which by misconduct they lost an opportunity of enriching themselves, and returned much dissatisfied with the repulse with each other.

When they arrived at the place of rendezvous they there found their bark in waiting, but the crew of her almost starving, having been in search of the ships from Plata to Lobos and back again. During the absence of their companions, who seemed to have paid little regard to them, these wanderers had made a descent upon Santa Helena, where they took some maize, and by the help of that and some birds, had made shift to keep themselves alive. The bark was now given to Captain Swan for a tender, and after a quarrel that happened between the crews, which was adjusted by the captains, an attack on Lavelia was resolved upon, and they set sail on the 23d of December, to put their design in execution.

In their way, they surprised a small village called Tomaco, and there took one Don Diego de Pinas, a Spanish knight that came thither in a vessel from Lima, on board of which they seized about a dozen jars of wine, and let the vessel depart.—Happening afterwards to fall in with the Panama packet boat, and recovering the letters the crew had thrown over-board, by means of a buoy that had been fastened to the box, they found by the contents of them, that the president of Panama had received orders to hasten the Plate fleet from Lima, which occasioned them to change their course, and alter their resolution. They stood therefore for the gulph of Panama, and on the 23d anchored in the harbour of Galleria, and having cleared the barks, sent them to cruise in the gulph.—Four days afterwards one of these brought in a prize laden with fowls, salt beef, and corn, and having put their ships in order, sailed into the channel to intercept the Plate fleet. While they were here, they sent the Spanish knight upon his parole to the president with a letter. He was killed by some accident, but the next day they sent another letter, which being delivered, about 40 Spaniards were released, and English prisoners returned in their stead. Anchoring before Tobago, they had afterwards a narrow escape from destruction;—a person who pretended to be a merchant from Panama, came to them, and offered to trade with them secretly; his proposal being accepted, a bark came out in the night as had previously been agreed upon. But notwithstanding she hailed the ships with the proper watch-words, the buccaneers had the precaution to order her to cast anchor. This

not been complied with by those on board, they were fired upon by the ships. In consequence of this act of hostility, finding their scheme detected a few minutes before it was ripe for execution, the crew quitted their bark, and immediately set fire to her, taking to their canoes. The ships immediately cut their cables, as they now perceived that this pretended smuggling vessel was a fire-ship, which without effecting the intended mischief, drove burning towards Tobago. She had been fitted out by Captain Bond*, who had surrendered to the Spaniards, and her direction was against Captain Davis's ship, which with difficulty escaped her; but about the same time the people on board Captain Swan's vessel observed a small float on the water which appeared to have a man in it, coming towards them; but observing that he was discovered, he dived, and they saw no more of the float, which they supposed had been furnished with some combustibles which were intended to be fastened to the rudder of Swan's ship. This danger being over, the ships returned to their buoys in the morning, where they perceived a number of canoes and privateers, and presently found that they were furnished with birds of the same feather as themselves. In effect, they contained a company of French and English buccaneers who were come into those parts to try what plunder they could get. They were commanded by two captains, the one named Grenet, the other Lequie, and reported that 180 Englishmen under the command of Captain Townley still remained on the isthmus; the French having the flour prizes given them, the English were taken on board Captain Davis and Captain Swan's ships, and, soon after, Captain Townley arrived, having taken two prizes, and learned from the prisoners, that the Lima fleet was ready for sailing. Falling in with a bark belonging to one Captain Knight, which had lost him at sea, she was taken by Captain Swan, and given to Harris in lieu of that which had been burned on account of her heavy sailing. They were now in high expectations of making their fortunes, but the following account will shew how much they were disappointed.

While the fleet from Lima was thus anxiously expected, some letters were intercepted that contained the instructions to the commanders which course to take. In consequence whereof the captains of the buccaneers held a consultation in what manner to steer, in order to intercept them; but while they were yet undetermined, word was brought that the Spanish fleet was advancing, and, as it should seem, to give them battle. This news was by no means agreeable. Such a mingled crew being but ill suited to stand a regular engagement. However, there was now no alternative, either they must fight or run away, in which case being taken singly, they probably would all be destroyed; but by fighting some might chance to escape. The Spaniards were fourteen in number; of which the admiral carried 40 guns, and 540 men; the vice admiral 40 guns and 400 men; the rear admiral 36 guns and 360 men; one ship of 24 guns and 300 men; one of 18 guns and 250 men; and one of eight guns and 200 men: they had likewise two fire-ships, and 6 ships with only small arms, some periagoes and tenders, having eight hundred men among them. The English who were to engage them, consisted of 10 sail; these were the only ships of force, the others being furnished with none but small arms; Captain Davis's ship of 36 guns and 156 men, mostly English; Captain Townley had 110 men, all English; Captain Grenet 308 men all French; Captain Harris 100 men, mostly English; Captain Branley 36 men, some English, some French; Swan's tender, eight men; Townley's bark eighty men; and a small bark

They are
worsted by the
Spanish fleet.

They surprise
Tomaco.

Their vessels
endangered by
a fire-ship.

* Captain Bond steering for the south seas, and meeting with Captain Eaton, was prevailed on by his pilot to join company; but this very man getting on board Captain Eaton's ship persuaded him to drop his old commander, which was accordingly done after two nights sailing together. Bond thus deserted by

the person whom he wanted to direct his course in the south seas, went for Porto Bello, where he surrendered himself to the governor, and was sent to the viceroy of Lima, and afterwards employed in checking the designs of the buccaneers upon the American coasts.

bark of 30 tons made into a fire-ship, with a canoe's crew in her: the number of men altogether amounting to 960.

The English, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, resolved to begin the attack, having the advantage of the weather-gage, which gave them the choice either to fight or run. Accordingly, about three in the afternoon they bore down right before the wind, on the enemy, who kept close upon a wind to meet them; but night came on without any thing material being done on either side.

When it grew dark, the Spanish admiral put forth a light as a signal for the fleet to cast anchor, and presently hoisted a light on his top, which, after continuing there an hour, was taken down, and in a little time hoisted again, the English being still to windward, were not aware of this stratagem; for the Spaniard, knowing what consequence it was to gain the weather-gage, hoisted the second light upon the top-mast of one of his barks, and edged away silently himself, followed by his capital ships, and, as soon as it was day-light, appeared to windward of the English. This was such an unexpected stroke, as left them no other course to take but to fight or fly. Things being thus situated an unequal engagement began. Captain Townley being hard pressed by the enemy made a bold push through a narrow gut that parted the isles, and was followed by several of the smaller ships, by which means they escaped. Captain Harris was chased to the westward; and Captain Davis maintained a running fight all day round the bay of Panama, with the loss only of a single man. At night, the Spaniards gave over the pursuit, and suffered the English to rendezvous at the same islands from whence they failed the day before to begin the attack.

The 30th, the Spaniards, without pursuing their victory, continued their course to Panama, and the English set sail to the keys of Quibo in search of Captain Harris, that being the place appointed to rendezvous in case of being dispersed. Here they cashiered the French captain, who never came into the engagement; and having found Captain Harris they held a consultation about what course they should in future pursue.

The result of all was, That they should attempt something upon the coast, since they had no farther chance of gaining any thing considerable upon the seas; and, after being joined by Captain Knight, who when he went in quest of them, thought to have found them in possession of all the Spanish treasures; they sailed for Ria Lexa, the nearest port to Leon, with eight vessels, having on board 640 men, and well provided with canoes for navigating the rivers.

They quitted their ships when they arrived within 24 miles of the shore, to the number of 250 men embarked in canoes, which had a very difficult and dangerous passage, but nevertheless landed without the loss of a man, marching forwards in three divisions. The foremost of those consisting of 80 men under the conduct of Captain Townley, defeated a body of Spanish horsemen, entered the town, and drove the main body of the Spaniards before the other two parties came up. In the mean time the governor of Leon had formed an encampment near the town, and intended to assemble what forces he could, and fall upon the invaders. But a merchant of the name of Smith being taken among the stragglers, and carried before this commander; on examination, so far exaggerated the forces of the buccaneers, that he laid aside all thoughts of that sort, and sent a flag of truce with proposals for ransoming the city.

* The ships were commanded by Davis, Swan, Townley, and Knight; and they had besides, a fire-ship and three tenders.

† How fearless soever the inhabitants of Guatemala might be, it is certain that they are sometimes visited by earthquakes, one of which, some few years since, destroyed numbers of people, overthrew their habitations, and made dreadful havoc in the country.

But here the avarice of the free-booters out-going their reason; they demanded to such an extravagant amount; as the governor perhaps had it not in his power to make good—and in consequence the town was set on fire. In the mean time a Spanish gentleman was released on his promise of sending 150 oxen to Ria Lexa, which promise he faithfully fulfilled.

On the 16th of June they reached that place, and having forced a body of Spaniards from their intrenchments, and cut a boom laid across the river, entered the town where they found nothing but 500 sacks of flour, and some pitch and tar; some of the crew, whether by order, or of their own will, is not known, set fire to the houses before they departed. After this expedition the Captains Davis and Swan, resolved to separate; Townley, with the two barks, accompanied Swan, while Knight and Harris resolved to follow the fortunes of Davis*. When this separation took place, Captain Davis stood for the Peruvian coasts, but Swan went westward, intending to sail home by way of the East Indies. On board his ship Dampier entered, chusing rather to go with him than with Davis, whose voyage was likely to be confined within a narrower circle.

A sickness which it was supposed they had caught at Ria Lexa, and a course of tempestuous weather marked their voyage to Guatemala, which they came in sight of on the 14th. On this coast a high volcano, appears with a double peak. From between these peaks fire and smoke issue forth with most dreadful roarings; yet the inhabitants were not afraid to reside even at the very foot of the mountain†. The city is situate at the distance of about eight leagues from the South Sea, and about fifty from the North; and is remarked for the rich commodities which the neighbouring hills produce. It is famous for anatta‡, silvester, and cochineal. The volcano is to be seen at the distance of 75 leagues from the sea. Thence they sailed to the latitude of Togantabeque, and Captain Townley, with 100 men attempting to land on the coast the surges beating at the bottoms of the sandy hills, proved very unfavourable to that purpose. Thus disappointed, he coasted along, the ships still following his people who were in canoes, which the captain resolved to run on shore, but overset them in the attempt. A man or two they lost, and others had broken bones: however the landing was made good; and their boats hauled on shore, though most of their ammunition was damaged by the wet, but they could discover no town on the coast, so that they were totally disappointed in their expectations, and, what was worse, returned even without any provisions, and thus continued their course to Tangola. They next came to Guatulco, (or Anguatulco) where they came to an anchor, and intended prowling up the country, but after having travelled a few miles, though they secured some Indian guides, they found only a little village where some Vanellos were drying.—There was neither gold nor silver to be got there, nor any intelligence that might encourage the freebooters to proceed, they had therefore no inclination to stay here longer than to recover their sick, and to prepare all things for the continuance of their voyage to parts more favourable to their wishes. In the interim they sent four canoes before them, with orders to take what prisoners they could, and to wait for them at the Port of Angels; and following, on the 12th, they met with two of them in a very distressful situation. It seems the crews had mistaken the harbour, and the boats were overset on the beach. They reported that the other two canoes had left them on the 9th in the night, and, as it was afterwards found, had rowed as far

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They destroy Leon.

Ria Lexa is set on fire.

Guatemala.

A fruitless expedition.

as

‡ The Anatta is a red dye made from the flowers of a shrub. Silvester is the seed of a fruit, somewhat resembling the prickly pear; and Cochineal has been found to be a collection of insects, bred in a sort of fruit of the same size. The Cochineal and Silvester produce a similar dye, but the former is held in the highest estimation.

1685

as Acapulco. However they joined the ships when they came before the harbour, from whence there was an extensive prospect of a beautiful country. The brows of the hills were shaded with lofty trees, the plains, and savannahs watered by streams and rivulets, and the banks crowned with flowering shrubs, which exhibited a most agreeable picture. Here they landed at the grazing seat of a Spanish gentleman, from whence the people were all fled, but they found salt and maize in great plenty. On this coast also they got poultry, hogs, and cabaritos, and took as much of every thing they wanted as they were able to bring off. The harbour lies in 15° of north latitude.

Leaving Port Angels, they came to anchor, in 16 fathom water, under a small rocky island about six leagues to the westward. The next day they were greatly embarrassed by the following circumstance: "They weighed and continued their course; and, being a-breast of a small lagune, whence the missing boats had a few days before taken a quantity of fish, they lay to, and sent in a boat with twelve men to bring off a more ample supply. The Spaniards, on marking the trim of the ships, suspected their intent, and concealing themselves behind a rock at the narrow entrance of the lagune, discharged a volley of small arms at the boat just as it passed the place of their ambuscade, by which five of the crew were dangerously wounded. Alarmed at this sudden attack, and finding it impossible to retreat, because of the narrowness of the channel, they pushed forwards into the lagune, where they could lie out of gun-shot till the enemy dispersed, or till they should be relieved by the vigilance and valour of their own people. In this situation, however, they continued two days and three nights, till at length, Captain Townly, fearing some disaster had befallen them, manned his canoes, and beating the Spaniards from the rocks, opened the sufferers a free passage to the sea. Their joy was the greater, as the pains of the wounded men began to grow intolerable; and, had they not been relieved, they must in another day, nay perhaps in a few hours, have died in the greatest agonies. This lagune lies in lat. $16^{\circ} 40''$ north.

Having passed by a rock called the Alcatraz they found that the Spaniards had erected a breast-work a little to the westward; whence, however, they were driven, and the buccaneers made good their landing. At about three leagues distance from the entrance of the river they came to a house wherein they found a Mulatto servant who offered to guide them farther up the river, where they might get plenty of cattle and maize, and told them that a stout ship from Lima was then at Acapulco, whither Captain Townly, who wanted a better vessel, was eager for sailing in hopes to exchange his own for it; but Swan thought it more proper to insure provision, that they might wait well provided for the Manilla ship, which was expected off the southernmost point of California, in her way to Acapulco. The matter being put to the vote, it was decided in favour of Captain Townley's proposal, and accordingly the ships set sail on the 5th upon this expedition. At the distance of 12 leagues the captain embarked with 140 men on board, and a number of canoes, with a view to take the ship by surprise; but had not sailed above four leagues before they met with a dreadful tornado. Having escaped the dangers of this storm, they were driven into Port Marquis, about a league from Acapulco, where they stayed to refit their furniture, and in the night of the succeeding day, rowed softly into the harbour of Acapulco.* In order to prevent being heard, we find, "They hauled in their oars, and paddled softly by the castle; then struck over to the town, and found the ship riding between the breast-work and the fort, about 100 yards from each."

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* The port of Acapulco is distinguished by three hills, that in the middle rises like a sugar-loaf, the most westerly of the other two has two hillocks on its top. Acapulco lies in lat. 17°

When they had well viewed her, adds Dampier, and consulted the danger of the design, they thought it impossible to accomplish it; therefore they paddled softly back again, till they were out of command of the fort; and then they attempted to land, but were opposed by a company of Spanish soldiers, who fired at them, and kept them at a distance from the shore till day-light; when taking a view of the town and castle, and not liking their appearance, they returned on board tired, hungry, and heartily mortified at their disappointment.—Finding that nothing was to be done there, the ships sailed from Acapulco, and continued coasting along the shore to the westward. The land which is low towards the sea, rises gradually to a very great height, and it is hazardous to land, though at a mile's distance there is a good anchorage. As they proceeded thus they discovered a small river, at the entrance of which 170 of their men being landed, were guided by an old Mulatto woman to a farmhouse, where they found 60 mules laden with flour, cheese and chocolate, which they readily eased of their burdens, as also some oxen, which together with 18 cows, that they afterwards took they cured, and conveyed on board, the lading of the caravan being carried safely to their ships, which quitted the harbour on the 21st, where they had so happily accommodated themselves with provisions.

Holding on their course, they came in sight of the volcano of Colima, in lat. $15^{\circ} 56''$ north, on the 28th day of the month. At the foot of this burning mountain lies the town of the same name, and all the surrounding valley, according to the Spanish description, is remarkably beautiful; but as the surf ran so high as to prevent the buccaneers from making any attempt to land there, they proceeded to Sallagua, in lat. $18^{\circ} 52''$ north.—Here two hundred men being landed, engaged and defeated a body of Spaniards, and going up into the country, were informed the road they had taken led to the city of Oarrali, and that the party they had defeated, were sent to escort some passengers from India, that were expected to land in Sallagua Bay, from on board the Manilla ship; a piece of intelligence which hastened their departure, in order to meet with the long expected vessel.

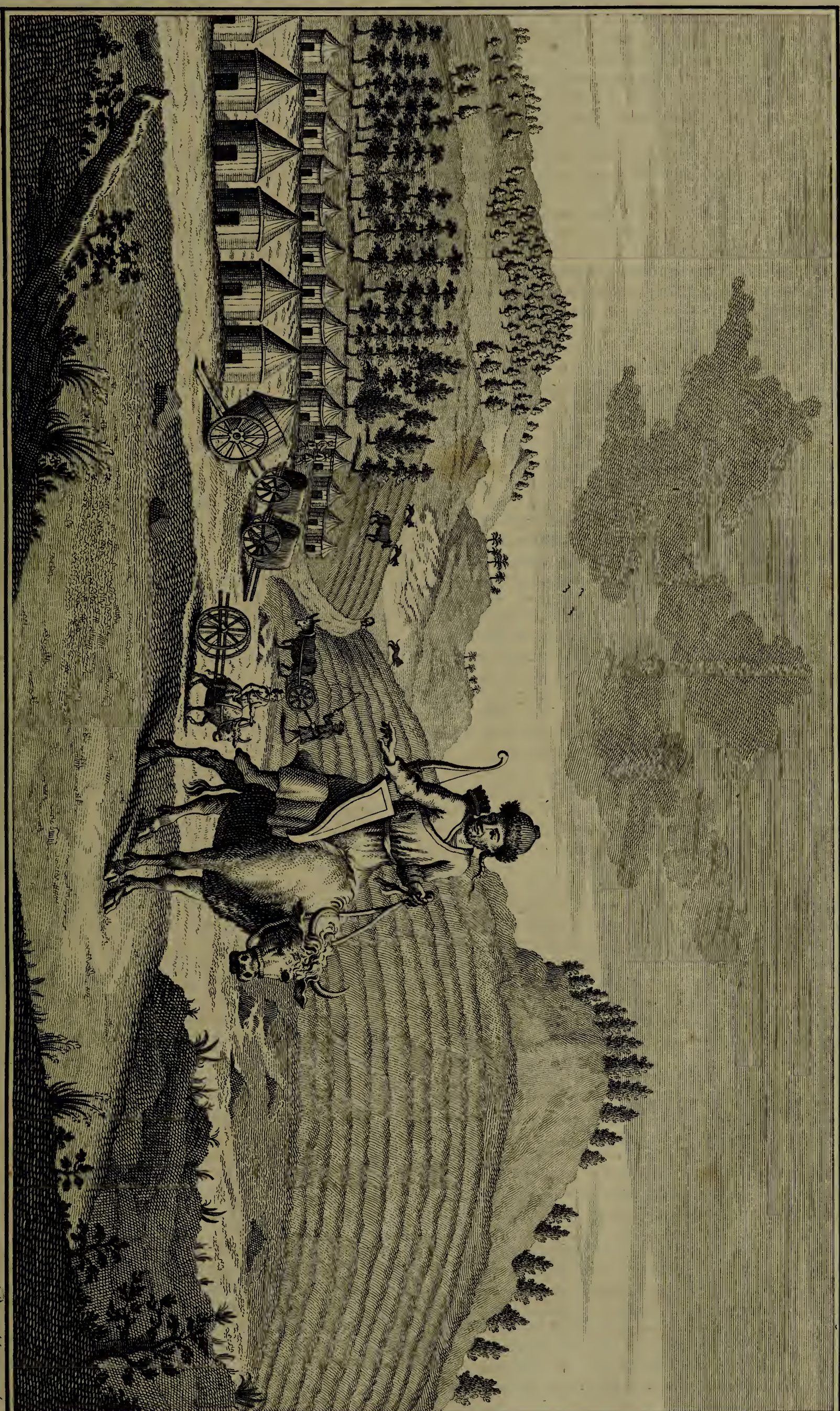
With this view they steered for Cape Corientes, which they came in sight of on the 11th of December. In their passage Captain Dampier was afflicted with a dropsy and an ague, which he found to be common disorders on this coast. In the mean time provisions growing scarce, Captain Townly's bark was sent to examine the coast to the westward of the cape, but returned on the 17th without having brought any intelligence. And all the ships which had been properly stationed, sailed for the Island of Chametly, about, 18 leagues to the eastward. Being arrived, they caught a number of rock fish, and Captain Swan returned to his station off the cape, 60 men being sent to a village to procure provisions. The canoes returning on the 24th, reported, that they had rowed to the Bay of Val d'Iris, or Valderas, where they found a most beautiful and fruitful country, on attempting to seize some of the cattle that were feeding at large in the savannahs, they had a skirmish with a body of Spaniards some of whom were horsemen. They repulsed them, but not without the loss of four Englishmen killed, and two much wounded, after which they returned without attempting any thing farther. On Christmas-day they took three Jew fish, and on the 28th Captain Townley brought 40 bushels of maize, and thus they continued cruising till the 1st of January, when they steered towards Valderas, and anchoring that night in 60 fathoms water, landed the next day, and being divided into two bodies, one party kept watch while the other seized and killed the cattle; so that within five days they had salted beef enough for two months provision.

The

north, on the western side of the American continent. Its trade is to the East-Indies and to Lima, in which three ships are regularly employed.

Attempt to
take the Lima
ship defeated.

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



The Dregs, Agriculture, Encampment, &c. of the TAGURI-TARTARS

—Peruchdoun sculp.

The time which they thus employed in victualing, as Dampier observes, they should rather have spent in cruising if they had properly considered the nature of their enterprize, which, he affirms, proved unsuccessful on that account.

The Captains Swan and Townley, now parted again; the former resolved to steer eastward, and took with him a Moskito chief and three of his men, who left Swan's ship in order to go with him that he might have an opportunity of setting them on shore at some convenient place on the coast, from whence they might travel over land to the other sea. Captain Swan (with whom Dampier continued) held his course intending for a westerly navigation, and before night he passed Point Pontique, in lat. $20^{\circ} 50''$ north, about a league from whence lie two islands of the same name. To proceed with the relation—"On the 14th they came in sight of a small white rock, in lat. $21^{\circ} 15''$ north, which at a distance, seemed like a ship under sail. From this place the land ran still northerly, the sea tumbling in with such violence upon the shore, that, for many leagues together, there was no landing, but they found good anchoring as far as the Island of Chametly. These islands are six in number, and different from those of the same name on the east of Cape Corientes, being a little within the tropic of Cancer, and not above three leagues from the main. On these islands grows a fruit called the penguin, of which there are two sorts, the yellow and the red; the yellow grows on a thick stem, about a foot high, the leaves are narrow, and about half the length of the stem edged with prickles. The fruit grows out from the top of the stem in two or three clusters, 16 or 20 in a cluster. It is round and in size like a small pullet's egg; the outer coat is thick and tough, and the pulp in the inside is full of little black seeds. The red penguin is in shape like a little nine-pin, grows upon stools from the ground in clusters of 60 or 70 on a stool, standing upright like the leaves of a house-leek, and is smaller than the yellow; they are surrounded by leaves a foot and a half long, edged with prickles like the former. These have a sharp, pungent taste, and are wholesome; but those who eat too freely of them, find them very heating. In the Bay of Campeachy one can hardly range the plain for their prickly leaves."

Passing from hence, Captain Swan, with 150 men, in 12 canoes, entered a lake called Rio de Sal, to the N. N. W. of Chametly. He landed some of his men at a grazing farm, and they perceiving two Indians, wounded one of them with their small shot, who being brought on board, informed them that there was an Indian town, situate on a savannah, where was plenty of cattle at the distance of about four leagues. In consequence of this intelligence they prepared to set out for the place described; but, on their way, were attacked by a body of Spanish horse, but these were defeated by the English, who were nevertheless afterwards much embarrassed by a stratagem of the enemy. Their way lay through a country abounding with that sort of high grass, which has already been mentioned as growing commonly about the Isthmus of Darien; to this the Spaniards set fire, and it was not without great difficulty that the conquerors escaped the fury of the flames that every where surrounded them. In the mean time, their opposers had leisure to recollect themselves, and concert measures for making some more effectual stand. This they endeavoured to do at the village towards which the English marched the next day, and found it garrisoned; but the want of fire-arms among the Spaniards, and the remembrance of their late defeat had such an effect upon them, that having lost some of their officers, they retired, and left the place to the English, who had only one man killed, and their surgeon much wounded in this second engagement. A few leagues from hence, they were informed of two rich gold

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* Dampier, who, as we have observed, had long been afflicted with the dropsy, was here cured by stripping himself naked, and lying down upon the hot sand for half an hour. To a profuse

mines, but they were more inclined to plunder the village and store themselves with provisions than to go in search of this treasure. The captain with 80 men made another excursion on the 2d of February, to seek for the river Rosario, at the entrance of which he landed, and having marched to an Indian town, took away 90 bushels of maize, and some other provisions, making no attempt upon the gold mines which it seems were not above two leagues from the town; the next day the ships came to an anchor at the mouth of the river, in lat. $22^{\circ} 51''$ north, and on the 7th the captain, with his company, came on board, having but a small quantity of any provisions in proportion to the number of his crew (the beef they had salted at Valderas excepted) and therefore a party was sent on the 8th in search of Oleta River, but they found it not, and returned without effecting any thing.

They next anchored near the river St. Iago, up which 70 men sailed on the 11th to examine all the creeks and inlets, and to get what intelligence they could relative to the neighbouring country. These people having taken an Indian who was set to watch a field of maize were informed by him that there was a town called Santa Pecaque, about the distance of four leagues, and offered to guide them thither, where he said there was plenty of provisions. Upon this information 140 men were embarked in canoes, and proceeded with the Indian guide, about five leagues up the river, landed in the night, and the next morning entered the town, which they found entirely deserted.—As they had not been deceived, in regard to the quantity of provisions to be found there, they acquainted their captain with their success; he immediately set out for the place, and on his arrival, used all his endeavours to keep some order among the men, who now thought of nothing but plunder, and seemed not to be under any apprehensions of an enemy in their situation, though those that had been left to guard the canoes in their absence had been attacked by the Spaniards and lost one of their people in the engagement. Nay, so infatuated were these plunderers, that though there was intelligence of a thousand men being assembled to fall upon them, yet they would not depart with what they had got, but resolved still to return at different times to St. Pecaque till there should not be a single load of provisions left in the town. Nor would they either be prevailed on by command or persuasion to march in a collected body. The consequence was that a party of 50 of them, with as many loaded beasts, proceeding in a line, each man leading his horse, fell into an ambush laid for them by the enemy; and when Captain Swan, with another party, hearing the firing, came up in order to support them, he found them all stripped of their arms and plunder, and weltering in their blood, a scene which struck him with horror, and quite damped the spirits of the survivors, though the Spaniards satisfied with this revenge, retired and suffered the rest unmolested to repair to their shipping.

St. Pecaque, in their expedition to plunder which town, the followers of Swan so severely suffered, is situate on a spacious plain at the side of a wood, and has a square in the middle, where the houses are neatly built, and furnished with balconies. It is but small, but has two churches, the Indians are mostly Christians, and, at that time, it was accounted to be the constant residence of about 70 white families, besides the carriers from the mines who came thither occasionally, and the merchants of Compestella.

The Buccaneers not thinking it expedient after their late check, to attempt any thing farther upon this coast, shaped their course for Cape St. Lucar, on the Island of California, but could not reach their port, and were obliged to put in at the Maria Islands, in lat. $21^{\circ} 40'$ north, and at the distance of 40 leagues from the cape, for which they intended.*

S

At

sweat occasioned by the excessive heat he attributes the success of this remedy, which actually restored him to his health.

Fifty of Captain Swan's men cut to pieces.

Description of St. Pecaque.

Captain Swan leaves the coast.

1685

At their first coming hither they lived only upon seals, but in a few days were supplied with turtle, conies, and pigeons, and while the crew were working upon the ships, the officers employed themselves in surveying the shores, as Captain Swan declared his design of coming home by way of the East-Indies. This declaration caused a division of the company, some applauding, and others condemning the measure. On the whole, it appeared that many difficulties were likely to attend this scheme. At the utmost, they had but 60 days provision on board—the maize rated at little more than half a pint a day for each man, besides that the rats were continually devouring a part of it. From Cape Corientes to the nearest land (the Island of Guam) was accounted 7000 miles, and that island was subject to their mortal enemies the Spaniards. On these considerations, nothing could have prevailed on the majority of the adventurers to proceed on this voyage but a promise which they, in a manner, extorted from Captain Swan, to endeavour to intercept the Manilla ship, by the taking of which they reckoned they should make them amends for all the difficulties and dangers they had sustained in the course of their South Sea expedition.

Takes his departure for the East-Indies.

All things, however, being now agreed, (the Cygnet) Captain Swan, with 100 men, the bark, Captain Teat, with 50, took their departure from Cape Corientes, on the 31st of March. At noon the next morning, they were carried by variable winds to the distance of about 30 leagues from the cape, and then by a fresh gale were carried into the course of an E. N. E. wind, which continuing, they proceeded with all the sail they could spread, and had frequent observations; but in a track of 6700 miles in latitude, saw none of the islands, such numbers of which lie in the same latitude on the other side of the line.—Though every thing seemed favourable to their wishes, a constant wind carrying them on with great swiftness, yet when about three weeks had elapsed, the mariners began to grow impatient, and insisted upon having their allowance enlarged, with which requisition Captain Swan was obliged to comply, notwithstanding the imprudence of it was evident, as there was still a danger that the wind might fail them, or that they might not get supplies when they should arrive at Guam. The allowance, when so enlarged, was 10 spoonfuls of maize for each man. Some of the ship's company did not drink above once in nine or ten days; some not in twelve, and there was one who did not drink in seventeen days, and then said that he was not thirsty.

But this spare diet so heavily felt by most of the crew that were in health, contributed to the establishment of Dampier's health, who was strengthened by it. He was not, however, one of those who could subsist without drink, (a thing almost incredible in those latitudes) on the contrary, though he had been so severely afflicted with the dropsy, he drank three times in a day, and continued mending daily. At this time we are told of an instance of severity in Captain Swan, which in such a situation might well have been omitted. He ordered a man found guilty of theft to receive three lashes with a two inch rope from every one on board, himself setting the example by giving the first stroke.—This strictness in punishing robbery by a buccaneer captain, who, as such, might be considered in the light of a common plunderer was rather extraordinary; but with all Captain Swan's faults, it must be observed that he was led into buccaneering with some reluctance, and seemed all along desirous of quitting that bad employment, as soon as opportunity should offer. As to his general line of conduct it appears to have been dictated by a spirit of discontent, arising from the disagreeable circumstances in which he found himself with a company of men who were head-strong and ungovernable, and whose object was nothing but plunder, while he had his views still fixed upon trade, to which they had an utter aversion.

The murmuring of the mariners increasing, Swan

had endeavoured to persuade his people that though it was no less than 7200 miles from Cape Corientes to Guam, by the Spanish account, yet they might run it in 50 days, as Drake and Cavendish had done before them, adding that by the English account it was but 5700 miles; but this only served for a temporary expedient, for, when they had run down this reckoning, the men began to be quite mutinous, and to throw out bitter invectives against their commander. During their course, they had hitherto seen neither fowl, bird, or insect, except once when at the distance of 4975 miles from Cape Corientes they saw ruabies, which they imagined might have come from some neighbouring land, but they fell in with none, in consequence of these tokens.

Impatience of the crew.

Swan was now obliged to change his manner of reasoning;—he observed that it was still probable the Spanish reckoning might be right, and as they had still the continuance of the breeze if it lasted but a few days longer they would be likely to see an end of their hardships. Thus encouraged, they proceeded with some little hopes, which were kept alive by their having some rain on the 18th of May, the clouds settling in the west, and giving tokens of their approaching land. The barks being three leagues advanced before the ship, on the 20th, ran over a shoal where there was only four fathoms water, and numbers of fishes were seen swimming about upon the shoal. On this Captain Teat lay by, to speak with the ship, and coming on board, reported what he had seen. They were in 12° 55' north latitude, and, clapping on a wind, steered to the northward, as Guam was laid down in 13° north in the Spanish charts, yet as no such shoal as they had just passed was noticed by them, there was yet a room to doubt whether they were in the right track. Trusting therefore the event to fortune, they followed the most probable course, and to their great satisfaction, saw the island of Guam, at the distance of about eight leagues at four in the afternoon,—“And happy it was, says Dampier, that we got sight of it before our provisions were gone, of which we had but enough for three days more, for, as I was afterwards informed, the crew combined to kill Captain Swan and eat him when the victuals were gone, and, after him, all of us who were necessary in promoting the voyage.” Such was the savage disposition of these men, whose behaviour had all along been sufficient to sour a milder temper than that of their commander, whom though they did not kill and eat at sea, yet they afterwards found means to abandon to his fortune, as will be seen in the sequel.

They discover land.

Guam is one of the Ladrone islands, which Dampier places in lat. 13° 21' north, computing the meridian distance from Cape Corientes to be about 7302 miles, supposing the south seas to be 25 degrees broader than it is generally computed. This island is about 36 miles long and 12 broad. There was a Spanish fort of six guns, with between 20 and 30 soldiers in garrison, commanded by a governor, with one or two subordinate officers. They found the climate healthy, and the people active and ingenious, being particularly expert in building and navigating their boats, which would run 24 miles within the hour. A Spanish friar and three Indians came on board as soon as they had cast anchor; and being received with great civility, and acquainted that the English came thither in a friendly manner to purchase provisions; the captain was informed that they were rather scarce at that time upon the island, but that the governor would supply them to the best of his power. To him they sent letters with a present, and in the mean time, a boat of theirs which was dispatched to purchase cocoa nuts came back laden to their satisfaction. Afterwards the governor sent the captain half a dozen hogs, a dozen of musk melons, and as many water-melons; and gave orders to the Indians to assist them in fishing and gathering fruits, and to take bread-fruit for them every day. But while they were carrying on this friendly intercourse, the Manilla ship coming in sight, was warned to bear away, in doing which she struck upon

They arrive at Guam.

They miss the
Manilla ship.

upon a shoal, and might have fallen into the hands of the adventurers, but that Swan found means to prevent his men from attempting this enterprise. They stayed at Guam all the remainder of May; on the 30th of the month the governor sent the captain a jar of bread made of fine flower, two jars of pickled mangoes and pickled fish, some hogs, and a quantity of rice, and was furnished with powder and shot in return, and presented a fine English dog, to which he had taken a particular fancy. Swan was likewise desirous of the governor's letter to the merchants of Manilla, with a view to trade, but this was a secret which he did not communicate to his men.

As to the friar, the commander gave him an astro-labe, a large telescope, and a brass clock, who in return for the civility sent the captain six hogs, a pig, some bushels of potatoes, and half a hundred weight of Manilla tobacco.

They anchor
before Minda-
nao.

The ship and bark being plentifully provided with all things that the island afforded, having on board cocoa nuts, bread-fruit, and 50 hogs in pickle, set sail from Guam on the 2d of June, steering for Mindanao, which is the principal of the Philippine islands. They arrived on the coast about the middle of June, but not coming to that side of the island where the principal town was situated, they coursed round the land, till the middle of next month, before they came to an anchor, which as soon as they had done, they fired seven guns, and were answered by three from the shore. A raja, and one of the emperor's sons afterwards coming on board, demanded who they were, and being answered that they were English, were bid welcome to the island, at the same time they were asked whether their intention was to settle a factory. This at first surprised Captain Swan; but it seemed that one Captain Goodluck had been there before, with proposals of that kind from the English East India company.

At the time that they lay before Mindanao, the prince of one of the neighbouring islands privately sent his nephew to Captain Swan to invite him to come and settle in his dominions; but for some unknown reasons, no regard was paid to this proposal. In the mean time, it was foreseen that the westerly monsoon which was near approaching, would oblige the ships to continue in the port; on which account Capt. Swan, having laid aside all thoughts of continuing his piratical depredations, resolved to take pains to ingratiate himself with the sultan of Mindanao, to whom accordingly he sent rich presents, nor were his chief ministers forgotten upon the occasion. These civilities had a very good effect; the presents were graciously received, and the sultan had an hour's conversation with Mr. Moore (who had sailed from London in quality of a supercargo) in the course of which he asked many questions by means of a Spanish interpreter. Captain Swan was the next day invited on shore, with whom also the king discoursed much, and once more demanded whether the English were come to settle there in consequence of the letters he had received from the East India company. This conversation, as may be easily imagined, was very entertaining, Swan describing to the sultan the adventures he had gone through, and the various countries he had seen, and the Indian prince entertaining him with accounts of the nature and produce of his country. After Captain Swan left the royal presence he was entertained by Raja Laut, the sultan's uncle, with a banquet of boiled rice, fish, and fowls, after the East India fashion. In order to shew the raja's regard for the captain, the latter was given to understand, "That while Mr. Goodluck resided in that city, he had been robbed by a servant belonging to Raja Laut, and that the fellow absconded till Mr. Goodluck took his leave: but that he now returned, and was ready to be delivered up, to be punished in such manner, and with such severity, as crimes of the like nature are punished with by the laws of England. But Capt. Swan told him, that in his country none but the injured party could prosecute the criminal; and as the

Captain Swan
entertained by
Raja Laut.

man had committed no offence against him, he could take no cognisance of his crime. The raja heard him with astonishment; and, to shew that the princes of Mindanao were far from countenancing such practices, he caused the fellow to be stript naked, tied to a post, and exposed a whole day with his face to the burning sun; while the mosquitos continually tormented him, without a possibility of being able to brush them off, a kind of torture that few are hardy enough to survive. This condescension was followed by a like offer from the captain, of delivering up every one of his men who should offend against the laws of the Mindaneians; but the minister returned the compliment, and left the punishment to the captain himself, who, upon the least complaint, punished his men with a severity that shewed more of revenge than of justice. Among those who felt the effects of his indignation was Captain Teat, his chief mate, who commanded the bark that accompanied him in his run across the southern ocean; and others who had offended him on board he remembered, now he had the countenance of the court on shore."

All this time Captain Swan was greatly honoured by the chiefs of the island, and the water running low, a number of the natives assisted his men in lightening the ship to float her up the river, and moor her securely. The natives came on board, and the English, in return were invited on shore, where they were well entertained, and many of them formed connexions with the best families of the island. In the mean time the young women were not wanting in displaying attractions, which to sailors come on shore from such a voyage, could not but be agreeable. Those who had gold, as is always the case in such circumstances, had the preference, and the females generally took care they should pay well for their favours. As there were artificers who worked in the gold and jewelling way on the island, they took care to come in for their share of the advantage, making those who bespoke toys for their mistresses give a sufficient price for their love-presents. When they took the ingots of gold presented by the English for exchange, they gave them just what sum they pleased:—Thus some got 16 or 18 dollars an ounce, while they put others off with 12; and even the price of necessaries was advanced after the arrival of these adventurers at Mindanao. The captain himself, though generally supposed by his people not to be of the most generous disposition, yet gave countenance in a great measure to the dissipation of his followers. The sultan's palace, or that of Raja Laut, was his constant resort, especially the latter, where some of his followers who were not possessed of any property came, and were entertained with victuals dressed up in the same manner of the natives, who made no use either of knives or forks, but crammed themselves with as much as their mouths would hold. To the hoggish customs even of the lowest of these people, the voyagers could have no objection while they were received hospitably, and made no doubt but they were entertained at free cost. Some apologies were made to the commander on account of its being the Ramadam or Lent in those parts. On this account likewise there was a suspension of the diversions of the country, the people being Mahometans.

The expected rains coming on in the month of August, with stormy weather, the river swelled and large trees driving down upon the vessels, they were in perpetual danger of driving on shore. The season suspended business as well as pleasure, in the city, which stood in the midst of water, without any other communication between the houses, while the inundation continued, in which case the posts whereon their dwellings were erected, proved very serviceable in securing them from the effects of the water.

Having passed the Ramadam, and waited for the subsiding of the waters, Raja Laut entertained Captain Swan, with some of the dances of the country; those who were employed in them, performing to vocal music, which from slow went on to swift time,

and

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The captain
entertains the
Indians.

and the dancers moved their heads, arms, and bodies with amazing quickness, their legs and feet being but little employed in these fantastic measures. In order to return this compliment, Captain Swan, who always wished to impress on the islanders a high idea of his own consequence, gave them a dance after the English manner, to which the sultan, the chiefs, and their women were invited. The room being hung with silks, adorned with gold and silver lace, and illuminated with a great number of wax candles, made such an appearance as astonished the Indians. After the dancing was over, they were unwilling to withdraw, though their appetite as well as their sight had been feasted, favourite dishes and sweetmeats having been provided for the purpose. It was near day-break when the sultan retired, and his women reluctantly accompanied him. — Raja Laut and his female train staid after his majesty was departed; and wine was drank among them, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Mahometan law. This entertainment furnished great matter of conversation among the Mindaneians, who of all the dancers they had seen, liked none so well as one Jack Thacker, a common sailor, who had learned to dance horn-pipes at Wapping, with which he had exceedingly diverted them. — The Raja enquiring who he was, one of his messmates told his highness that he was an English nobleman, who travelled merely for his diversion, adding that the rest were gentlemen who had left England from a desire of travelling. Captain Swan hearing of this, vexed perhaps at the imposition, and consulting an ill supported dignity rather than the dictates of good-nature, exhibited on this occasion another instance of ill-timed severity. He caused this man, who, it is said, was ignorant of what had been reported of him, to be stripped of his fine clothes and lashed in the presence of the Raja.

This prince, who had so long been considered by the English, and particularly by their commander, as their best friend, when they prepared for their departure, gave some tokens of his insincerity. Examining the bottoms of the vessels, they found that of the bark to be eaten by the worms into holes like the cells of a honeycomb, and unfit for service, the ship being sheathed, had only her false bottom destroyed. In these circumstances, application was made to the Raja, for planks to renew the sheathing of the latter, who coming down to view it, seemed much disconcerted, observing, this was the first ship he had seen with two bottoms. This gave occasion to suspect that he wished the ship had been rendered unserviceable as well as the bark, by which means he might have had her guns, as he had seen a Dutch ship thus disabled, that could never put to sea again. His never apprising Captain Swan of the danger which he could not but be acquainted with, confirmed the suspicion. As to the natives, they generally hauled their vessels upon the beach, to burn their bottoms, and let them lie there till they were wanted again. It was about the middle of November that the English began to examine their vessels, and having repaired the sheathing, and put the ballast, stores, and guns on board, the month of December was taken up in their necessary employment, and it was the beginning of January when they began to fill water. At this time they applied to Raja Laut to furnish them with buffaloes, which he had promised them should not be wanting. These buffaloes, being wild, he pretended every day to take his men out to hunt them, but, on their return, their guests were always given to understand that they had not met with success. Nor did Captain Swan himself seem very eager to set sail. In return for lead and iron sold to the Raja he expected a certain quantity of rice and beef; but the Raja, had not fulfilled his agreement. He had besides borrowed 20 ounces of gold of the captain, but would not return it; charging him a greater sum for his own and his mens board. Thus things went ill on shore, and all was still worse on board, where the majority were for continuing

their piratical ravages; some were for getting home as soon as possible, and some having formed connexions with the natives, would willingly have stayed at Mindanao. In the midst of this Babel of confusion, those who wished to return home, purchased a vessel, designing privately to depart for Borneo, where they understood they should meet with an English factory; and from thence they supposed they might find an easy passage to England. But the design was discovered, and those concerned in it were threatened to be punished as deserters. Another set of malecontents withdrew and concealed themselves, in order that they might be left behind in the country. In the mean time, those who continued on board the ship sent iron on shore, to be exchanged for honey and arrack, the latter of which intoxicating them, added to their disorders.

Representations had been made to Captain Swan, that in order to settle all these disturbances, it was highly necessary for him to declare himself, and it is highly probable that if he had exerted his good sense upon the occasion, and settled matters on board instead of attending so much to his interests on shore, he might still have brought matters to a happy issue. A day was, however, fixed (the 13th of January) when he promised to come on board and ordered the whole crew to attend him; but two days before his gunner going on board for something, which the captain wanted, his journal fell into the hands of John Read, an artist, who finding the mutinous behaviour of the crew noted in it, and particularly the conduct of a namesake of his, a Jamaica man, this journal was handed about, and the consequence was, that the whole ship's crew, stimulated by Captain Tent, swore that they would never sail again under their old commander. This resolution being taken, most of them were for departing immediately, but neither of the surgeons was on board.

The next morning they sent to desire the presence of the surgeons, on pretence of a man's having broken his leg. The chief surgeon did not come, but sent his mate, Mr. Herman Coppinger, and Dampier went with him. Having so far effected their purpose, they dispatched their canoe to the shore to bring away all who chose to come on board without making Swan acquainted with the matter. On the 13th in the morning, they weighed and fired a gun, whereupon Mr. Nelly, the chief mate, was sent to demand the reason of this proceeding. They shewed him the journal, and complained heavily of the captain's treatment. By him, however, they were persuaded to wait for the captain, though they declared against a reconciliation. But Captain Swan, whose character was reserve and diffident either chose not to trust himself with those who conceived he had injured them, or disdained entering into a conference with men whom, from his heart, he hated and despised, and who had so often given proofs of their wishes to shake off all authority.

However that might be, he and 36 others were left behind in the town. When to these were added 16 who died, as some supposed, of poison, and several who deserted, the number of those that departed was reduced from 150 to 80, who set sail on the 14th of January, at three o'clock in the afternoon, resolving to trust to themselves for the chance of their future fortunes.

On the 17th they anchored in a bay on the west side of a small island, where they proceeded to the election of their officers.* Having supplied themselves with water, they afterwards continued their course: in their way they struck upon a rock, on which they lay for two hours, but being heaved off by the rising of the tide, got clear of the danger, with the loss of a piece of their rudder. They anchored afterwards at the north west end of the Island Mindera, and here a canoe with some Indians coming up with them, told them

Disorders
among Capt.
Swan's crew.

Their stratagem.

They set sail
without their
commander.

* On this occasion John Read, the Jamaica man, was chosen captain, Thomas Teat, master, and Henry More, quartermaster.

Engraved for Moore's New & Complete Collection of Voyages & Travels.



*A FESTIVAL annually celebrated in honour of
CONFUCIUS, an eminent CHINESE PHILOSOPHER,
who reviv'd the antient Mythology of that Empire.*



1687

them that if they had any intention of trafficking with the Spanish merchants they might obtain for a trifle a recommendatory letter from a certain friar which would be serviceable to them had they been inclined to such an honest occupation. But they were differently disposed. Havock and spoil were their delight, they therefore declined this offer, and proceeded on their course to Luconia, which they reached on the 23d of February, where they took a Spanish bark, bound for Manilla, laden with rice and cotton cloth. The master of this vessel was boatswain to the Acapulco ship that passed by Guam, and he was the person who related by what means she had escaped them there, with the rest of the circumstances already mentioned. This piratical crew now determined to go to Pulo Condore, to wait there for the Acapulco ship which generally arrives at Manilla about the latter end of the month of May. They cast anchor at Condore on the coast of Cambodia,* on the 14th of March, and on the 16th entered a harbour where they careened their ship, being assisted by the Indians, who brought them hogs and turtle in exchange for rice, of which they had a great quantity in store. While they were thus employed, two men who were supposed to have been poisoned at Mindanao, died, and when they were opened by the surgeon, their livers were found dry and black, somewhat resembling pieces of cork. The reason Dampier assigns for the Mindaneians thus poisoning the English was, that some of their guests had made too free with their wives, and the husbands thereupon took this method of revenging themselves.

They sail for
Siam.

From Condore they sailed for Siam on the 21st of April, being piloted thither by an old Indian who was conversant in the Malayan tongue. Thus conducted, they arrived in the bay of Siam after a run of three days: Their intention here was to get some dried fish; but being disappointed in that particular, they left the place on the 21st of May, and returned to Pulo Condore. In their course they overtook a Chinese junk, which accompanied them all the way, and by her crew they were told that the English had a factory at a place called Silleber, on the island of Sumatra. When they reached the place of their destination, Read observing a Malayan vessel at anchor within shore, sent a canoe to know from whence they came, at the same time giving his men a caution not to trust themselves with the strangers, but to hail them from the canoe. But they, as regardless of his advice, as many of them had been of their old commander's, went on board unarmed. The consequence was that the Indians suddenly falling upon them, stabbed five or six with their short daggers. The rest jumped overboard and reached the boat, and amongst them one Daniel Wallis who knew nothing of the art of swimming, nor ever swam before or after that time; yet he got to the boat as well as his companions. This also is another instance to illustrate that maxim of those hidden powers in man which are never known till they are exerted upon some pressing emergency. At this place Herman Coppinger went on shore with an intention of separating himself from the ship's company whose manners and proceedings were by no means agreeable to him; but Read sent an armed party to bring him on board again; and thus his design was defeated. They remained on this island, being detained by bad weather, till the 4th of June, and then departed, after having taken on board a Malayan Portuguese from the junk, as an interpreter, and at last, they weighed anchor with a contrary wind. Ten days they expected its shifting, so as to carry them to Manilla; but at last perceiving all their hopes were vain, they directed their course towards Prata, in the 20th degree of north lat. with the idea of fishing up some of the treasure said to be lost in the China ships that had been cast away there. But they could not make this island, the wind driving them to that called St. John's on

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* Dampier observes that among the productions of the cluster of islands upon this coast, there is a tree three or four feet in girth, from which the natives draw a juice that when boiled be-

the coast of China, where, however, they were supplied with hogs and buffaloes.

Some of the ship's company went over to the continent, but found nothing there that answered their expectations: And on the 3d of July they left St. John's, weighing anchor with a gentle gale; but the next day began a most violent storm, the wind blowing from the north-east. This tempest continued to increase till midnight. At that dismal season, the clouds poured down all their torrents, the thunders A dreadful roared; the lightnings flashed incessant, and the sea tempest. itself resembled a sheet of liquid fire, except when at intervals the most horrid darkness rested upon the ocean. In the mean time the rising surges at one moment were ready to lift the ship to the clouds, and the next threatened to plunge her for ever in the gulphs beneath. The seas continued breaking short upon the vessel, which laboured dreadfully in this conflict of the fighting elements. The rails of the head were carried away by a breach the waves made over them; and by the same surge the sheet anchor, though strongly lashed was dislodged, and striking against the bows of the vessel, was expected to pierce through her planks. To prevent this, they were obliged to steer before the wind; and having once taken this course they could by no means alter it while the storm continued, but were obliged to be driven just whither the winds and seas impelled them. The violence of the tempest continued till four in the morning, when it abated, and the sailors saw that well-known meteor called a Corpus Sant, shining like a star at the mast-head, in which case it is reckoned a favourable token; but if it appears on the deck, is deemed a very bad sign; for which conclusions there may be philosophical reasons assigned; but sea-faring men never give themselves the trouble to inquire into them.

The gale though still strong, subsided by degrees into a perfect calm. So that, after scudding before the wind till seven in the morning, they then lay to under their mizzen till eleven. Then the gale died away; but still the heavens wore a lowering aspect, such as presaged another storm, which accordingly came on from the south-west, attended with violent showers, and the ship was once more obliged to be driven before the wind, till ten at night, when all was calm and tranquil again. Having referred to their charts, they were now of opinion that the best course they could take would be to steer for the islands called Piscadores, situate in 23° north lat. and by the 20th of July they came in sight of them. As they knew nothing more of these islands than their name, they were surprised to find a spacious harbour, and to see a number of junks passing and repassing. As soon as they had anchored, and attempted to land, a Tartarian officer asked who they were, and to what port they were bound. Being answered, that they were from England, and in distress, they were given to understand that they should be furnished with what they wanted, but that they must not come on shore. Accordingly they were supplied with the best of provisions, and stayed till the 29th, when they departed, after the captain had presented the governor with a silver-hilted rapier, a carbine, and a gold chain, in return for his civility.

The English then directed their course to a cluster of islands which lie between Formosa and Luconia, the place on which their hearts were set, and arrived in sight of them on the 2d of August. They found them well inhabited, and stored with goats and swine, but by no means abounding in poultry. These isles not having received any names before, Read gave them the general name of Bashee islands.

Bashee Isles.

The accounts of this voyage inform us that the situation of their towns were very remarkable "They were built on precipices on every side inaccessible but by ladders placed at the end of the streets, which

T

ran

comes exactly the same as our tar, possessing all its qualities.

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ian in parallel lines, whereon the houses rose in ranges one above another, till they ended at last in a single row. The inhabitants were acquainted with the use of iron, and had a sort of yellow metal, like gold, among them, which they exchanged for it; but unfortunately Dampier could get none of it, because he had nothing to give in return. They were very ingenious, had large fishing boats, and lived in a different manner from any whom these Buccaneers had ever seen. In regard to their food, they were so far from being nice, that they would gather up the goats skins and goats paunches, which the sailors threw away and after singeing would broil and eat the former, and having stewed the other without much trouble in cleansing, would mix it with raw fish, and strewing it with salt, make a strange sort of salmagundy. But the paunches of the swine they did not chuse to eat. They seemed to be very cleanly in their persons, and were good-natured, and so honest that they would take nothing but what was given to them; neither were they ever made angry with strangers, though cause sufficient was frequently given; nor did they quarrel with each other. They had this praise, that no provocation could make them angry, nor any temptation induce them to transgress the rules of honesty.

These Indians constantly supplied the ships with hogs, goats, potatoes, and the fruits of the country; where Read having remained till the vessel was accommodated with provisions and their casks filled with water, after a stay of a month, and ten days, prepared to sail on the 24th of September, when, just as they were ready to set sail, a tempest forced them to cut their cables, and though six of their best hands were left behind, to put to sea in the utmost confusion.

Thus driven by the winds, they ran under their bare poles, nor were they able to return to their station till the first of October, when their men were brought on board by the natives, who had been remarkably kind to them in the absence of their companions, endeavouring, however, to persuade them to adopt the Indian customs, and offering each the choice of a wife, with a little piece of land, and planters implements by way of a dowry. For their care and humanity they were rewarded with three bars of iron, which was the only sort of metal that they coveted. The crew by this time began to be heartily tired of their voyage, and desirous to return; but Read and Teat still wished for opportunities to try their fortune. However, finding the men determined to stay no longer on those coasts, they persuaded them (for there was no such thing as commanding) to have patience till they should arrive at Cape Comorin, after which every man should be at liberty to take his own course if he disapproved that of the commander. This point being settled, they proposed to coast along the east side of the Philippines, and to keep south to the spice islands, for fear of meeting English or Dutch ships, and so pass into the Indian Ocean near Timor. With this design they proceeded on their voyage, on the 3d of October, leaving the island of Luconia on the west and quitting all those golden projects with which once they had flattered themselves. And thus they stood on to the southward till they came in sight of the Island of St. John, on the coast of Mindanao, and, on the 16th came to an anchor on the south-east side of that island.—Having thus conducted our adventurers once again to the same country, where they left their captain, we will here give a short sketch of the island, and the manners of its inhabitants before we proceed with our narrative.

The Island of Mindanao lies in 7° of north lat. yet by means of the gentle sea breezes in the day and the

cooling land winds at night, the air is generally temperate, and the country fruitful and covered with a perpetual verdure. The hills abound with gold, and the plains are watered by rivers and springs. The lawns are interspersed with groves and trees, some of which yield a cooling shade, whilst others are more useful, producing food for the natives of that happy climate.

Their houses, as we have already observed, are all built upon posts, and even the sultan's palace has but one floor though it has a number of apartments, stands upon 180 posts, and is 20 feet above the level of the ground. The roofs of all their dwellings consist of palmetto leaves. As to the area beneath their houses they consider it as a sort of common sewer, into which all manner of filth is thrown, and remains there till the violence of the currents, which are sometimes so strong as to overturn the houses, carries it away. The islanders bathe constantly every day, and are very clean in their persons, using generally the ablutions of the Mahometans, and holding swine in abomination. Bread fruit, rice, sago, plantains, cocoa nuts, and other fruits of the country form the chief part of their diet. Beef and fowls are more rarely used, and considered rather as dainty dishes than common or substantial food. The people in general are low of stature, with small heads, and of a copper complexion. The women are fairer than the men, but their noses are small and flat, which renders them on a near approach, rather disagreeable. They were found to be extremely amorous, and fond of white men, who could scarcely walk the streets without being invited and almost forced into their dwellings. Their hair is black and long, and they are better dressed than the men. The habit generally worn consists of a loose jacket and a petticoat. The jacket sleeves are wide at the shoulders, but cut in the slope to the waist, where they are extremely straight and tight. Silks and fine calicoes are used for cloathing by the higher sort of people; but for the lower ranks an ordinary sort of cloth called Saggen, which is woven from the plantain tree. They had ship-builders, carpenters, smiths, and goldsmiths, among them, who work by no means contemptibly considering the simple nature of the tools which they employ.* There is only one mosque in Mindanao, which is not much resorted to. In the room of a clock they notify the hour by means of a vast drum kept in the mosque for that purpose, which is bell-shaped and placed over a large cavity, and the head of it is covered with brass. This instrument is called a Gong, and is attended by a number of persons who relieve each other watching by night and day. These people have a stick, which has a ball at the end of it; with this at certain intervals they strike the gong, and the sound that proceeds from it is loud enough to be heard through all the town. The natives make use of circumcision, which is not performed among the common people till about the age of twelve, but the princes of the blood undergo this operation (which is attended with much ceremony) at the end of eight days.

With regard to the trees and fruits of Mindanao, the following is a summary of the account given of them in this voyage. On the hilly ground the natives cultivate potatoes, yams, melons, and many other vegetables, and rice grows in the marshy grounds. They make a sort of bread out of the pith of some of their trees as well as extract a pleasant drink from the sap of others. Here are found cloves and nutmegs; also oranges, plantains, bananas, betel nuts, durians, and cocoas, besides the bread-fruit of which we have made mention.

As to the plantain, Dampier prefers it to all the rest

* Captain Dampier says the smiths bellows are constructed in the following manner: The instrument is composed of two hollow cylinders, like large wooden water-pipes: they are cut flat at both ends, about four feet long, placed upright at the distance of about four feet from each other, on a stone hearth, before the fire. A pipe is placed within two inches of the bottom of each, which project like a cock towards the fire, bending in such a manner that the pipes from both cylinders meet and

end in one before they reach it. Being fixed firm, a man keeps up a perpetual blast with two light brushes, made of feathers which they work alternately like two pistons, nor have they any other vice or anvil than a large stone or the butt-end of an old cannon. The carpenters have neither planes nor saws, yet by perseverance they continue to split and smooth their boards very neatly, and the work proves more durable, the grain of the wood remaining unbroken.

They return
to Mindanao.

Description of
the island.

rest, calling it the king of fruits. "The tree that bears it is between three and four feet in circumference, and rises about ten or twelve feet high. When at its height, there springs from the top a stem about the size of a man's arm, round which the fruit grows in clusters in shape, not unlike the Turkey cucumber, the coat of which is of a yellow colour when ripe. The inclosed fruit is of a delicate flavour and melts in the mouth like marmalade, [when over-ripe it has a taste somewhat like that of a mellow pear]. It is highly esteemed by all Europeans, and all their settlements are furnished with plantain walks, some families subsisting wholly upon that fruit. The bonanoe [or banana] differs but little from the plantain except in size, being smaller and less luscious.

"The nutmeg and clove-trees are rare in this island, but those that grow are large and fine. The natives discourage their growth, for fear of exciting the jealousy of the Dutch who have monopolised the whole trade for spices, and who keep a company of armed foldiers in pay to cut down the spice trees in the uninhabited islands, lest the European nations should avail themselves of their plenty. In some of the eastern islands, it is usual to see, at the shedding time, cloves lying three or four inches thick under the trees.

"Of the betel nut all the eastern people are immoderately fond. It is the fruit of a tree that grows like a cabbage-tree, to the height of ten or twelve feet, without either leaf or branch, and then sends forth shoots on every side, among which the fruit is found in clusters, on tough stalks, about the bigness of a man's finger. It is larger than a nutmeg and rounder; they cut it in quarters, (when green) wrapping each quarter up in an Arkca-leaf, and chewing both together. It tastes rough, dyes the lips red, and makes the teeth black.

As to the durian it grows on trees like apple-trees, and are in size as large as pompions, covered with a rind, which, when ripe, opens and sends forth a strong scent, not unlike that of roasted onions: It divides into chives, each about the size of a pullet's egg, the inside of which is of the consistence of cream, and if not eaten in its prime, there is no enduring its rankness. The jacca differs very little from the durians; except the inside of the former is yellow, and that of the latter is white."

To return to the thread of Dampier's narrative, he says, That while they lay in the bay they had intelligence by means of the young prince whom we have already mentioned as coming from a neighbouring island, that Captain Swan* and his people remained still at Mindanao, and had acquired great honour in the wars of Raja Laut, though those who had deserted him always pretended to doubt the courage of their commander. It seems he had offered 40 ounces of gold for a ship to convey him from the island, but the Raja (a circumstance not uncommon among the eastern princes) would not suffer his departure.

The prince of Meangis having promised to give Read a handsome reward for conveying him to his own island, the Englishman promised to wait three days, during which time Dampier, who approved not the behaviour of his companions to their old captain, took occasion to try how far there was any likelihood of restoring him to his command. His first trial with a party that was on shore filling water, gave him hopes of success, as they seemed well enough affected to his project, and were intreated to take no notice of the matter; however it happened unluckily that one of them though he appeared very zealous for the cause betrayed the matter, and the consequence was that Read immediately took measures for his departure, and

weighing anchor, on the 2d of November set sail, and stood to the westward, without waiting for the prince, who was to have come on board that day.

On the 9th the wind changing they came to Ubes, in 3° of north lat. and anchored in a sandy bay. Here they found a sort of creeping vine, the leaves of which being pounded and boiled with hog's lard proved a cure for ulcers. The people being informed of its use, filled their chests with it, and found they were not deceived in their ideas of its virtues. They set sail on the 30th to the southward, and in the afternoon met with a violent tornado, and saw a water spout. Afterwards they continued proceeding slowly till, on the 4th of December they came up with the north-west end of the island of Bouton, where they found an Indian that brought them to a harbour where they saw the sultan, who gave them liberty to purchase some turtle, which proved very serviceable to them.† Having taken leave of him they set about weighing up their anchor, but as it had stuck in a rock, they were obliged to be contented with the cable only, and steered to the south-west, sailing by some islands where the natives beat drums in the night during their passage. In their course towards Timor they passed by Omba, and steered to the southward, with a design to touch at New Holland. They fell in with this coast on the 4th of January, in 15° 6' south lat. and came to a point, from whence the land tended east and southerly for 10 leagues. They fell in upon the west side, of which part of the country (uncertain whether an island or continent) Dampier gives the following description.

"The land is of a dry sandy soil, destitute of water, except you make wells. There are divers sorts of trees; but the woods are not thick, nor trees large. Most of them were dragon trees of the size of apple-trees.—We compared the gum with the gum dragon [Tragacanth] we had aboard, and found it the same. We saw no trees that bore fruit. We saw no animal nor any track of animal but one, and that was of the size of a mastiff-dog. Few land birds, and none bigger than a black-bird; few sea fowls; few fish, (turtle and manatee excepted.) The inhabitants are the most miserable people in the world; without houses, without cloathing; without conveniences of any kind; and setting aside their human shape, very little different from brutes. They are tall, strait-bodied, thin, have small limbs, great heads, round foreheads, and large brows; their eye-lids are alway half-closed; they have great bottle-noses, full lips, wide mouths, and two fore teeth in the upper jaw wanting in all of them; but whether they draw them out or not, I know not. They are long visaged, without beards, of an unpleasing aspect, with no one graceful feature in their faces; their hair black, short and curled like the negros, and their colour coal-black. They live in companies, 20 or 30 men women and children together; their food is fish, and their manner of catching them is in weirs, across little inlets of the sea, in which every tide leaves some; they have no instruments to take great fish. In other places they fish for cockles, muscles, periwinkles, but of these there are but few; of what they catch all partake alike; all watch the tides, for all depend upon the sea for their support; the earth producing neither herb, root, pulse, or any sort of grains. These poor creatures have a sort of weapons consisting of a piece of wood, shaped somewhat like a cutlass, and a long straight pole with a sharp end hardened in the fire; with these they made a shew of frightening us; but on firing one gun they all ran away frightened‡."

Dampier tells us that, wretched as the appearance of

They arrive on the coast of New Holland.

* He and his men (we are told) stayed a long time at Mindanao; Harthop and Smith, his merchants died in these remote parts; Mess. Nelly and Rofy, his mates, got their passage to Batavia in a Dutch ship, and from thence at last came safe to Europe.

As to the commander he was run down and drowned, as he was trying to get on board a Dutch vessel. This was done by the natives, by order of his old friend Raja Laut, and was pro-

bably owing to the avarice of the Indian, as well as to his desire of keeping an experienced European in his country.

† The sultan also presented Read with a boy who had a double range of teeth, one set within the other in each jaw.

‡ The reader will find this account to be different in many respects from that given by Captain Cooke, who touched here in the Endeavour. It is however to be observed that he visited the eastern side of the island.

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of these natives were, the crew made acquaintance with them, and gave them meat. This they devoured readily enough, but paid no regard to the ship, nor any thing that they saw about them, appearing to be quite devoid of that sort of curiosity which might naturally be expected upon such an occasion.*

Finding that nothing was likely to be had here, they quitted the coast on the 12th of March, intending at first for the Isle of Cocoas in the 12th degree of south latitude; but the wind proving unfavourable to their design, they stood for the isles on the west of Sumatra. On the 28th they came to an island where they killed several of the birds called Boobies, and men of war's birds, and also found a large animal in shape like a crab, without claws, which burrowed in the ground after the manner of rabbits, and proved to be excellent meat. Leaving this island, they held on their course, and came in sight of Sumatra on the 7th of April, and on the 17th made an island named Triste, where they supplied themselves with turtle. As they were cruising among these islands, they chased and took a prau of Achin, laden with cocoa-nuts, and cocoa-nut oil, with four men on board, whom they detained prisoners, and, boring a hole, in the bottom of the prau, sunk her, after they had taken out of her what they thought fit. The men thus taken shewed them all the channels and openings which led to Achin, where the English had a factory.

About 40 leagues to the N. N. W. of Sumatra they fell in with one of the Nicobar islands, the inhabitants of which were an independent people, trading with any nation that came among them. Ambergris and fruits were the commodities in which they traded, but the ambergris they were very apt to adulterate. The island of Nicobar lies in $7^{\circ} 30'$ of north latitude.

It was here that Dampier at last found means to bring his scheme to bear, of leaving these pirates, to whose conduct he had so great a dislike. Indeed their behaviour was in every respect such as none but the worst of men could approve. Their desertion of their commander which they justified on principles of retaliation was cruel, and contrary even to those rules which Buccaneers for the sake of order should observe. It is true that Captain Swan did not act prudently in suffering them to remain together at liberty to urge each other to mischief. But it is most probable that being highly embarrassed by the loss of his bark, into which he might have put some of the most mutinous of his crew, and then dropped their company, and finding himself deceived in Raja Laut, he scarcely knew which way to proceed. He had thus lost his hopes of trading with the 5000l. which he had in his hands, the money resulting from the sale of commodities which he had been led to put up at auction, when this motley crew forced themselves upon him for the purpose of buccaneering, and thus disappointed in his aims, he was unsettled in his resolutions, and began at last to be unwilling to trust himself with those who gave tokens of the depth of former resentments. When all these things are considered, it may be said that his death was, in effect, occasioned by the disorderly conduct of his crew. But, to return to Dampier: having considered his own situation and the disposition of his companions, he concluded that it would not be easy for him to make his escape; he resolved therefore to ask Read to set him on shore at this island as soon as he found that the ship was about to sail, and Read consenting, with a view of getting rid of one who was continually finding fault with his conduct, our adventurer quickly collected all his moveables, and persuaded some of the crew to row him on shore in the ship's canoe†. Accordingly he was landed in a sandy bay, and had reason to think

he was now fairly delivered from his disagreeable associates. But in an hour's time Teat came with an armed force to fetch him on board again. When he entered the ship, he found all there in confusion; many others insisting on being set on shore likewise, among whom was Coppinger the surgeon, who jumped into the boat with a gun in his hand, threatening to fire it on those who should endeavour to prevent his purpose, but they were so fully determined not to lose so useful a person, that one of them ventured his life to get the gun from him; and others following; he was once more brought on board. Read, however, when matters were quiet, consented to let Dampier be carried on shore, together with one Mr. Hall, and Ambrose a sailor. The four prisoners taken from the prau, and the Portuguese from the Chinese junk being also left at Nicobar before the ship departed, they all joined company; and these eight persons determined to row to Sumatra, at the distance of forty leagues, for which purpose they bought a canoe of the natives for an axe, (with which the man who rowed the Englishmen on shore had presented them on parting) and having on board a sufficient quantity of provisions, embarked for this purpose on the 10th of May, 1688.

But almost as soon as they had put to sea, their canoe overfet. However as they were near the shore they swam to it in safety. The chests and fire-arms were recovered, and the powder being sealed up was preserved from the wet, but the books and papers of the English were much damaged by the sea-water. While they were employed in drying these, the Achinese were not idle: they provided a stout mast and a sail for their boat, and to prevent her from being again overfet, they furnished her with out-leaguers, a sort of beams or poles which are placed across the body of the canoe, which project a yard or two over the sides, and are united at the extremities by transverse boards, joined to the end, which while they remain firm will never suffer the boat to sink or overfet.

Their little vessel, not much bigger than a wherry, being thus fitted up, they next thought of recruiting their provisions, for which purpose they were obliged to have recourse to a different part of the island, where some disputes at first arose between the English and the Indians, which Dampier by his prudent management found means to accommodate, and having brought the natives into good humour again, the provisions were accordingly obtained.

Dampier has observed that there is not a people on the face of the earth that he should be afraid to approach unarmed and alone, provided no previous injury had been done them by any of his company unprovoked. For, he says, that an European has it always in his power to insinuate himself into the favour of the most savage people by some slight, by shewing them some toy, by smiles and submission, or even by shewing them the method of lighting a match with a flint and steel. As they are apt to lie in ambush and kill by surprise, he says, the only danger is from their first onset, and if that can be avoided, the fiercest of them may be brought to be as gentle as a lamb. This observation is generally true; but it is a rule to which we conceive there are some exceptions, as, if the accounts of voyagers may be credited, there are some barbarians of such a ferocious disposition as neither force nor kindness can tame. And besides, in the ideas of some, the very attempt of any man or set of men to land upon their coast may be considered as an indication of an intended injury, which they imagine they ought to resent.

Be that as it may, Dampier succeeded so well in his endeavour at Nicobar, that nothing farther occurring to prevent the adventurers from pursuing their

* Dampier endeavoured to persuade the men to go to some English factory, but was threatened to be set on shore for having suggested such a scheme, as soon as Read was informed of the proposal.

† Besides Dampier's wish to leave Read and his crew, he had

also at first an idea of establishing a trade for ambergris with the natives of Nicobar, and thus gaining a considerable fortune; as, by rowing with the natives, mixing among them and conforming to their manners, he thought he should find the secret of their getting and preparing this valuable commodity.

Dampier is left at Nicobar.

their project; the English, Portuguese, and the Achinese, committed themselves in their canoe to the mercy of the watry element.

The wind at their first setting out, was favourable, the weather hot, and they proceeded, rowing and sailing occasionally, Dampier and Mr. Hall taking turns at the helm. Yet after two days labour, they found that they had got no more than four leagues from Nicobar. On this they changed their course, but a contrary current opposing them, they found that they had made but little way on the third day.

Having thus missed of improving the fair weather, they were threatened on the 18th with an approaching storm. The wind began to rise, the sky was clouded over, and a circle round the sun gave token of their danger. In this situation, having consulted what was best to be done, they determined to furl the sails, to settle the yard about three feet above the boats side, and stand before the wind to whatsoever land might be right a-head of them. These preparations being made, they waited with very uneasy apprehensions the expected tempest.

A dreadful
tempest.

About noon the gale came on, and continued increasing for many hours. In the mean time the sea ran mountain high, and perpetually threatened by breaking over the canoe, to send her to the bottom of the deep. But her out-leaguers, which we have already described, effectually prevented her over-setting, and the thinness of her body, with a high stern and narrow prow, cutting the waves, insured her security. Even the seas that broke over her were so divided, that instead of coming down with a thundering weight sufficient to sever her frame, the water fell only in showers which could not sink a vessel so secured, and which was baled out by the Achinese, who laboured cheerfully while Dampier and his friend Hall were attentive to every circumstance that could lessen the apparent danger. Notwithstanding what we have observed of those fortunate circumstances that contributed to the safety of this little vessel, yet when the situation of these adventurers is considered, the reader will easily perceive that they had the greatest occasion to be under the most terrible apprehensions, and the more so, as had their out-leaguers failed them in such a sea, the canoe could not have lived a moment. The evening of this day was dreadful, and no less dreadful was the operation which this scene had upon the minds of those who were embarked on this tempestuous ocean. In times of danger a multitude of ideas rush into the head, a thousand feelings affect the heart of man, which in prosperity are totally unknown, in times of tranquility are not attended to. Dampier who had passed through many perils, found himself here quite at a loss to maintain his fortitude, as the following description of the storm and of his own feelings will sufficiently evince.

“The sky (says he) looked very black, being covered with dark clouds, the wind blew hard, and the sea was already roaring in a white foam about us: a dark night coming on, and no land to shelter us, and our little ark in danger to be swallowed up by every wave; and what was worst of all, none of us thought ourselves prepared for another world. I had been in many imminent dangers before now, but the worst of them all was but a play-game in comparison with this. I must confess that I was in great conflict of mind at this time. Other dangers came not upon me with such a leisure and dreadful solemnity. A sudden skirmish or engagement was nothing when the blood was warm, and rushed forward with eager expectations; but here I had a lingering view of approaching death, and little or no hopes of escaping it: And I must confess, that my courage that had hitherto kept me up, failed me here, and I made very sad reflections on my former life, and looked backward with horror and detestation upon actions which before I disliked, but now I trembled at the remembrance of them. I had long before this repented me of that roving life, but never with such concern as now. In

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this temper of mind, we submitted ourselves to God's good providence, taking all the care we could to preserve our lives. Mr. Hall and I took turns to steer, and the rest took turns to heave out the water; and thus we provided to spend the most doleful night I ever was in. About ten o'clock it began to thunder, lighten, and rain; but the rain was welcome to us, having drank up all the water we brought from the island. The wind at first blew harder than before; but, within half an hour, it became more moderate, and the sea assuaged [abated] of its fury. And then by a lighted match, which we kept burning on purpose we looked on our compass, to see how we steered, and found we varied but little from our course and finding our vessel lively enough with the small sail that was aboard, we began to bear up to the true point, to which our views were directed. But about two in the morning, we had another gust of wind, with thunder, lightning, and rain, which obliged us again to put before the wind. The hard rain soaked us thoroughly that we had not one dry thread about us, and the cold rain chilled us extremely, for any fresh water is much colder than the sea-water, and much more unwholesome for man's body.

“In this wet, starving condition, we spent the tedious night. Never did poor mariners on a lee-shore more earnestly long for the dawning light than we did. At length the day appeared, but with such dark, black clouds near the horizon, that the first glimpse of dawn appeared dreadful. We continued our course before the wind till eight o'clock in the morning of the 19th, and then one of our Achinese friends cried out, *Pulo Way*. We thinking the fellow had said *Pull away*, were at a loss to conceive his reason; but presently, observing his motions, we found he pointed to his companions, to shew them land. We, dropping with wet, cold, and hungry, were overjoyed at this sight. It bore south, and the wind was still at west, a strong gale; yet with our small sail, no bigger than an apron, we changed our course, and bore up to it. Here our out-leaguers did us good service; and, though our boat's side was pressed down very much, we could brook it well enough; and the next day we ran to the mouth of a river in the island of Sumatra, called Passage Jonca, where all fell ill of fevers, of which some died; and I that survived was a whole year before I recovered my strength.”

Having reached the shore the English were kindly entertained by the natives, as the Achinese had given these Indians to understand that the strangers were prisoners on board the piratical vessels as well as themselves, and had been set on shore altogether, the truth of which latter part of the information seemed to confirm that of the former.

In this place the natives used many endeavours to persuade Dampier and his companion Mr. Hall, to stay in order to improve them in the art of building and navigating vessels; but it will readily be conceived that people who had gone through so much abroad were not willing to listen to such proposals. On the other hand as there was an English factory at Achin, they made it their choice to be conveyed thither, and embarking on board a vessel provided accordingly, they arrived there in three days. At Achin the two Englishmen were received with great kindness, and entertained by an Irish gentleman of the name of Driseal, but Dampier's ill health still continuing, he had recourse to a Malayan professor of physic, who gave him such a strong medicine as procured 60 evacuations in one day; this seemed to be adopting a sort of dangerous if not desperate remedy; but our adventurer who seems to have had the ground-work of a good constitution to carry him through, bore it all, and afterwards gathered strength daily.

The Achinese were restored to their families, but the Portuguese died the day after their arrival, and Ambrose the sailor lived but a little while after him. Dampier when he found his health growing better, undertook to sail to Nicobar with one Captain Bowry. E. Indies.

U

Dampier's reception at Achin.

1690

Bowry*. Accordingly they embarked and set sail from the road of Achin, in the beginning of the month of June, but a storm obliged them to return; and Captain Welder at this time arriving at Fort St. George engaged Dampier to go with him on a voyage to Tonquin, his description of which, as well as of the city of Malacca [or Malakka] we have here omitted, as they will be found more at large in the subsequent part of this work, which treats of voyages to the East Indies.

They left the river of Tonquin in the month of February, standing away to the south, the shoals of Brasil being on the larboard, and the coasts of Cochinchina, Campa and Cambodia on the starboard, the latter of which Dampier describes as a low, woody country, somewhat like Tonquin, situate on a large river, which rising in the north, passes through a large tract of land, and empties itself into the sea near the Isle of Condore. Thence they steered westward, and passed through the streights of Malacca, and after a short stay there, made for Achin, where Dampier had first landed, with whose account of the country we shall here present our readers.

Description of
Achin.

"This kingdom, (says he) is the most populous of all the petty kingdoms in the Isle of Sumatra, and extends fifty or sixty miles from the north-west to the east. Near the north-west end of Sumatra stands the Golden Mountain, within two leagues of the city of Achin, which mountain may be seen at the distance of 40 leagues at sea. The road of Achin is inclosed by a range of islands, the easternmost of which is called the Isle of Way, a circumstance that accounts for the Achinese in Dampier's canoe having called out *Pulo Way*, Pulo signifying an island in their language.

"Plantains, bananas, durians, citrons, oranges, and most of the fruits known in the torrid zone, grow in the island, as likewise rice and pepper; camphire also and gold, are found in the kingdom of Achin. Their land animals are elephants, bullocks, deer, hogs, goats, horses, porcupines, monkeys, squirrels, lizards, and serpents, &c. Of tame fowls they have only dunghill fowls and ducks; but the woods afford macaws, parrots, paroquites, pigeons, and turtle doves of divers sorts; and the sea and rivers furnish them with plenty of fish.

"The inhabitants of the kingdom of Achin are originally Malaysians, speaking the same language [with them] with very little difference, being of the same Mahometan religion, and of the same temper. For the rest;—they are of a middle size and well shaped:—Their complexion is dark like the rest of the Indians; their hair lank and black; with black eyes, tolerable good noses, thin lips, and black teeth. They are naturally lazy and idle, and the poorer sort are addicted to theft, but good-natured to strangers. They build their houses on posts: Their common food is rice; but the better sort eat fowls, fish, and buffaloes flesh, seasoned with garlic and pepper, and dressed with pickles. The poor wear a pair of breeches only, and a turban; the rich a cap fitted to their heads, and a piece of silk thrown over their shoulders; also a pair of sandals, but no stockings.

"The city of Achin, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, is seated on the banks of a river two miles from the sea; not far from the north west end of the Isle of Sumatra." "It contains (adds Dampier) about 8000 houses, much larger and better furnished than those of Mindanao, and inhabited, besides the natives, by the English, Dutch, Danes, Portuguese, Chinese, and those of Guzarat. The chief trades of Achin are carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and fishermen; the last of whom are the richest and most in number. Their gold mines are near the golden mountain; none but Mahometans are permitted to go thither; these carry such commodities, through very difficult ways, as are wanted by the miners, in

lieu whereof they bring back gold. The English are highly esteemed here; such of the Hollanders as are free merchants may trade hither; but the Chinese outdo all the rest; many of them dwell constantly in the city, the rest come with the ships in June, and take up their shops in the Chinese quarter, where they sell their commodities, for two or three months. They do not much frequent the mosques, yet are very zealous in their religion. They are very strict and short in the administration of justice; for as soon as a criminal is brought before the magistrate he is either acquitted or punished upon the spot. Theft is punished with the cutting off a hand or a leg, the stump they bind up tight with a piece of leather or bladder, to stop the blood. Such as deserve death are generally impaled: but those of a noble extraction have the privilege to fight for their lives with their usual weapons, which, however, stand them in little stead; for the whole multitude fall upon them and dispatch them in an instant.

"The kingdom is governed by a queen who is elected out of the royal family. She must be a maid, and is in a manner confined to her own palace; the management of all affairs belonging to twelve Oronkey's, or great men of the kingdom." The captain observes, that there was mention made of a king in James the First's time, yet he was sure that in later years Achin had been governed by queens, and that there was an election for a new female sovereign during his voyage to Tonquin, that occasioned a civil war, which, however, was at last settled to the new queen's advantage. He says the weather at Achin is much the same as in other countries to the north of the line; and so are the dry and wet seasons, and the floods, and the river running only a short course for ever overflows its banks and the city. It seems they frequently wash in this river, both upon a religious account and in respect to health. "For my part (adds he) I can assert, by my own experience, that it cured me of the flux, that had afflicted me so long before, which I attributed to its cooling quality, of which I found the effects in my bowels, as often as I washed in the river. The heat is not so excessive here as at Tonquin, for they are constantly refreshed every twenty-four hours by the sea and land breezes."

From Achin, Dampier set sail as mate to Captain Minchin, who had purchased a vessel there, and made a voyage to Malacca, in the course of which nothing remarkable occurred; they arrived in safety, loaded their ships and departed.

On their return, they touched at a Dutch island ^{Island of Dinding.} near the continent, called Dinding. They found it inhabited only by Dutchmen, who had a fort there, without bastions, in extent about 12 feet square, standing in a small creek defended by 14 guns and a garrison of 30 soldiers. Here the governor treated the English kindly, and invited them to supper; in the midst of which they were disturbed by an alarm that was spread of the approach of a number of Malaysians from the continent; but this turned out to be a false report. The next day they set sail, and returned to Achin about the beginning of November.

During Dampier's stay at Fort St. George, a vessel laden with clove-bark from Mindanao, arrived there having on board one Mr. Moody, in quality of a supercargo.—The reader may remember our having made mention of a prince of Meangis who had solicited Read ^{Account of the India prince} to carry him from Mindanao to his own country. This prince and his mother having been driven off their own coast in a tempest, had been seized at sea by some Mindaneian fishermen, who sold them as slaves at Mindanao. Mr. Moody being at that time on the island, his attention was attracted by the curious manner in which this Indian prince was painted; he therefore purchased the royal slave with an intention of bringing him over to England. But the governor of Fort

* Captain Bowry was the person who sent the letter from Sumatra to Mindanao, where he supposed an English factory then

subsisted, while his countrymen concluded from that letter there was then one at Sumatra.

Fort St. George, offering this gentleman the place of chief of Indrapore, in the room of one Mr. Gibbons, who had lately resigned, he endeavoured to engage Dampier to go with him as his gunner, and to encourage him to comply made him a promise of purchasing a vessel to carry the prince and his mother to their country, of which he would send him as a commander, and also give him power to establish a trade at Meangis. Dampier thought this such an offer as he ought by no means to reject, and accordingly embarked for the new settlement.

The weather was fair and pleasant till they came to the western coast of Sumatra, when a storm arising drove them into the harbour of Bencouli. Here they were well received, and our adventurer being offered the place of gunner of the fort, accepted of it with Mr. Moody's leave, who was not sure that he could accomplish the promise he made of sending him with the prince to Meangis.

Moody also assigned him a half share in the two slaves, who remained with him at Bencouli, while the new chief repaired to his station at Indrapore, Dampier, however, at length grew weary of his station, and made application for his discharge to the governor and council: the latter thought his request reasonable, and the former made no objections; but that was at a time when there was no vessel to be obtained, to carry him home. Afterwards, when the ship called the Defence, Captain Heath, which was bound for England, came thither, he at first found excuses, and at last peremptorily refused to let Dampier go. It seems that this ship before her arrival at Bencouli, touched at Indrapore, Moody had consigned his half share of the slaves to Goddard, the chief mate of the ship who in vain joined all his interest to that of the captain in order to prevail on him for our adventurer's discharge, Moody having been previously acquainted with his design, of returning home. In consequence of his assignment, the prince of Meangis who was reduced to the situation of a common slave, was put on board the Defence. He was but just recovered from an infectious distemper, of which his mother had died in India, and at her death he had given such an example of filial affection as well deserves remembrance among the more refined and civilized people of Europe.

This Indian, who was known by the name of Yeoly or Jeoly, was consoled as much as possible by Dampier, on the loss of his parent; yet it was feared that he would not long survive her. A grave was therefore, immediately dug in order to hide the body from him, which was shrouded in a piece of fine new calico; but the son could not be satisfied till he saw all her cloaths wrapped round her, together with two new pieces of chintz, given her by Mr. Moody, saying, as they were hers, she must have them. At last she was interred in a very solemn manner, but it was long before her son ceased to grieve for his mother's death.

The governor continuing inflexible, Captain Heath secretly agreed that Dampier should be received on board his ship, provided he could make his escape. This adventurer who had no other chance for revisiting his native country, depended intirely on the captain's honour in which dependence he was not disappointed.

When the letters were put on board, and all things in readiness for sailing, proper notice being given, Dampier after many essays got away about the middle

of the night and creeping through one of the port-holes of the fort escaped to the ship's boat, which carried him on board; and on the 25th of January, the captain sailed for the Cape of Good Hope.

They had at first fair and favourable weather and the prospect of a successful voyage; but they had not been long at sea before a strange distemper stole upon the crew, which proved so universal, that there was hardly one to be found who did not experience it in a greater or less degree, so that the people were generally unable to work the ship when necessity required their utmost exertion.* While they were in this condition, they were seasonably relieved by the hu-

Captain Heath's humanity.

manity of the captain, who having brought some jars of tamarinds from India, distributed them daily among his crew, at this time of general sickness and distress. But the wind coming foul, and the passage which had already been a long one, being likely to prove still more tedious, Captain Heath, calling all his men together, desired the opinion of every individual relative to what was best to be done in the present exigency. The result was, that notwithstanding the wind was unfavourable, they should still proceed towards the Cape.

But now another difficulty arose:—to put this resolution in force, it was necessary for those who were in health to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner, in order to supply the place of those that were sick on board. Here the captain's policy appeared as conspicuous as his humanity had been in the instance just related. He promised a month's extra pay to every one who would engage to assist on all occasions, when required, whether it were his watch or not. The proposal was first embraced by the officers, and then all the men capable of duty entered into the same engagement.

This salutary expedient had the desired effect. And (says Dampier) "In a short time it pleased God to favour us with a fair wind, which being improved to the best advantage by the incessant labour of those new-listed men, wafted us in a short time to the cape; and being brought safe to anchor by the assistance of 100 Dutch sailors, who unbent the sails, and did every thing for us they were required to do, the sick were presently sent on shore, where they remained for six weeks, and all but three or four recovered."

They took their departure from the cape in company with the James and Mary, and the Joseph, East-Indiamen, shaping their course towards St. Helena, and in their way were incommoded with a swelling sea, soon after they had doubled the cape, which Dampier observes was a token "That the south-west winds were violent in the higher latitudes towards the south pole [where it was almost the middle of winter] we having found clear weather all the while." They arrived at St. Helena on the 20th of June, from whence, after four or five days stay, they set sail for England, and without meeting with any thing remarkable, after a prosperous voyage, arrived in the Downs on the 16th of September, in the year 1691.

Thus Dampier returned in safety to his country; but this was a blessing denied the prince of Meangis. This unfortunate Indian, it seems, was sold to people who carried him about the kingdom for a show, and told a number of ridiculous tales about him, which it was not in his power to contradict.† After having experienced all the vicissitudes of this roving life, prince

* One of the causes of this distemper, according to Dampier, was their bad water, which they filled from a river into which several streams emptied their dregs in the dry season. He also mentions another circumstance, namely, its being stowed among the pepper in the hold, which rendered it so hot that a man could scarcely hold a bottle filled with it in his hand. Either of these causes, though so widely different might have produced very disagreeable effects; the first seems, however, to have been the most probable source of the evil.

† Among the rest, they told a tale of his having a beautiful sister at Mindanao, whom the sultan took to his bed. They said also, that the paint with which he was adorned was a se-

curity against venomous creatures. Both these reports were equally false. With regard to the colouring, it seems that he was painted all down his breast, between his shoulders, on his thighs, and round his legs and arms like bracelets. Dampier observes, that he could not liken the drawings to the form of any animals; but, he adds, "They were very curious, full of great variety of lines, flourishes, chequered work, and innumerable convolutions; keeping a very graceful proportion, and appearing very artificial, even to the wonder of all that beheld him." According to this account it seems that this prince was marked after the manner called *Tattooing*, in use among the natives of New Zealand.

1703

Another
voyage.

prince Jeoly died at Oxford, an instance of the instability of fortune.

Dampier, who (as the reader will remember) had never yet been advanced to the station of a commander, was so much recommended by his voyages, that he was afterwards employed by the government; to make discoveries, in which line, however, he does not seem to have met with any great success. Sailing from the Downs on the 14th of Jan. 1698, in his majesty's ship the *Roebuck* with 12 guns, and 50 men, and 20 months provision on board, he proceeded till he fell in with the coast of New Holland, where little was found besides what Dampier had before seen and described when his voyage round the world was published. They saw on this coast no other land animal than a sort of racoon, that differs from those in the West Indies chiefly in the shape of their legs, which being short before, they jump as they run along; and a sort of lizards which having legs so formed that they can walk either forward or backward, and being without a tail, seem to have two heads, tho' philosophers are of opinion that there is not such a double formed animal in nature. Here Dampier was much distressed for want of water, and while he was on shore digging a well, he was attacked by ten or twelve of the natives. A young man being surrounded by three of them, and wounded with a lance, it was thought proper to shoot amongst them. When a gun was fired over their heads, thought it made them start at first, had not the desired effect; however, when a man fell by another discharge, they exhibited signs of dread and astonishment, and fled precipitately from the scene of action. There was one among the savages who were in this engagement, that had the appearance of a chief. He was neither so tall nor so agreeable as the rest, but was more active and courageous. He had a white circle painted round his eyes, and a white streak down his nose from his forehead to the tip of it. This seemed to be done not to make him appear more beautiful to his friends, but more terrible to his enemies. In this second voyage, Captain Dampier confirms what he said in his first, That the natives of New Holland are the most disagreeable people he ever saw, while Captain Cook gives a quite different account of them. In endeavouring to reconcile these different relations it will seem strange that there should be so great a difference between the people inhabiting the eastern and western coasts of the same land; yet we have no authority for disputing the authenticity of either of these accounts.

In September 1699, Dampier left this disagreeable coast, when he could neither find fresh water nor a harbour proper for careening his vessel, and arrived at Timor on the 15th of the same month, where he was supplied with water and provisions, by the chief of the Dutch factory, and was also well entertained by the Portuguese settled there. From thence he sailed to New Guinea, where finding the land divided into two parts, he gave the name of New Britain to the eastern shore. On his return, he touched again at Timor, and from thence sailed to Batavia, where he took in supplies. Thus provided, he proceeded for the Cape of Good Hope in October, and having doubled it continued his voyage to S. Helena, where he arrived on the last day of January, 1700.—In his course homeward his vessel sprung a leak, and he was forced to run her a-ground at Ascension Island. There the crew landed, and took on shore their provisions. Afterwards they discovered a fine spring of water, and remained on the island till some English men of war touched there, which were conveying the *Canterbury East Indiaman*, and these brought them home at last to England. The reader may here perceive that no success attending this voyage was sufficient to engage a man to embark in another; but Dampier was of a roving disposition, and not easily disconcerted by disappointments.

Still wishing to be distinguished in his profession, it was not easy for such a one to resist the opportunities that offered to gratify his darling passion. Accord-

ingly, in the year 1703, we find him again employed, in consort with Capt. Pulling in an expedition to the South Seas. Each of these had a ship of 26 guns under his command, manned by 120 men. Dampier's ship was called the *St. George*, and Pulling's the *Fame*: they had a commission from Prince George of Denmark, the Lord High Adm. of England, to proceed against the French and Spaniards, and were victualled for nine months; but the expedition, as it seems, partaking of the nature of those fitted out by private adventurers, though countenanced by a government commission, began in the first setting off to give tokens of those disagreements which are common in these cases among the commanders and officers of ships under this predicament. They had not got out of the Downs before some differences arose between the captains, in consequence of which Pulling set sail alone. Dampier thus left to take his own course stopped some time on the coast of Ireland, where he was joined by the *Cinque Port Galley*, commanded by Captain Charles Pickering: she was of 90 tons burden, and carried 16 guns, and 63 men.

Our voyager set sail from Kinsale in Ireland on the 11th of September, 1703, little doubting of the success of the projects he had formed, which were— If possible to surprise the Spanish galleons at Buenos Ayres; if they should miss of them to sail through the Maghellenic Streights, and cruise on the coasts of Peru for the *Baldivia* ships, which carried gold to Lima; or if they should fail in both these enterprises, then to endeavour to intercept on the coasts of Mexico the *Manilla* ship that annually comes to the town of Acapulco.

Dampier's ship, and Pickering's galley arriving at the *Madeiras*, they were given to understand that the galleons had left Buenos Ayres, and were then at *Teneriff*; and thus they found the first part of their scheme had proved abortive. As they had no time to lose, on receiving this intelligence, the two vessels proceeded on their course to the Island *Le Grand*, on the coast of Brasil, where the captain of the galley died, and Lieutenant Stradling was chosen to command her.

They sailed from this island on the 8th of December, and doubled Cape Horn on the 20th of Jan. and the two vessels parted company in a violent storm, then Dampier changing his direction, and steering northward, proceeded towards *Juan Fernandez*. Anchoring in the great bay there, the *St. George* met with her consort, and they continued at the island till the 29th, refitting their ships, when descrying a sail, they put to sea and came up with her; Dampier fought her about seven hours, after which she sheered off, the galley having taken little part in the engagement. Returning to *Juan Fernandez* the next day, they narrowly escaped from two French men of war, and left their anchors, cables, and five of their men, with a set of sails; all of which they could but ill spare behind them.

The *Baldivian* ships were the next object they had in view; but the *Baldivian* ships were sailed, and the gold was secured. Thus disappointed, they determined to attack the town of *Santa Maria*, in the gulph of *Panama*; but their intention having been discovered by the Spaniards, an ambuscade was laid for them; four were killed, some wounded, and the rest were glad to save themselves by flight. Thus ended that expedition. The commanders dispirited by their ill success, were now ready to part from each other, when, luckily for them, a large ship came to an anchor close by them, which was deeply laden with flour, sugar, brandy, wine, marmalade of quinces, and salt; also a quantity of linen and woollen cloth. They boarded and took her, and were happy in this supply, which came at a time when five green plantains was the allowance for six men. Notwithstanding this the captains determined to separate from each other; and within three days afterwards Captain Dampier fell in with a Spanish ship of war, which it seems had been fitted out with a view to take him; but the two ships parted in the night by consent, af-

ter a smart engagement. Not long after this, the dæmon of discord raging among them, Clippington, our voyager's first lieutenant seized the ship's tender, with the stores, ammunition, and 21 of the men, and when he had cleared the islands, gave an invitation to all that chose to follow his fortunes to come on board; and it is likely Dampier would have been left almost alone, had it not been for the hopes formed of his last project, that of attacking the Manilla ship, which kept those remaining on board his ship still steady to him. Clippington too had the generosity to restore all the powder and ammunition, except what he wanted for his own use. In the mean time, Dampier took a small bark laden with plantains in the bay of Tacamnes, which he named the Dragon, and designed to keep her for a tender. The master of this bark was named Christian Martin, born in Spain, but having been taken prisoner when a boy, was brought up in England. Him they secured, and proceeded on their last grand project to attack the Manilla ship, which they came up with on the 6th of December, and bearing down on her, gave her several broadsides before she could bring her guns to bear, which threw the crew into great confusion. It was now that their prisoner Captain Martin gave them such advice as had it been followed would probably have secured their prize; for he advised them to lay their vessel aboard immediately, before the Spaniards could have time to recover from their disorder. If a proper authority had been exerted, and the seamen on board the St. George disposed to obey instead of wrangling among themselves, the scheme might have taken effect; but instead of this, there were two parties, the one for following Martin's advice, the other against it. In the mean time the Spaniards got out a tier of 24 pounders, whose weight was too much for the English vessel. After having received a shot between wind and water in the powder-room, by which two feet of her planks were driven in on each side of the stern, the St. George was beaten off with disgrace, and all the golden projects of the adventurers were at an end. —The mariners were, however, prevailed on to cruise for some weeks upon the Mexican coast, and passed the ports of Acapulco, Port Angels, Anguatulco, and many other places, but met with nothing of any consequence, and therefore the people grew more and more impatient every day.

Account of
Read's adventures.

At this time a number of the men projected a design of returning home by way of the East-Indies. The encourager of this party was Mr. Funnell, the chief mate, who commanded the Spanish prize. The owner's agent dividing the provisions between them, Funnell separated himself and 33 men from Dampier, and having watered at Amapalla prepared for his voyage. The other party consisting of 27 persons remained with their old commander; but of the adventures they met with we have no other accounts except that Dampier returned home in safety, but published no account of this voyage. As for his chief mate, and those who sailed under his conduct, they quitted the Gulph of Amapalla on the first of February, 1705. On his return, his vessel was seized by the Dutch, the effects confiscated, and most of the crew confined and half starved. Funnell being released however, got something like a redress, though by no means what he had a right to expect. With two of

his company, he embarked for Europe, on the 2d of November, and arrived in the Texel in July the next year. After visiting the principal towns in Holland he returned to England and published his voyage, from whence the accounts of this last expedition of Dampier are extracted.

As the reader may be curious to know what became of Read and Teat our adventurer's old companions in his voyage with Captain Swan, it may be proper to observe that after Dampier's return to Achin from his voyage to Malacca, he met with one Mr. Morgan, that had formerly belonged to the Cygnet, but was then on board a Danish vessel, who gave him the following account of them: "That when they left Nicobar, they steered for Ceylon; but not being able to weather that island, they went to the coast of Coromandel, where they began to form new projects, which not succeeding, Read's people left him. Morgan and Coppinger, with some others, entered into the Danish service, two or three others repaired to Fort St. George, but the main body went up the country and enlisted in the Great Mogul's service, where a few of them continued orderly for some time; but Oliver, the quarter-master, and a party with him soon left the camp, and rambled about, plundering and robbing the villages. He added, that Captain Read having thus lost the better half of his men, after having taken rice and water on board, sailed again, still intending for the Red Sea. Off Ceylon he had taken a rich Portuguese ship and plundered her of what he liked; but not being able to bear up against the westerly winds, he stood for Madagascar. There, after various adventures, Read with half a dozen of his followers, slipping away from the rest of the company, embarked for New York. Teat, who succeeded to his command, having joined Captain Knight, their old companion, they sailed some time in company; but as the Cygnet proved leaky, Knight got away from her, on which she returned to Madagascar, and sunk at last in the Bay of St. Augustin."

Such was the end of all the schemes of Captain Swan's piratical crew, from whom our voyager so luckily separated himself at Nicobar. Of his other undertakings we have given a summary of all that was worth notice as far as our authorities extend. Of the latter part of his life we have no account. We have followed him through all his busy scenes, and have endeavoured to represent him to the reader such as he appears to have been, one of a spirit rather restless, with a thirst for gold, to which, however, [if we set aside the depredations he committed in common with others on the Spanish coasts] he does not seem to have sacrificed his idea of strict honesty. With a bluntness of manners he seems to have joined no small share of humanity; and more than once we find him expressing in high terms his disapprobation of cruelty and injustice. A desire of knowledge seems to have been one of his predominant passions, and this he had many opportunities to gratify, but in his wishes to attain riches he seems generally to have been disappointed. On the whole, Dampier, though not the best calculated to command, appears to have been a man of good natural parts, and was certainly a very able navigator.

THE VOYAGE OF MASTER COWLEY, ROUND THE WORLD.

1684

COWLEY, as well as Dampier was engaged in a league with the Buccaneers of America. His first setting out was in the same prize wherein Dampier sailed from Virginia under the conduct of Captain Cook; and during his life, he continued to serve him in quality of master, after which he sailed with Captain Eaton into the South Seas. The account of his voyage is written by himself, from which the subsequent relation is extracted.

He sailed from Cape Charles in Virginia, in the *Revenge*, Captain Cook, in the month of August, 1683, under an idea of navigating the ship to Petit Guavres, whither he accordingly directed his course; but was soon given to understand, as he quitted the shore, that the vessel must be brought to Guinea, from whence, as soon as a ship could be gotten, they were to sail into the Pacific Ocean.

Standing for the Cape Verd Islands; when they came to St. Nicholas, a consultation was held, the subject of which was, whether they should sail directly for the South Seas, in the ship they had; or whether they should proceed to Guinea, to accommodate themselves with a better, as had been at first intended.

It was at last concluded that they should try the road of St. Jago, one of the Cape Verd Islands, and if they could there find a vessel that might suit their purpose, they should immediately endeavour to make prize of her.

A design of
taking a Dutch
ship miscarries

"On our approach to this island (says Cowley) on the eastern side, we descried a large ship from the mast head, which proved to be a Dutch East Indiaman, of 50 guns, and, as we afterwards learned, of 400 men, most of whom were on shore; but seeing us stand towards the road, they instantly repaired to their posts, clapped a spring upon their cable, heaved their broadside to us, run out their lower tier of guns, and made themselves ready to receive us. We had now advanced too near; but marking their force, and that it was in vain to attempt a conquest, we put before the wind, and sailed directly for the coast of Guinea, where we had no sooner arrived than we fell in with a new ship of 40 guns, which we boarded and carried away. Upon examination, we found her well stored with brandy, water, and provisions; and, in order to furnish her with other necessaries from our old ship, we put into Sherborough, resolving to put into no other port till we should come to the Island of Juan Fernandez."

Pepy's Island.

Their first design being thus accomplished, they steered for the Brazilian coast, and afterwards came into 47° south lat. "Where (says our voyager) we found land never before discovered. It proved an uninhabited island, to which I gave the name of Pepy's Island, and at which ships may conveniently wood and water, having a good harbour where a thousand ships may ride in safety. On this island we saw plenty of fowls, and round it there is no doubt of fish, but it blowing a storm we could neither dare approach it, nor examine its coasts."

They now stood to the southward, intending not to attempt the Maghellanic freights, but to make Terra del Fuego, where finding great riplings, and being apprehensive of danger, they determined to attempt the passage discovered by Bartholomew Sharp in 1681, and to sail round all, leaving Staten Land to the north. They came abreast of Cape Horn on the 14th of February, "where chusing Valentines, and dis-

courfing of the witchcraft of women, there arose a storm which continued till the last day of the month, and drove the vessel into latitude 60° 30' south."* According to the notions entertained in those days, they concluded that talking of the wiles of women at sea was very unlucky discourse. However the wind coming to the south in the beginning of March, they were carried into a warmer latitude. Steering northward, they met with the *Nicholas*, Captain Eaton, in the 40th degree of south latitude, in consort with whom they sailed to the island of Juan Fernandez, which was the place where the Moskito men met each other, as has been related in Dampier's account.—From thence they sailed north-north-east, till they made the high land of Arica, in 18 degrees south latitude. Being before the bay, they held a consultation whether they should enter, the result of which was that they should proceed to Cape Blanco, and wait there for the Plate fleet coming to the bay of Panama.† In their way they took a ship laden with timber, having 30 men on board, with which they sailed to Lobos, and afterwards resolved on an attack upon Truxillo; they also made prize of three ships laden with flour and sweet-meats, and afterwards lay by at the Gallapagos or Inchanted islands, as the reader has seen in Dampier's relation.

They came to an anchor in a very good harbour towards the northernmost end of a fine island under the Equinoctial Line, where there was plenty of fish and land tortoises—Cowley adds, "That there were fowls of various sorts, and so tame (says he) that at first they would often light upon the hats and shoulders of our men, as they walked abroad; but not being able to satisfy their hungry appetite by catching them alive, the sailors so scared them by frequently firing upon them, that they became at last like other birds, very shy. Cowley called this the Duke of York's Island, and to another which he observed when viewed in various directions to assume a different shape, he gave the name of Cowley's Inchanted Island.—It was on the Duke of York's Island alone that he found fresh water.

Sailing from hence the first land they made upon the main was Cape Trespontew, where the Captain died. The second day, says he, three Indians came down, whom our men brought on board. Being strictly examined concerning the strength and opulence of Ria Lexa, they gave very satisfactory answers; but, while they were under examination, our long-boat being sent on shore to get beef, a party of Spanish Indians came down, and set their boat on fire, and drove their crew for shelter to a rock, where they were forced to remain till we sent another boat with 20 men to secure them. We retained the three Indians, and led them, with ropes about their necks, as guides to conduct us afterwards to Ria Lexa; but one of them having got his neck out of the collar, made his escape, and alarmed the town; so that our men returned very much discouraged at this second disappointment."

Cowley afterwards mentions their having careened their vessels in the bay of Amapalla, where Captain Davis and Cook's successor parted from Captain Eaton, and our voyager accompanied the latter. They then steered for Cape St. Francisco, and coming to Payta, they set two ships on fire that were lying at anchor there, the Spaniards refusing to ransom them.

Standing

* Cowley says, he found the weather so cold there, that they could drink three quarts of burnt brandy a-piece without being at all intoxicated.

† By this determination they missed of a ship with 300 tons of silver on board, then lying in Arica Bay.

Standing W. N. W. they came almost as low as the rocks of St. Bartholomew, and at last having passed the rocks, went for the Island of Guam.

They arrive at Guam. "It was on the 14th of March (says Cowley) that we saw land. When we arrived, we had a very sickly ship, no man being free from the scurvy. At twelve o'clock we were in latitude 13° 2' north by observation. The next day we sailed about the south-west part of the island, and came to an anchor in a fair bay from whence we sent a boat ashore with a flag of truce; but, on landing, we found that the natives had burned their houses, and had fled. However, our men felled some cocoa trees, and brought a hundred or two of the nuts on board, to refresh the crew. In the mean time, a party of Indians rushed from behind the bushes, and in a hostile manner threatened to attack us; but we made signs of friendship, and one of the Indians returned to the wood, and having peeled a stick so as to make it appear white, he came forward, when one of his companions perceiving that he had no cap, to compliment our people, called him back, and presented him with one for that purpose. From Sunday the 15th, till Tuesday the 17th, we continued a free trade with the Indians; but, on that day, our men going over to a small island on the west side of Guam, the Indians fell upon them with stones and lances, which occasioned a fray, wherein four of the Indians were killed upon the spot. Two days after, the governor, who was a Spaniard, came to a point of land near the ship, and sent a letter, written in Spanish, French, and Dutch, demanding in the name of the king his master, Who we were, whither we were bound, and from whence we came? Our answer was written in French [importing] that we were employed by some gentlemen in France upon the discovery of the unknown parts of the world. On the return of the messenger, the governor sent a letter of invitation to the captain to come on shore, with which he instantly complied, and was received under a triple discharge of cannon from the fort, which was answered by the same number of guns from the ship. They soon came to a good understanding. Our Captain made an apology for killing some of the Indians in his own defence, and the governor answered, That if he had killed them all, he should have esteemed the favour the greater. We were afterwards told that the Indians on the small island were in rebellion."

The governor's civility.

Mutual civilities now passed between the governor and the English. A Spanish Captain was sent on board who continued 24 hours in the ship. He brought 10 hogs together, with potatoes, plantains, and other fruits of the country, and the captain in return made the officer a present of a rich sword, and sent the governor a diamond ring.

A captain, a jesuit, and a friar, were afterwards sent on board with a request to Captain Eaton to spare the governor some powder; four barrels were accordingly sent, and an offer was made him of four great guns, which offer he declined with great politeness, but accepted the powder, and sent a box with 1600 pieces of eight, desiring the captain to pay himself out of the money. However the box was returned with the money untouched, but the governor afterwards sent a very valuable present to the captain.

In the mean time the English went out every day chasing the Indians with licence to kill and destroy them. But it seems that the latter finding they were not Spaniards, became so tractable as to do all that could be expected from them. But some time after when the English thought that all was peace, "The Indians (says Cowley) made signs for as many of our men as chose it, to come on shore and see them haul the seine. Our men, not suspecting any design, manned the boat, and went to look at them: But while they were amusing themselves with the sport, the Indians had very artfully brought their seine round the boat with an intention to draw it on shore, and thereby entangle both boat and crew; but the sailors discovering the plot, gave the Indians no time to put it in execution; for being provided with fire-

arms, they fired amongst the thickest of them, killed a great many of them, and drove the rest away.

Cowley adds that "These Indians are large of stature, some of them being seven feet and a half high. He says they go stark naked and never bury their dead, but leaving them in the sun to rot. They have no arms but flings and lances; the sharp ends of the latter are pointed with dead mens bones, being cut like scoops, and jagged at the edges like saws; if a man happens to be wounded by them and is not cured in nine days, he certainly dies. Our people took four of these treacherous savages prisoners, bound them and brought them on board; but they had not been long amongst us before three of them leaped into the sea, and with their hands tied behind them, swam away like fishes. However we sent a boat after them, and found that a strong man at the first blow could not penetrate their skins with a cutlass."—He adds, "One of them, in my judgment, *received forty bullets in his body before he died*, and the last of the three that was killed, swam a good English mile, not only with his hands tied behind him, but with his arms pinioned, before he expired."

The English here had good encouragement for destroying the Indians, as the more harm was done to these people, the better the Spanish governor was pleased, who, the day after the affair abovementioned, sent the captain a present of 30 hogs, and some of the fruits of the country.

When they had rigged their vessel, and taken in wood and water, they prepared for their departure, weighing anchor on the first of April, and having received the governor's last present on the 3d. On the 4th they set sail, and proceeded till they came to a cluster of islands, lying to the northward of Luconia, where they perceived no inhabitants, but saw some goats, and found a great many nutmegs. From hence they steered for Luconia, and afterwards came up with Cape Mindato, where the south-west monsoon overtaking them, they were forced to go for Canton in China. There they might have taken 13 Tartarian vessels, full of rich goods, of which the Tartars had plundered the Chinese two years before, but they being under no command refused to attack them. From Canton they proceeded for Manilla, in quest of the ship that annually sailed thither, but though they came in sight of her, she escaped them by swift sailing, which was no small disappointment. Afterwards they bore away for an island to the north of Luconia, intending to remain there till the wind would permit their sailing for Bantam, which they knew not had been taken from the English by the Dutch. At this island they supplied themselves with goats, guanoes and fruit, and found an Indian who gave them a direction to a place where there was plenty of cattle. As soon as the wind was fair, they proceeded to the southward, and in the tenth degree of north latitude, were so much entangled among a cluster of islands, that they expected to be wrecked, but happily escaped that danger, and held on their course to an island at the north end of the Borneo. There they hauled the ship on shore, set up a tent and fortified themselves, erecting a battery on shore. At first the natives were very shy of them, having never seen any white people, and having met with one of their canoes full of women, among whom was the queen of the country, all that were on board leaped into the sea at sight of the strangers; but these being taken up, and treated with kindness, the people by degrees grew more familiar, and supplied the English with such fruits as the island produced, besides trafficking with them for musk, civet and bezoar, while they stayed in the country.

They leave the island.

Towards the end of the year, they left this place and steered for Timor.—There finding the crew mutinous and not under command of their captain, Cowley, one Hill, and eighteen others, bought a large boat, in which they sailed to Java. The wind not proving favourable to carry them to Batavia, they went to Cheriboa, a Dutch factory, to the eastward of that place, where the Dutch governor received them with

Cowley separates himself from Captain Eaton's crew.

1685

with kindness. The worthy persons beforementioned now divided themselves into three parties, two of which concluded to sail for the Bay of Bengal, but the third remained with Cowley. Considering that Batavia was the Dutch magazine in India, they repaired thither and met with an agreeable reception, and I (says the author) with Mr. Hill, and another friend, who were all my party, were promised our passage to Europe in their East India fleet. At this time the general was sending five ships of war with soldiers, in order to procure satisfaction from the king of the island, for the slaughter of a party of 80 Hollanders. These ships, however, were first designed against Sillesbar, an English settlement on the western coast of the island of Sumatra, but the outrage abovementioned, had caused the Dutch to change their purpose.

The Englishmen at Batavia hearing those tidings, would willingly have gone to Sillesbar; but this was what the Dutch would not suffer; and they seized a sloop which had been bought for that purpose, the prime cost of which they returned, but according to a law forbidding the subjects of the republic in India to sell a vessel to any foreigner, they punished those that transgressed it; and Cowley, together with Mr. Hill, and another friend embarked on board the *Solida* Indiaman, bound to Holland, and saw their old commander's ship coming in, just as they were going out of the road. The wind not being fair, they turned down to Bantam to take in provisions, and from thence steered to Prince's Island, where they lay three weeks, and then stood for the Cape of Good Hope. In their course thither the Dutch lost their captain who died on the 27th of May, at which time they found they were coming in with the land in $30^{\circ} 2''$ of south lat. and on the 3d of that month at night they came to an anchor at the cape in nine fathom water. The following is Cowley's description of the place, and of the natives of the country.

This description
of the Hottentots.

"This day (says he) four of the natives came down to the city, dancing naked, and offering their wives to the Hollanders for bits of tobacco [other voyagers have observed that they are severe in punishing adultery]. They were the filthiest men I ever saw. The next day my two friends and I walked about the town in which were about 100 houses, built very low to save them from the boisterous gales of wind, that blow here, in the months of December, January, and February: but the Dutch have here a strong castle, with 80 guns well mounted, and a spacious garden with walks, and planted with almost every kind of fruit, flowers, and herbs.—This was the greatest rarity that we saw at the cape. We walked, moreover, without the town, to the village, inhabited by the Hodmandods [Hottentots] so called by the Hollanders. These people are said to be born white, but make themselves black by anointing their bodies, and exposing their infants to the sun and smoke. Their houses or huts are built round (like the cabins in Ireland of the *wild Irish*) with the fire-place in the middle, round which they lie in common, covered only with the skins of some beast, and without any other bed than the ashes of the wood on which they dress their meat. They eat any thing that is foul, and will gather from the dunghill the offal that is thrown out by the Dutch, to feed their dogs. Their men are not at all jealous of foreigners; but will beat their wives unmercifully for lying with their neighbours. When the women marry, they cut off a joint of the middle finger, and if the husband dies, she cuts off another joint, and so many men as they marry, so many joints they lose. They are supposed to worship the moon, because at the full and change they assemble in great numbers, dancing and rejoicing when she shines, but howling and lamenting when they are deprived of her light.

It happened while we were at the Cape, that one of the natives drank himself dead at the fort, of which his countrymen getting intelligence, they assembled about him, and with oil and milk endeavoured to recover him; but finding all their efforts vain and that

they could perceive no spark of life remaining, they began to make preparations for his funeral, which they performed in the following manner: They first brought knives and shaved him from head to foot. Then, digging a hole in the ground they carefully placed him in a sitting posture, with his body and head erect, and his legs and thighs stretched out horizontally, and pressed down straight. This being performed, they propped him up in this attitude with stones; and then came a company of their women to howl over him, who accompanied their lamentations with a hideous shrieking, as if death had appeared before them in the shape of a monster, and was ready to devour them. After their time of mourning was over, they filled up the hole with earth, and covered it over with green turf."

While they stayed at the cape, the people there were employed in cleansing and scowering the ship, in shifting the masts, and trimming the rigging; and having taken the wood and water they departed on the 15th of June, having three ships in company, the *Solida* and the *Critsman* that came together, and the *Ireland* that came from Bengal.

On the 16th there was much feasting on board the vessel, the captains of the other ships being invited, and while they were thus employed (Cowley says) they were alarmed by a strange voice crying, *come help, come help! a man overboard!* The vessel being brought to, they sought in vain for the drowned person; nor was there a man missing on board any of the vessels. On which they drew a conclusion founded on the most gross notions of superstition, that this circumstance (probably the contrivance of some wag among them) was occasioned by the lamentations of the spirit of somebody that had been drowned by accident in those latitudes.

They threw overboard an old Dane on the 4th of July, who died the night before, without any one's knowing that he had been disordered, and his chest would have been plundered by some of the crew, but that they disputed among themselves about sharing the booty; so that the matter coming to the captain's ears, he secured the effects for the benefit of the family of the deceased.

Having passed Ascension Island, on the 20th of July, they found themselves in 15° of north latitude.—"And now (says our voyager) a council of war was called upon our captain. The accusation was, that he had formed a conspiracy with five men more to murder a person of quality and his lady, with some other passengers on board, and that when the murders were accomplished, they were to seize upon their riches and run away with the ship. The purser was the chief accuser; but, upon examination the whole charge seemed so improbable (and the man who broached the story denying, upon trial, what he had before so confidently affirmed to the purser) the captain was honourably acquitted, and the villain punished.

On the 2d day of August the captain died of a pain in his bowels, and his steersman was promoted to the command in his room, though not without opposition. On the 19th of September Cowley saw land, which he supposed to be the Isle of Shetland, but the Captain would not be persuaded, till about six in the evening the *Critsman's* people let go the flag, they having by that time likewise seen the land.

On the 22d they came up with the Isle of Farley, and on the 25th Cowley says they had the wind all round the compass. Before their arrival in Holland Cowley and his friends would willingly have gone on board an English ship, that they spoke with in their way to be carried to their own country, but the Dutchmen insisted on bringing them to Helvoetsluys, where they arrived on the first of October, having been seven months on their passage from Batavia thither. After a short stay there, one of Cowley's companions died, and he went to Rotterdam, from whence he got his passage in the *Ann* yacht to England.

It

It will be observed that we have here selected those circumstances in Cowley's account, which in general were not to be found in Dampier's, or were not related exactly in the same manner. As to his history, we have no other traces than those which are to be found in this voyage. He appears to have been a skilful navigator, not much given to wrangling, and

does not seem to have approved of the schemes of the Buccaneers; as he quitted them as soon as he had an opportunity. It is to be remembered, that though he is complimented by some with the name of Captain Cowley, yet he never was in a higher station than that of master, in which he acquitted himself to the general satisfaction of his employers.

ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF JACOB ROGGEWEIN.

AS in the voyages of the circumnavigators, particular notice is taken of the islands in the South Seas, and some of a more modern date have been undertaken for the purpose of making discoveries in these parts, so we have thought proper here to present the reader with the account given by Jacob Roggewein, a Dutchman, of a new discovered island.

This navigator was furnished by the Dutch East-India Company, with three vessels, called the Eagle, the Tienhoven, and the African galley. With these he set sail from Amsterdam on the 16th of July in the year 1721, and came in sight of Brasil towards the latter end of November. After a short stay at Rio Janeiro, the Dutch went in search of Hawkins's Land, supposed to lie in lat. 30° south, but could not find it, and meeting with a storm in lat. 40° the Tienhoven was separated from the other vessels. But about the beginning of January they discovered a large island about 200 leagues in circumference lying in 52° south lat. 95° west long. about 80 leagues distant by computation, from the American coast. This land to which he gave the name of Belgia Australis, is the same which is now known by the name of Falkland's Island. He left this isle to the windward, and having passed the Straights of Le Maire, on the 24th came to Juan Fernandez, which being the place of rendezvous appointed, Roggewein there luckily found the Tienhoven, and after three weeks stay, prepared to proceed on this voyage, going in search of Davis's Land, but he could not discover any such place.*

Afterwards, being in 27° south lat. they saw many birds, and other signs of land but met with none till they had sailed 12 leagues farther, when, on the 6th of April, being Easter-day, they came up with an island which they concluded to be unknown before to any European, to which, according to the day on which it was discovered, they gave the name of Easter Island. The most remarkable parts of this relation being exactly copied from the Dutch account, we shall, in general, give them in the author's own manner, whereby the reader may be the better enabled to form his judgment of this discovery. "As soon (says he) as the anchors were ready to drop, we observed at a distance a neat boat of a very remarkable construction,

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the whole patched up together out of pieces of wood, which could hardly make up the size of half a foot. This boat was managed by a giant of twelve feet high, who exerted all his strength to escape us—but in vain; for he was surrounded and taken. His body was painted with a dark colour. We tried with such signs and words as are used here and there among the islands of the South Sea, to get some intelligence from him, but could not perceive that he understood any thing. Wherefore we permitted him to go into his boat again and depart. Two days afterwards, the whole sea was covered with the savage inhabitants of this island, who came swimming round the ship in such multitudes that we neither could, nor did we think it adviseable to land. They clambered like cats up the ship's sides, with the utmost assurance, and came on board, where they did not appear to be in the least afraid of us; but they seemed very much surprised at the largeness and extent of our ship and rigging, and could not conceive the meaning of all that they saw: but their curiosity was chiefly engaged by the great guns which they could not enough admire, and which they frequently struck their hands upon, to try if they could lift them up, and carry them off; but when they found that such logs, by such an attempt, were too heavy for them, and would not be moved, these overgrown fellows stood abashed, and were in appearance, very much out of humour. They no sooner came aboard, than we immediately found that they were naturally as thievish and nimble-fingered as the inhabitants of those isles to which voyagers have affixed the name of the Islands of Thieves, from the great propensity of the people to rob and steal, if they were not beaten from it. Rusty nails, old iron, and whatever they could catch or lay hold on, was equal to them, with which they jumped overboard. They attempted with their nails to scratch the bolts out of the ship, but these were too fast for them.

"These huge fellows at last came on board in such numbers, that we were hardly capable of keeping them in order, or keeping a watchful eye upon their motions, so that fearing they would become too many for us, we used our best endeavours to get rid of them in a friendly manner; but they not seeming inclinable to leave us, we were obliged to use harsher methods,

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* The following is the relation given us of that discovery. The writer of the voyage says "They were sailing from the Gallipagos under the line, to the southward, without intending to touch any where till they came to the island of Juan Fernandez. In their way thither at sea, in 12 deg. 30 min. south latitude they felt the shock of an earthquake, which was at that time severely felt at Callao, where the sea ebbed so far from the shore that the channel was suddenly dry, and, returning with irresistible violence carried the ships in the road above a league up the country, destroying man and beast for 50 leagues along the coast and doing much mischief at Lima.

"Having recovered from our fright, (says the writer) we steered south by east half easterly, till we came to latitude 27 deg. 20 min. south, when about two hours before day, we fell in with a small, low, sandy island, and heard a great roaring noise, like that of the sea beating upon the shore, right a-head of the ship, whereupon the sailors, fearing to fall foul upon the shore before day, desired the captain to put the ship about, and to stand off till day appeared, to which he consented. So we plied off till day, and then stood in again with the land, which proved a small flat island, without the guard of any rocks: we stood

in within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and could see it plain for it was a clear morning, not foggy nor hazy. To the westward about 12 leagues, by judgement, we saw a range of high land, which we took to be islands, for there were several partitions in the prospect. This land seemed to reach about fourteen or sixteen leagues in a range, and there came here a great stock of fowls. I and many more of our men would have made this land, and have gone ashore at it, but the captain would not permit us. The small island bears from Copaypo almost due east, 500 leagues from the Gallipagos, under the line, 600 leagues.

Dampier says, "Captain Davis told me lately, That after his departure from Ria Lexa, he went, after several traverses, to the Gallipagos, and that, standing from thence southward for wind, to bring about Terra del Fuego, in 2 deg. 27 min. lat. south, about 500 leagues, from Copaypo, on the coast of Chili, he saw a small sandy island just by him, and that he saw to the westward of it a long tract of pretty high land, bearing away to the north west, out of sight. Notwithstanding this description, the more modern navigators, as well as Roggewein, have not been able to find Davis's Island.

1721.

1721

Easter Island.

methods, and drive these savages out of the ships by force.

"On the 10th of April, we made for the island with our boats well armed, in order to land and take a view of their country; where an innumerable company of savages stood on the beach, to guard the shore, and to prevent our landing. They threatened us mightily, by their gestures, and shewed an inclination to await us, and turn us out of their country; but, as soon as we, through necessity, gave them a discharge of our musquets, and here and there brought one of them to the ground, they lost their courage. They made the most surprising gestures in the world, and received their fallen companions with the utmost astonishment, wondering at the wounds which the bullets had made in their bodies; and then they hastily fled, with a dreadful howling, dragging the dead bodies along with them: So the shore was cleared, and we landed in safety. These people do not go naked as other savages do; every person is clothed in different colours of cotton and worsted, curiously woven or striped. But nothing misbecomes them more than their ears, which are abominably long, and in most of them hang upon the shoulders, so that though they themselves look upon this as the greatest ornament, they appeared very uncouth to us, who were not accustomed to such, especially as there were in them such extravagantly large holes and openings, that we could easily put our hands in them.

Giants there.

"Thus far (adds he) my narrative will gain credit; because it contains nothing uncommon; yet I must declare that these savages are of *a more than gigantic size*: they measured, one with another, *the height of twelve feet*; so that we could easily without stooping, have passed between the legs of these sons of Goliath. According to their height, so is their thickness; and they are all, one with another, well proportioned, so that each could have passed for a Hercules: But none of their wives came up to the height of the men, being commonly not above ten or eleven feet. The men had their bodies painted with a red or dark brown, and the women with a scarlet colour. I doubt not (says the voyager) but most people who read this voyage, will give no credit to what I relate, and that this account of the height of these giants will probably pass with them for a mere fable or fiction: But this I declare, I have set down nothing but the real truth, and that this people, upon the nicest inspection, were in fact of such a surpassing height as I have here described."

The islanders idols.

The writer says that the Gods of these savages were two large stones; one was excessively broad, and lay upon the ground. Upon this the other stood, which was so large, "that seven men with out-stretched arms, would hardly have been able to incircle it, and besides this thickness it was fully as high as three men," so that it seemed wonderful (thus as strong as these people were) how they could have contrived to place them one upon another." There was a sort of head carved on the top of this stone which was adorned with a garland that was set somewhat in the manner of inlaid work. By what the Dutch could understand, one of these idols was called *Taurico*, and the other *Dago*, as by these words they address them. They paid great regard to these idols, clapping their hands and jumping, when they approached them; and being in great terror when the great guns were fired among them, they applied, as it should seem, to one of their gods for assistance, shouting and howling out *Dago! Dago!* whose succour they thought so necessary in that time of danger.

They leave the island.

After having experienced a great storm while they lay before Easter Island, they departed from thence on the 12th of April; and on the 20th of May they fell in with a number of shoals and small islands, among which the galley struck and went to pieces, but the crew were saved, and they were distributed among the other ships. The highest of these islands had been named by Schouten, Water-Island, on account of the springs and streams with which it abounded.

There was no safe anchorage here, and neither palmettos nor cocoa trees growing on the island, was the reason, as the Dutch conceived, it was uninhabited. Five of their people however went on shore there, and voluntarily remained behind, not chusing any longer to follow the fortune of their companions.

They passed by the Island of Flies on the 25th of May, and were visited by those disagreeable guests already mentioned in Schouten's voyage. And on the 29th they passed among a number of rocks and islands, in latitude $15^{\circ} 17'$, from some of the latter of which they saw a smoke ascend, from which the voyagers concluded them to be inhabited; but they had no opportunity of going on shore.

"On the first of June (continues the narrator) in $15^{\circ} 47'$ we came in sight of an island hitherto unknown to, and unlooked for by any European. Hither we went in our boats in order to take a view of it, and to procure refreshments; when the inhabitants who saw us approach from afar, came down upon the shore to make us return, and to prevent our landing. They are people of an excellent shape, well proportioned, and comely in person; and what is surprising, their skin is as clear and white as that of a native of Holland. They seemed to shew a resolution to stay for us; for as soon as we came near, they jumped like madmen into the water to meet us, and pushed with great cruelty with their weapons, which consisted of spears and lances, whose points were armed with a very sharp wood as hard as iron; wherefore being obliged to save ourselves, and preserve our lives from this hostile attack, we fired upon them with our muskets, which made these savage warriors immediately to take to their heels, and obliged them to look out for a place of safety; for as soon as they had tasted the deadly effects of these weapons, they turned their backs upon us, and fled to a high steep rock, which they scrambled up like monkeys, with incredible swiftness.

From thence, being convinced of our superior force, they gave us to understand, that all hostilities should cease on their part, and they would treat with us as friends; and on our side, we used every means to allure them to us, being in the utmost want of all manner of refreshments. Every thing succeeded according to our wishes; they brought us their commodities, consisting of cocoa nuts, and a certain bitter herb of the taste of Dutch creffes, which is found here in great plenty. For these we gave them in exchange several trifles and trinkets; such as small looking-glasses, glass beads of all colours, combs, bells, and a number of such toys of little value, with which they were as well and even better pleased, than we were with the cocoa-nuts and bitter herbs, which however were much more agreeable and useful to us in our present condition than gold and silver, as we thereby enjoyed a remarkable benefit and amazing relief against the scurvy, which had already brought us into a most deplorable situation.

"Although it appeared by these mutual exchanges that these savages were got into a good understanding and friendship with us, we soon discovered that this was no more than a feigned reconciliation, serving only to deceive us and make us the more easily fall into their snares, with which villainous inclinations almost all the inhabitants of the islands lying in those seas are infected: For as some of our people (in order to view and make a farther discovery of the country) were passing betwixt the rocks and cliffs along a straight and narrow path, to see the form and condition of the place, they were met by an old grey-headed man who, although he neither understood them nor they him, endeavoured by many signs and motions to make them sensible that they were not in safety, and that it would be better for them to return: he pointed to the road that brought them thither; and the better to make them understand the secret ambush and the approaching danger, he took up a stone from the ground and threw it down before him. How well soever our people ought to have understood from this, that those

barbarians

barbarians would attack them from the tops of the rocks with stones, yet they paid no regard to the signs and admonitions of the good old savage, but marched forward, trusting to their arms. They had not gone far before a dreadful shower of stones came pouring upon them from all quarters, when they least thought of it, with such violence, that many of our people were thereby lamed and wounded without being able to make resistance in defending themselves or driving the savages from above them, who had made their assault from too secure a place; so that our people were constrained to slacken their pace, contrary to their inclinations, and return back with their wounded heads, being very well pleased, however, that they had escaped so well.

“These people (he adds) as I have observed, are comely and well-proportioned in their persons, and wear as an ornament pearls of a large size in their ears. About their necks and bodies they wear as a singular ornament, the shells of pearl oysters. As we received great benefit and relief from our sickness by means of the bitter herb which is found here in great plenty, and was given us by the savages, in exchange for our toys,; so this new discovered island was by us christened by the name of the Verkwikkings Island.

“After this adventure with these roguish savages no delay was made there, but we got again under sail; and because the provisions lessened gradually from day to day, and the disorder, notwithstanding the relief from the bitter herbs continued to increase to the great grief of us all; it was resolved, in a council of the principal officers, to return home by the East Indies. We then lay up to latitude $15^{\circ} 47'$ south, and according to our reckoning $224^{\circ} 13'$ longitude, being then about 1200 leagues from the east of Peru.

“On the 12th of June we were in latitude $15^{\circ} 16'$ south, and on the 14th we discovered two islands which we could not approach near enough to take a proper view of, by reason of the rough and strong

sea; but, on the other hand, we had this satisfaction, that the inhabitants came to take a view of us, and kept hovering about the ships in a number of boats of such neat and exquisite workmanship, as is almost incredible that any thing of this kind should have been found among savages; they being of such an artful construction, the furniture so pretty, and the form so neatly adorned with a number of the most curious carved figures, that it is impossible for the imagination to conceive any thing more elegant; and really their carved image work (which was the greatest ornament of these boats) was so exquisite, that I much doubt if there are many engravers in Europe capable of producing more curious workmanship. The people in these fine boats were armed with darts, and had their heads adorned with green leaves, and their bodies clothed with reeds. This island got the name of Bauman's Island, from a captain of that name. It was very pleasant and delightful to behold, fruitful, and surrounded with trees, among which the palmetto shewed itself.

On the 15th, we came in sight of an island about seven miles in length, lying in lat. $13^{\circ} 40'$ south. Many of us felt a longing desire to touch at this island, in hopes of procuring some refreshment; but it was deferred, and we pursued our voyage without landing, in order to save time, because our miseries and inconveniences daily increased, and the disorders from many causes increased also.

On the 18th of July we perceived many islands, and among the rest New Zealand, which we computed to be in extent about 300 leagues, being under 6° south latitude, and longitude 166° .”

The commander pursuing his course homeward by way of the East Indies with as much expedition as possible; nothing farther was done worthy of notice, nor was the existence of a southern continent proved or disproved by those who had undertaken this voyage.

THE VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN COOKE.

CAPTAIN DAMPIER, notwithstanding the ill success he had met with in the South Seas, on his return to England endeavoured to engage the merchants of London in fitting out some vessels, to make prizes of the Manilla ship, which was a favourite project of his, that he thought might still be brought to bear. Failing, however, in his attempts in the metropolis he repaired to Bristol, where he persuaded nineteen gentlemen and merchants to form an association for this purpose; and accordingly two private ships of war were prepared, whose officers consisted of persons of experience, or such as were highly interested in the undertaking: the crews were put under better restrictions and regulations, and the vessels in general better provided against accidents, than most of those that had been employed in such undertakings. Besides this, rewards were held out to the men, such as might encourage them to behave with spirit, and 30l. was awarded to every sailor that should lose a limb in the service. The ships were named the Duke, and the Duchess. Captain Woodes Rogers commanded the first, which carried three hundred tons, thirty-six guns, and 103 men, and Captain Stephen Courtney had the command of the other, which was of 270 tons, and carried thirty guns, and 151 men. The former of these commanders was a man

who had a peculiar art of keeping his authority and preserving his influence over the seamen, and was one who had been a considerable loser by the French, and entertained a sort of dislike to that people. The latter was a person of rank and fortune, was of an amiable disposition, and had contributed largely to the undertaking. There was on board the Duke one Mr. Thomas Dover, who was well known for his recommendation of quicksilver, somewhat more than 40 years ago, in a little book called “Dover's Last Legacy to his Country”) he was second in command to Captain Rogers, as was Captain Cooke to Captain Courtney, on board the Duchess: Cooke was an experienced seaman who had been twice taken prisoner by the enemy, and now ventured his person and whole fortune on this expedition, and Dampier was made pilot of the Duke; both ships being provided with proper, legal commissions to cruise against her majesty's enemies in the South Seas.*

All things being prepared, they left Kingsflood on the first of August, in the year 1708, and came to an anchor in the Cove of Corke, on the 4th of the same month, where they took in refreshments, changing some of their men, and enlisting others, till the first of September. Then they set sail again, and proceeded on their voyage in company with the Hastings man of war.

* The instructions of the owners were “To repair to Ireland, for provisions, and then to proceed immediately on their voyage, and to send any prizes they might chance to take in their way either home or to America. They were ordered to keep together, and to act in concert, and to undertake nothing of conse-

quence without deliberating on the matter in a council of officers of both ships.” And above all, they were instructed mutually to assist each other in regard to provisions, water, &c. so that those in one vessel should never be in want while there was any supply remaining.

The vessels sail from Kingsflood.

1708

A Swedish vessel taken.

Her dismissal causes a mutiny.

Disputes about a Spanish prize

war. But they had only been nine days at sea before some of the crew took occasion to mutiny, of which circumstance our voyager gives the following account. —“ On the 10th of September (says he) we saw a fail, which we chased and came up with, she happened to be a Swede, bound for Cadiz; and though from several circumstances there was reason to suspect that she had contraband goods on board, yet it being difficult to prove it, and being in haste, we dismissed her. This caused a mutiny on board the Duke, headed by the boatswain and three inferior officers, who persuaded the men not to give her up. Captain Rogers confined the authors of this disorder, in which there was not one foreigner concerned. He put ten of the mutineers in irons, a sailor being first soundly whipped for exciting the rest to join him; others less guilty, he punished and discharged; but the officers continued armed, fearing what might happen, the ship's company seeming too much to favour the mutineers. They had afterwards a great deal of trouble with these fellows, who did more mischief when in irons than before, by stirring up the men to release them, pretending, That they suffered in the cause of the crew, and therefore the crew ought to rise and release them. This determined the captain to make some examples, but not to irritate them too much. He therefore began by removing the boatswain from his office, and appointing another in his room, without intending any thing farther. But, on the 14th, this intestine storm rose higher than ever; for then a sailor, with the best part of the ship's company at his heels, went up to the captain and demanded the boatswain out of custody. With this man the captain desired to speak alone; and, when he came upon the quarter-deck, the officers seized him, and caused one of his chief comrades to whip him.”

It was by such punishments as these that the combination was at length broken. As to the boatswain, they sent him home in irons; the rest of the prisoners were released upon a proper submission; and the captain even restored the petty officers to their places ordering them to be obeyed as before, and giving charge that none should reproach them for their former error. In this manner all things were quieted and the two vessels proceeded on their voyage, and on the 15th, being to the southward, and to the eastward of Madeira, they bore away for the canaries. Thus proceeding, on the 15th they took a small Spanish bark bound from Teneriff to Fuerteventura, having fundry sorts of goods and passengers of both sexes on board. “ The next day, says our author, we bore away for Oratavia Road, where we stood off and on, and sent away the prize's boats with one of our owners agents, a priest, and the master of the prize, to treat about the ransom of her, and to get wine, provisions, and other necessaries, for the refreshment of both the ships. About eight the next morning, a boat came from the town, with a letter from the English merchants residing there, wherein they expostulated with us for making prize of the bark, alleging that there was a free trade agreed to, in these islands, between her majesty of Great Britain and the kings of France and Spain, which was so religiously observed by the latter, that they had caused an English ship taken there by a French privateer, to be restored; and farther representing the danger that might arise to themselves, (living by permission in an enemy's country) if the bark were not given up, for which reprisals would be made on them; as also that we should be answerable at home for interrupting the settled commerce. This letter was signed by the consul and three capital merchants. Our captains immediately returned for answer, That having no instructions relating to the Spanish vessels trading among those islands, they could not justify releasing the ship on their bare opinions, without some order or proclamation of her majesty; the English being protected there only on anchoring ground, and the bark being taken on the open seas; that in case Mr. Vanbrugh [who had not returned] was not restored, they would

carry away all the prisoners they had, and if they [the English merchants on shore] apprehended any detriment to the factory, they might ransom the bark, and seek their redress in England. They concluded with desiring dispatch; as they had no time to lose, and added, that upon sending back Mr. Vanbrugh, they would release their prisoners. At night another letter came in answer, from the consul, importing, that the English men of war were civilly received there, and never committed any hostilities; and that it was strange we should insist on ransoming any Spaniards, who were never made prisoners in England or elsewhere; and the governor there delivered up to him any English prisoners that were brought in by Spanish privateers: wherefore he insisted that those in our custody should be dismissed, and the bark discharged, on accepting a present of wine in return. With this from the consul at the city of Laguna, came another letter from the merchants at Oratavia Port, much the same in purport, only offering to pay to the value of 450 pieces of eight, the sum demanded for the bark, in wine, brandy, sugar, oil, barley, and greens, to prevent incensing the natives against them, not doubting but that reparation would be made them in England. Our captains replied by threatening to cruise among the islands, to avail themselves for their loss of time, and to cannonade the town of Oratavia, unless they received immediate satisfaction.

“ On the 22d, at four in the morning, we stood in for the shore, making a clear ship. But soon after we saw a boat coming with our owner's agent, and Mr. Cross, one of the English merchants, bringing five butts of wine and other refreshments. We lay off the town, took the goods out of the prize, sold the bark to Mr. Cross, and put the prisoners on board her. Thus ended this troublesome business, which being unanimously approved of at a council of officers of both ships, we proceeded on our voyage, and seeing a sail to the westward gave chase to her; but night coming on we lost her. On the 24th we crossed the tropic of Cancer, and the Sunday following performed the ceremony of dipping the men of both ships, who had not crossed it before—a ceremony that causes a good deal of mirth among the common men.

“ On the 30th we passed by St. Lucia, one of the Cape Verd Islands—by eight in the morning came in sight of St. Vincent, and about eleven, anchored in ten fathoms water, within the rock. As we knew the island not to be inhabited, we were not a little surprised to see some people on shore; and, in order to learn who they were, and what their business was, I armed the pinnace and went on shore; when we found them to be Portuguese, come from the island of St. Anthony, to catch turtle, who told us we might wood and water here. This island lies in 16° 58' north lat. and in 25° 36' west long. from the meridian of London. There are on it Guinea hens, hogs, and goats, and about the shore plenty of fish. In the woods there are spiders as large as little birds, whose webs are not easily broken through, being woven with a substance nearly as strong as ordinary thread.”

During the time they lay at St. Vincent's, other disturbances arose among the crew, with regard to plunder. Having an opportunity to trade, all were alike wishing to have something to exchange. On this account there was nothing but murmuring in the ships about the effects which had been taken in the prize. In order to settle this point, such articles were formed, as without doing any injury to the owners, were deemed most proper for inspiring the seamen with courage and constancy. These being adjusted, all the people returned with cheerfulness to their duty, two or three of the Duke's men only excepted, who escaped and remained on shore. Among these was the linguist, who was supposed to have stayed behind against his will, having neglected to come on board, according to the notice sent him, they, in return, set sail without him.

Other disturbances.

On

1708

The officers
entertained at
Angra dos
Reys.

On the 8th of October the ship set sail for Brasil, but fresh differences arose among the men on their passage thither; and, at length, as one mode of accommodating them, it was resolved to send Mr. Page, who was second maté of the *Duchefs*, to serve on board the *Duke*, and that Mr. Ballet should come from the *Duke* to serve, in his stead, on board the *Duchefs*. Page refusing to obey the order, force was used to compel him to obedience, and when he was brought on board the *Duke*, he was accused of mutiny. Being permitted to go to the head for a necessary purpose, he jumped overboard, with a view of swimming back to his old ship again; but was taken up, tried and punished.

They crossed the equator on the 27th, and the 14th of November made Cape Frio, on the coast Brasil. Coming to an anchor on the 18th at the Isle of Grande, one of the men going from the ship without leave, and giving the first lieutenant foul language, and threatening soon to be revenged, he was put in irons; when his mess-mates demanding that he should be released, or that they would share his punishment, seven of them went voluntarily into irons.

“On the 21st (says our voyager) I went on shore in the pinnace, with a present to the governor, and to acquaint him that we were friends. At our first landing, they fired several shot, taking us for French, but afterwards made an apology, and received us civilly. On the 23d, two of the mutineers were whipped, and put in irons again. On the 24th four of the eight men in irons were released on their submission; and two men went on shore, designing to leave the ship, and having bargained with a canoe to carry them to the main, they were, by mistake, put ashore at a different part of the island, where, finding themselves on an uninhabited coast, they began to relent, and, after staying a night in the woods, where they were terrified with the roaring of wild beasts, they came in sight of the ship, and made signs of repentance, humbling themselves in the most suppliant manner, and on their knees with their hands lifted up, endeavoured to move compassion. After some time, the boat went off and brought them on board, where they were confined in irons till the next day, and then released.” On the 25th two Irishmen stole away from the *Duke*, and secreted themselves in the woods as the two seamen had done from the *Duchefs*. About four the next morning, the watch on the quarter deck espied a canoe, and hailed her to come on board. The rowers not answering, but striving to escape, the *Duke's* pinnace pursued the canoe, fired into her, and mortally wounded one of the Indian rowers. He that owned and steered the canoe was a friar, and had a quantity of gold on board, which, after running the canoe on shore, he had just time to hide before the *Duke's* pinnace reached the land. A Portuguese who was in the canoe, having no gold to lose, would not follow the example of the friar, but on the contrary, knowing the English to be friends, called him back, who, on his return, was carried with the wounded Indian on board the *Duke*, where the poor man was dressed by the surgeons, but died in a few hours. The officers in both ships were very sorry for this unfortunate accident, entered their protest against it, and caused the man to be buried on shore in a very solemn manner. The friar, however, who had lost his gold was not to be appeased, but threatened to seek for justice in Portugal or England. In rowing the ship about the easternmost part of the island, we espied the *Duke's* two men waiting for a canoe to carry them over to the main; and two of our lieutenants manned the boat, and landing the men in a convenient place to get behind them to prevent their escaping to the woods, they rowed to the place where the fellows were seen to lurk.—When the latter found themselves beset, they endeavoured to fly, but being intercepted, they were brought on board, put in irons, and sent to their own ship, where they were afterwards severely punished.

The principal officers of both ships went on the

27th to the town of Angra dos Reys, on the main; carrying along with them their ship's music. They were kindly received by the governor and fathers, who with their servants were the principal inhabitants, as they did not see above 60 low built houses in the town. The governor received them at the guard-house with 20 men under arms, and entertained them with a dinner, sweetmeats, and rum. It being a festival, he and the fathers asked the English to go and see their Franciscan church, whither they went accordingly; and their musicians being seated in the gallery, played in concert with the church music, and, after divine service was over, walked with them in procession, each carrying a large wax candle in his hand. After this they were brought to a large hall, where the fathers entertained them with fish, fruits, and sweetmeats. The English were told that 15 miles up the country there were gold mines, more profitable than those of Mexico and Peru, but it was observed that the Tupayans inhabiting the inland plains were a race of men taller and stronger than the Portuguese, unconquerable and having an utter aversion to labour.

The ships weighed anchor on the last day of November; but a tornado coming on, they thought fit to take the shelter of the island till it abated, when, on the 1st of December, both ships sailed out of the bay to proceed on their voyage. On the 23d they made an island in lat. $51^{\circ} 25'$ by account, which they supposed to be Falkland's Island.

On the 5th of January they had a violent gale of wind at north-east. “At two in the afternoon of this day (says my author) we reefed both courses, then lowered our fore-yard, and lay by till five, at which time our waste was filled with water, and we expected the ship to sink every moment. We got down our fore-yard as well as we could, and loosed the sprit-sail to veer the ship, which at last we accomplished, but in veering we thought we should have foundered with the weight of water that was in her waste. Thus we scudded before the wind, the *Duke* following, and, at nine, shipped a sea in the poop, as we in the cabin were going to supper. It beat in all the cabin windows and bulk-head; and heaved the first lieutenant half way between the decks, with several musquets and pistols that hung there, darting a sword that was against the bulk-head of the cabin through my man's hammock and rug, that hung against the bulk-head of the steerage; and had not the bulk-head of the great cabin given way, all we who were there must inevitably have been drowned before the water could have been discharged. Our yaul was staved on the deck, and it was a wonder that many were not killed by the shutters, the bulk-head, and the arms that were driven with a prodigious force. But providence delivered us from this and many other dangers, only one man or two were hurt, and some bruised, but not one rag of dry cloaths was left us; our chests, beds, and bedding being all soaked in seawater. Next day the storm abated, and we continued our course, coasting very far to the south, where we endured much cold, by which our men were greatly affected, insomuch that a third part of both ships' companies fell sick, occasioned, as I suppose, by their having been wet and cold, being in south lat. $61^{\circ} 48'$. On Monday the 17th by a good observation, I found that we were got round Cape Horne, Terra del Fuego, and the Straights of Maghellan, and to the northward of Cape Vilerdos. On the 19th I reckoned we were to the northward of Port St. Stephen, on the coast of Patagonia in the great South Sea. On the 31st, at eight in the morning, we made the island of Juan Fernandez, where we designed to wood and water. In the afternoon, Captain Dover went off in the pinnace to get some provisions, and in the evening saw a fire on shore, which made us conclude there were ships in the road, as we were assured the island had no inhabitants: we therefore made the signal for the boat to return, and she accordingly came on board about twelve o'clock at night. On Tuesday we rowed and towed into the great bay, and came to anchor in

Z

50 fathom

1708

Extraordinary
account of
Alexander
Selkirk.

50 fathom water. All this day we had a clear ship, expecting a rencounter; but were much disappointed when, instead of a valuable prize, we discovered an odd figure of a man, who had been the sole resident on the island for four years. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who had been master of the Cinque Ports, the ship that accompanied Dampier in his voyage to the South Seas, and was, as Dampier said, one of the best men in her. Captain Rogers immediately agreed with him to be his mate. It was this man who made the fire in the night when he saw our ships, which he judged to be English. During his stay here, he saw several ships pass by, but only two came to an anchor. As he went to view them, he found them to be Spaniards, and retired from them, upon which they shot at him. Had they been French, he would have submitted; but he chose to risque his dying alone on the island, rather than fall into the hands of the Spaniards, because he apprehended they would either murder or make a slave of him in the mines; for he feared they would spare no stranger that might be capable of discovering the South Seas. The Spaniards had landed before he knew what they were, and they came so near him that he had much ado to escape; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him to the woods, where he climbed to the top of a tree, at the foot of which they charged their pieces, and killed several goats hard by, but went off without discovering him. He told us that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, and was bred a sailor from his youth. The reason of his being left here, was a difference between him and his captain, which, together with the ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to stay here than to go along with him at first; and when he was at last willing to go, his Captain would not receive him. He had been at the island before to wood and water, when two of the ship's company were left upon it for six months; till the ship returned, being chased from thence by two French South-Sea ships. He had with him his cloaths and bedding, with a firelock, some powder, bullets, and tobacco; a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, some practical pieces, and his mathematical instruments and books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but for the first eight months he had much ado to bear up against melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in such a desolate place. He built two huts in pimento trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted, so long as his powder lasted, which was but a pound; and that being almost spent, he got fire by rubbing two sticks of pimento wood together upon his knees. In the smaller hut, at some distance from the other, he dressed his victuals, and in the larger he slept; and employed himself in reading and singing psalms, and praying, so that he said he was a better Christian while in this solitude, than ever he was before, or than he was afraid, he should ever be again. At first he never eat any thing till hunger constrained him (partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and salt) nor did he go to bed till he could watch no longer. The pimento wood, which burned very clear, served him for both fire and candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant smell. He might have had fish enough, but could not eat them for want of salt, because they occasioned a looseness, except cray fish, which are as large as lobsters, and very good. These he sometimes broiled, and at other times boiled, as he did the goat's flesh, of which he made good broth. He kept an account of 500 that he killed while there, and caught as many more which he marked on the ear, and then let them go. When his powder failed he took them by swiftness of foot; for his way of living, and continual exercise cleared him of all gross humours, so that he ran with wonderful celerity through the woods, and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived, when we employed him to catch goats for us. We had a bulldog which we sent with several of our nimblest runners, to help him to catch goats; but he distanced

both the dog and the men; caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back. He told us that his agility in pursuing a goat was once likely to have cost him his life: he pursued it with so much eagerness that he caught hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the bushes hiding it from him; so that he fell with the goat down the precipice a great height, and was so much bruised with the fall, that he narrowly escaped with his life; and when he came to his senses found the goat dead under him. He lay there about 24 hours, and was scarcely able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile distance, or to stir abroad again in ten days. He came at last to relish his meat without salt or bread. He had a constant supply of good turnips, which had been sown there by Captain Dampier, and had now overspread some acres of ground. He had good cabbage from the cabbage-trees that grow wild upon the island, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the pimento, which is the same with the Jamaica pepper, and smells deliciously. He found also a black pepper called Malageta, which was very good to expel wind and to strengthen the stomach. He soon wore out all his shoes and cloaths by running in the woods; and, at last, being forced to shift without them, his feet became so hard, that he ran every where without difficulty; and it was some time before he could wear shoes after we found him; for not being used to any so long, his feet swelled when he came to wear them again. After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himself sometimes with cutting his name upon the trees; sometimes with contrivances to vary and increase his stock of tools; and sometimes, in clear evenings, in counting the stars. He was at first much disturbed with cats and rats that had bred in great numbers, from some of each species which had got on shore from ships that had put in there to wood and water. The rats gnawed his feet and cloaths while he slept, which obliged him to cherish the cats with goat's flesh, by which means many of them became so tame, that they would come about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He likewise tamed his kids, and to vary his diversions, would sometimes sing and teach them to dance. So that, by his natural flow of humour, and the vigour of his youth, being now but thirty years old, he came at last to conquer all the inconveniences of his solitude, and to be very easy. When his cloaths were worn out, he made himself a coat and a cap of goats skins, and which he stitched together with little thongs of the same, that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle but a nail, and when his knife was worn out to the back, he made others of some iron hoops that were on shore, which he beat thin, and ground upon stones. Having some linen cloth by him, he sewed himself some shirts with a nail, and stitched them with the worsted of his old stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last shirt on, when we found him on the island. At his coming on board us, he had so much forgotten his language for want of use, that we could scarcely understand him; for he seemed to speak his words by halves. We offered him a dram, but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water since his being there, and it was some time before he could relish our victuals. He could give us no account of any other product of the island (except what has been here mentioned) but some black plumbs, which were very good, but difficult to come at, the trees which bear them growing on high mountains and rocks. The officers that went first on shore were invited to his retreat; but the way to it being very rugged and intricate, only a very few of them had curiosity enough to visit it. He had an irreconcilable aversion to an officer on board the Cinque Ports, who, as he was informed, was on board the Duke, but not being a principal in command, he was prevailed upon to waive that circumstance, and to accompany Captain Dampier, for whom he had a friendship. He was very useful while the ships stayed at Juan Fernandez, in supplying them with fresh provisions,

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visions, and facilitating the business of taking in wood and water. He said he had seen snow and ice in July, which is the middle of winter in that climate, but the months of September, October and November, are inconceivably pleasant; the air being perfumed with a fragrance that cherishes and revives the spirits, and has a wonderful effect upon animals as well as men, which Selkirk remarked by their playfulness and plumpness. He particularly directed us to a plant not much unlike feverfew, of a most grateful and cordial scent, with which we strewed the tents of the sick, and who were thereby much comforted, and their cure facilitated. We gathered many bundles of it, and dried them in the shade, and sent them on board.

A general council of officers was held on board the Duke, on the 14th of February, when several useful regulations were agreed to, and among the rest, two inspectors were sent out of the Duke, on board the Duchess, to take account of what prizes she might make, while two of her people were sent on board Captain Rogers for the same purpose; and the pinnaces, which had been fitted up while they lay in the bay, being launched, they departed, and passed the tropic of Capricorn, and afterwards had the sea as smooth as a pond; whereupon the men were ordered to attend prayers twice every day, at the same time that gaming was privately prohibited.

They now concluded to bear away for Lobos, intending there to supply themselves with boats, to land at Guiaquil: but seeing a sail in the afternoon, they gave chase, took her, and found that she was from Guiaquil, and was bound for Cheripe, in order to take in a lading of flour, to pay for which they had 50l. on board, and nothing else of value. By the people of this vessel they were told, that Guiaquil had been lately burned; that the Jesu Maria, lately a man of war, was coming thither from Lima to be rebuilt, and that another ship was expected from Panama or Payta: These people added, that they had not heard of any men of war or privateers being in those seas. Continuing their course after this information, they made Lobos, and anchored in the road on the 16th in the evening. "Here they fitted up the prize, (says my author) and it was agreed upon that I should go out in her with 33 men to cruise in company with the Duchess; and with that view, she (the prize) was new named, and called *The Beginning Galley*. At day-break, on the 26th, we came up with a ship which they saw standing to the southward, and found her to be a bark of 50 tons, from Guiaquil to Truxillo with timber and cocoa-nuts. It was agreed that Captain Courtney should stand in with her in the night, and that I should continue to cruise till farther orders, which on the 27th I received, and the same evening came to an anchor by the Duke and Duchess, in Lobos Road. The next day the prisoners being examined, reported that a ship of 36 brass guns was expected from Lima, with the viceroy of Mexico and his mother on board; and that they were bound to Panama. Upon this intelligence, it was resolved in full council to cruise in quest of this ship, and, if she escaped, to attack Guiaquil.

The sick men from both the ships were put on board the prize, which was named *The Increase Galley*, and the carpenters built a boat while they lay at Lobos; and on the 31st of March they left Lobos with a design to cruise to the windward of Payta. On the first of April, they took a large ship of 400 tons from Panama, having 50 or 60 blacks on board, and the next day they took another prize having about 100l. in plate on board and some timber.—On the 9th it was resolved in council to prepare for an attempt upon Puna and Guiaquil, and it was also agreed, that the Captains Rogers and Courtney should each command a company of seamen, and Captain Dover a party of landmen: That Captain Dover should give the word of command the first night, and that the other two captains should take their turns. Mr. Vanbrugh, the owners agent, was removed from the

council on the 10th, on charge of killing the Indian, as also engaging on all occasions to vote with Captain Rogers, and disobeying orders.

The plan for attacking Guiaquil being settled, on the 12th, the fleet sailed for that harbour, and the commanding officers chose their parties, Captain Dover taking the mariners, and the Captains Rogers and Courtney two parties of sailors, 75 men in each: Captain Dampier commanded the artillery, and was to form a body of reserve. The whole number amounted to 238 effective men. The Captains Cooke and Fry had the care of the ships and prizes, having 226 Indians and blacks on board, besides a small body of sailors.

"On the 15th (says my author) we saw a sail near the shore, and having little wind, the Duke's boat commanded by Captain Fry, and ours by myself, made directly for her, going off in such haste that neither of us had the swivel guns we used to carry, nor our full compliment of men. The Duke's boat nearing her first, she put out Spanish colours, fired a gun, and hoisted her Spanish flag at the maintop-mast head. The Duke's boat then lay by for us to come up. We saw the vessel was French-built, and, by the description the prisoners had given us, concluded it must be the ship we had been so long cruising for; which was to carry the bishop. Our ships being almost out of sight, and the Spaniards so near the coast, we resolved to lay her on board on each bow, and accordingly fell to it. The dispute was hot for a long time, we keeping a constant fire, and the enemy returning it, who killed two of Captain Fry's men, besides wounding one of his, and two of mine. One of the killed was Mr. John Rogers our second lieutenant and brother to Captain Rogers. The Duke's boat, finding the enterprise desperate, bore away; and some time after, we did the like. But Captain Fry having put some of his men on board us, given us some powder and shot, and taken in our wounded, I made again to the chase, resolving to keep her from the shore, and rather than fail, to clap her aboard. The Spaniards perceiving our design, edged off to sea, and we followed them. Our ships came up apace; and the Duchess having fired a shot or two, the vessel struck her colours, and surrendered. The men begged for good quarter, and we promised them all civility.

This ship came from Panama, and was bound for Lima, to be fitted out for a man of war. There were 70 blacks, and many passengers, with a quantity of pearls on board. The lading consisted of bale goods, and some things belonging to the bishop; but they had set him with his attendants on shore at Point S. Helena; from whence he was to go to Guiaquil by land. While the French possessed this vessel, she was called *La Lune d'Or*. She was of 270 tons burden, and commanded by Don Joseph de Arizabella.

After having taken a small bark laden with flour, the boats rowed to Puna, and came to a grappling close under the land. The English seized the governor of the island, and sent a detachment along the shore, to cut in pieces all the canoes and barks, that there might not be any alarm given at Guiaquil, whither the transports rowed, and, at eleven at night, were so near as to hear one centinel call to another for fire to be brought. Then perceiving that they were discovered, they rowed to the other side, where they saw a fire made. They likewise heard the alarm-bell rung, and saw a fire lighted on the hills. On this, the boats came to a grappling, when the officers had such a hot dispute about the propriety of landing that night, that they were heard on shore. It was at length agreed, that it was best to stay till day-light, as they did not know the ground.

"Accordingly (says the writer) on Friday the 22d our forces being all joined, we sent a flag of truce with the captain of the French ship, and another prisoner to the Corrigidor, who asked him our number, which the captain magnified. The Corrigidor suggested that we were mere boys, but the captain replied, he would find we were men; for we had fought

A vessel taken near the shore.

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fought him bravely in our open boats, and killed one of the commander's brothers, and killed and wounded others; and therefore advised him to agree for the ransom of the town. On Saturday the pinnace went up the river after some vessels, and brought six of them to anchor by our barks; and we also took possession of two new ships, of about 400 tons each. We then went ashore with a flag of truce, and the governor came on board to agree for the ransom of the town and ships; but this not being then concluded, he promised to meet the captain at seven in the evening, but was not so good as his word. But on Sunday he came off again to treat, and our captain would have seized him for having forfeited his word; but he alledging that it was incompatible with his coming with a flag of truce, was set ashore again, and all things were made ready for the attack. — Accordingly, the men landed, and being commanded to proceed, they went on with so much bravery, that the Spaniards fired only their first volley, and fled, our people pressing, and pursuing them to their cannon, which they soon deserted, the gunner only who was an Irishman, standing by them till he was wounded in four places, of which wounds he soon after died. Our men then marched in a body through the towns, drove out the enemy, and placing three guards in three churches, set fire to six houses adjoining the wood, lest the enemy should annoy our guard, which was within pistol shot. All the night they kept firing out of the woods at our centinels, but did them no harm. In the mean time the Duchess's pinnace, commanded by Lieutenant Connely, went up the river, landed at every house, took the plate, and what else of value they found, and had some skirmishes with the enemy, in which one of our men was wounded. In the night of the 25th one of our centinels shot another who was going from his post, and did not answer when challenged three times, [this man died on the 29th]. Our first lieutenant's pistol went off by his side, and wounded him in the leg; and another of our men was also shot through the foot by one of our own people; moreover, our surgeon cut off a man's arm that had been hurt by one of our grenade shells, which broke in the bark when fired out of the cohorn. The afternoon was spent in shipping off provisions from the town, and disposing all things, in case of an attack in the night."

The Spaniards agree to ransom the town.

At last the town was agreed to be ransomed for 30,000 dollars, and hostages were given for the performance of the articles which were in part fulfilled.

While they were thus waiting, Captain Rogers went on board the French ship, to carry her to Puna, thinking to dispose of her cargo and some of the blacks, and to bring down some provisions; but he returned again on the 5th of May, the Spaniards having bought none of her cargo: however, they had 24,000 dollars of the stipulated sum, upon which the governor of Puna was discharged, but the three hostages were kept. A boat came with about 3000 dollars in money and plate, and the crew said that the remaining 3000 would soon be sent, together with 12,000 more for the purpose of purchasing goods. But conceiving this to be only a stratagem designed to keep them till the men of war arrived from Lima, they sent their prisoners on shore, detaining, however, the three hostages, and sailed out of the bay, with all possible expedition. The *Beginning* galley being of no other use when they had better vessels, they sold her to the Spaniards for the value of fifty pounds in pearl, gold chains, &c. On board of her they put the prisoners, but kept pilots and a man that could speak English, the president of Panama's son and the hostages.

The English leave the bay.

This done, they sailed for the Gallapagos, having 100 men sick on board, and among them Captain Courtney. Having fallen in with these islands, they sent on shore for water, but could find none in any they searched, though Cowley found good water in one of them which probably they missed upon this occasion. They found, however, a quantity of

turtle, large rock-fish, and guanoes, the latter of which were observed, in general, to be larger here than in the West Indies.

A council being holden, it was resolved to run into the island of Plata, to water, and so to come off again, to avoid meeting with two French ships, one of 60, the other of 46 guns, and the Spanish men of war, which they had reason to believe were in quest of them. A little before this, they lost Mr. Hatley, who was in one of the prizes, having on board scarcely any water or provisions, and being without a boat. They never heard of him more; and with him they lost five or six white men, four blacks, and an Indian.

They lose one of their prizes

Afterwards they resolved to sail for Gorgona, and, on their way, were alarmed with a report of a conspiracy being formed among the prisoners and blacks; but the former protested they knew nothing of the affair, however, as some of them said, that a matter of the kind had been talked of, though not in earnest, in order to prevent or break their combination, they were dispersed into different vessels. On the 5th of June the English took a vessel from Panama to Guayaquil, laden with iron and other merchandise; on board of which, amongst other passengers of note, was the governor of Baldivia. And when they came into the harbour of Gorgona, the pinnace also took a bark of 50 tons called *El Soldado*, which had on board in gold chains and money, to the value of five or six hundred pounds, designed to purchase for her cargo salt, brandy, and some other goods.

While they remained in this harbour, they plundered a settlement opposite to them on the main, where they set most of their prisoners on shore, got some beeves, hogs, and Indian corn, and procured certain merchants to purchase some of their blacks. Here they fitted up the vessel called the *Marquis*, which carried 20 guns, six white men, and 16 blacks. The command of her was now given to Captain Cooke.

By means of the crew of another bark of 70 tons which they took on the 18th of August, they understood that five or six ships had been ordered after them, two of them being French, of 48 guns, and some Spanish of the same force; and that the whole coast was alarmed with the news of the progress of the English in those parts.

They next came to Tacames, and anchored within the bay on the 24th of August, from whence the Duchess's pinnace was sent to get water, but returned without success.

The village called Tacames has only seven houses and a church. It stands in a bay about seven leagues to the northward of Cape Francisco. The houses are constructed of split bamboes, and covered with palmetto leaves; they stand on posts, instead of stairs, having a piece of timber cut in notches to ascend by. The men employ themselves in killing wild swine, with bows and arrows, and striking fish with their lances, at which they are very dextrous. The women have only a piece of baize tied about their middles, and carry their children at their backs. They are under the authority of the Spanish priests, and are not permitted to trade without licence. A letter of leave, however, being obtained, the English went on shore to the houses for cattle, and continued to trade, and take in wood and water till they were sufficiently supplied.

Tacames.

"In return for the civility of these fathers, says Captain Cooke, I sent, as a present to the church of Tacames, four large images, one of which was of the Virgin Mary with our Lord and Saviour in her arms: and I believe Captains Rogers and Courtney also gave them something to adorn their church."

They sailed from hence on the last day of August with the wind at south-west, and on the 9th of September made one of the Gallapagos Islands. Here they caught a number of turtle, but found no water. And here also they saw several jars, and some of the rudder of a vessel which they would have guessed to be Captain Hatley's vessel from which they were separated.

parated, as has been already mentioned, but that the rudder seemed too small to confirm the supposition. Setting sail again on the morning of the 15th, they found the weather cold, owing (as they supposed) to the chilly southern winds prevailing in these parts though the sun appeared just over their heads.

At a general consultation which they held on board the Duke, it was resolved to steer to the islands Marias, and from thence to go on a cruise for the Manilla ship, which they had heard was worth 2,000,000*l.* sterling.

They made the Islands Tres Marias on the 4th of October; these islands being then at the distance of about 16 leagues. On the 6th they got under the lee of them, when a boat was sent on shore to procure water and turtle, but the surf prevented their getting either.

“Before our coming to this place (says the Captain) we discovered the white rock which Dampier saw, and took it for a ship; on the sight of which the *Duchess* let go the bark she had in tow, telling her to make the best of her way to the middle island; under the lee of which both the Duke and *Duchess* came to an anchor on the 7th and 8th, and I might have been there as soon, had I not seen the bark fix or seven leagues to leeward. It was fortunate that I came in time to relieve her; otherwise she must have perished, having neither wood nor water on board, and not being able to make against the wind and current, to reach the land. I bore down to her, supplied her wants, and took her in tow, till the 20th in the morning, when the middle island bearing north, distant about seven leagues, we saw a sail coming from the island before the wind, which proved to be the *Duchess*, that came in search of us, and was glad to find us safe; she brought us water and turtle, and told us there was game enough on the island; if we could bear up to it. Captain Courtney took us in tow, to help us in the sooner, having cleaned his ship's bottom before he set sail, to come to our assistance. On the 11th, I came to an anchor, after much trouble and fatigue, in plying so long against the wind and current. Seven of Captain Rogers's best blacks this day left him, and ran away. We continued till Monday the 24th, when a general council was holden, at which it was resolved to sail to Cape St. Lucas, to cruise for the Manilla ship, all our ships being now very well fitted, wooded, watered, and provided with turtle. Several warm debates happened in council among our chief officers; and Captain Dover quitted the Duke and went on board the *Duchess*, by his own free choice. I endeavoured (adds our author) to accommodate these differences, but to no purpose, which gave several of us great concern.

Of the islands above-mentioned and their productions we have the following description: “The islands of Tres Marias, abound with animals of various kinds, and the shores with fish, among these the sea and land turtle may be accounted of most use to navigators. Of the sea turtle there are various sorts; as the green, which are the sweetest and best; the hawk's-bill, which are very good; and the logger-head, which the sailors never refuse when the others are not to be caught. The method of taking them is by turning them upon their backs.

“The land turtle lives constantly on shore, feeds upon grass, moves very slow, and when an enemy approaches, covers itself under its shell, squatting close to the ground, from which it is not easily discernible, appearing like a bare patch without verdure. The shells of these animals are so hard, that a man may tread upon them without hurting them. Their flesh is very good and nourishing. They will live five or six weeks without food and appear to be never the worse. They lay round eggs, about the size of a hen's, which are very good to eat. Some of the sea-turtle taken in the bay where they anchored had 200 eggs in them. Our men lived almost wholly upon turtle, and their eggs, from the time they went first to the Gallapagos, till their departure for the East
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Indies, saving their ship-provisions till their run across the South Seas.

“At these islands our men caught plenty of fish called old wives. They have very small mouths, large eyes, and a high fin on the back. The colour of the body is a deep blue, the fins of a lighter colour, tipped with yellow. Others are of an ash colour on the back, and white under the belly. The rock-fish we caught in the Islands of Tres Marias were large, had great mottled fins, yellow backs, red bellies, and red and black tails. Another fish our men caught was the cavallo, in shape not much unlike the dolphin, with a large eye, black back, white belly, and a long streak from his gills to the middle of his tail, and was about the size of a mackerel. A small fish we found there, about six inches long, was very delicious; the back was of an Indigo blue, a deep yellow streak running from the gills to the tail, the belly white, and the tail forked: it seemed peculiar to these islands, and wants a name.”

Of the animals, the racoon was the most plentiful. It has a large black eye, whiskers, and a nose like a pig, tail and feet like a rat, a brownish fur on its back, and a white belly.

Of the venomous creatures the scorpion is the most noxious, its tail is jointed, with a small sting at the tip; it has two claws like those of the lobster, and its head and feet have a near resemblance to those of the same fish.

Among the singing birds found in those islands the cardinal bird was seen in the greatest abundance. It is a very beautiful bird, with scarlet feathers, and on his head the male has a tuft of the same colour. They are of the same kind with those we call the Virginian Nightingale; but the Spaniards call them cardinal birds, from their scarlet feathers.

“Among the vegetables we found the magney plant, or silk-grass, of which the Indians make ropes, sails, sacks, and all their curious netting. It also yields a liquor of which they make wine, honey, and a good balsam. The liquor as it comes from the plant is as sweet as sugar; after standing it becomes a wine and will intoxicate powerfully. It has thick, juicy leaves, not unlike those of the house-leek, but grows up to a considerable height. And when it has stood about six years, the Indians cut out the middle leaves, leaving the heart of the plant hollow, which of itself fills with the juice, and is every morning, during the season taken out and preserved. Of this juice the Spaniards make spirits; and it is so universally used in one shape or other by the Spaniards or Indians in New Spain, that the duty arising from it in one year is said to have amounted to 110,000 pieces of eight, at the port of Angels alone. The prickly tree found on these islands is esteemed a great curiosity. The trunk of it is angular, and covered with prickles; is of a pale green, and yields a gum which the druggists call euphorbitum, which is said to be powerful in removing pains in the head.

The vessels sailed for Cape St. Lucas, on the second day of October at two in the afternoon, spreading themselves, lest the Manilla ship should escape them; and on the 21st, the Marquis (which had been leaky before) sprung two great leaks and broke the collar of the fore-stay, on which the captain wore ship to fix the stay, and then hauled up after the other ships, and stopped the leaks. Thus they proceeded, having varied their stations as they judged convenient for the accomplishment of their plan, nothing of consequence occurring till the 13th of December, which day was marked by a general consultation to enquire into the state of the stock on board the ships, when it appeared that only three months meat at short allowance, and two months bread remained on hand. In this situation, there being no appearance of the Manilla ship, though the time when she was expected elapsed, it was agreed to refit the ships and make the best of their way across the Pacific Ocean, so as to insure their passage to Juan Fernandez; the Marquis therefore wanting more repairs than any of the rest,
A a

They sail from Cape St. Lucas.

1710

rest, was ordered into harbour, while the Duke and Duchefs were to cruise a few days longer.

For this purpose, Captain Cooke bore away for Puerto Seguro, and on the 15th at midnight entered the harbour. The captain proceeded to business on the 16th, his first orders being to begin cruising again as soon as possible, but these orders were countermanded afterwards, on account of the necessity there was that before the ships departed from the American coast, they should rendezvous together.

This place is inhabited by about 200 Indians, living in huts made of boughs of trees and reeds, built like a bower, with a fire in the middle, round which they lie and sleep. They all go naked, except that the women have short petticoats made of silk and grass, or else of pelicans or deer's skin. The men are strait and well limbed, live by fishing and hunting, and value knives, scissars, nails, or iron, beyond gold and silver. They have long black hair, and are of a dark-brown complexion. The women are very ordinary, and employ themselves in gathering and grinding corn, and in making fishing-lines. They are very honest and very civil. They assisted in fitting up the ships, and took nothing away, but what was given them.

The English, at their first coming, got some pearls among them, but never could see any afterwards. Signs were made to them to bring gold, but they pointed up to the mountains. They used bows and arrows, and even some of the boys were so dextrous with them as to kill birds flying.

On the 22d of December, the Manilla ship was engaged, and taken by the English, but the sea-breeze preventing Captain Cooke who was behind the rest from coming up to the assistance of his consorts, he surveyed the fight from the shore. Captain Rogers gives the following account of the engagement.

A Manilla ship is taken.

"At day break, we saw the chase upon our weather bow, about a league from us, the Duchefs a-head of her to leeward, near about half as far. Towards six in the morning, our boat came on board, having kept very near the chase all night, and received no damage; but told us the Duchefs passed by her in the night, and she fired two shot at him; but they returned none. We had no wind, but got out eight of our oars, and rowed about an hour, when there sprung up a small breeze. I ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be made for our ship's company, having no spirituous liquors to give them, then we went to prayers, and before we had concluded, were disturbed by the enemy's firing at us. They had barrels hanging at each yard-arm, that looked like powder-barrels to deter us from boarding them. About eight o'clock we began to engage her by ourselves, for the Duchefs being to leeward, and having little wind, did not come up. The enemy fired her stern-chace upon us first, which we returned with our fore-chace several times till we came nearer, and went close on board each other, then we gave several broad-sides, plying our small arms very briskly, which they returned as thick for a while, but did not ply their great guns with the same alacrity. After some time, we shot a little a head of her, lying athwart her hawse, close aboard, and plied her so warmly, that she struck her colours two-thirds down. By this time the Duchefs came up, and fired about six guns, with a volley of small shot, but the enemy, having submitted, made no return. We sent our pinnace on board and brought the captain with the officers away, and having examined them, found there came another ship out from Manilla with them, of larger burden, having about 40 brass guns mounted, and as many pataroes; but they told us they lost her company about three months ago, and reckoned she was got to Acapulco before this time, she sailing better than this ship.

"This prize was called by the founding name of *Nuestra Signiora de la Incarnacion Desengenio*, Sir John Picberty commander. She had 20 guns, 40 pataroes, and 193 men on board, whereof nine were killed, ten wounded, and several blown up with gunpowder. We engaged them three glasses, in which

time we had only myself and another man wounded. I was shot through the left cheek; the bullet struck away the upper part of my upper jaw, and several of my teeth, part of which dropped down upon the deck, where I fell; and the other, an Irish landman was slightly wounded in the hip. They did us no great damage in our rigging, but their shot disabled our mizzen mast. I was forced to write what I had to say, to prevent the loss of blood, and because of the pain I suffered by speaking.

"On the 23d of December, after putting our ship to rights, we stood in for the harbour, which was distant about seven leagues, to the north-east. Our surgeons went on board the prize, to dress their wounded men. About four in the afternoon, we came to an anchor, and received the compliments of all on board the Marquis, on our sudden and unexpected success, which gave us no small satisfaction. We found that ship in good condition, and ready to sail; all the men on board her were brisk and eager for action. At eight in the evening, we held a consultation on the two great points; first, What should be done with the prisoners and hostages? and next, How we should act with regard to the other Manilla ships, which we thought at least there was a great probability of taking. With respect to the first, we proposed (as the hostages from Guaiquil were men of honour, and as we had good reason to believe that the Chevalier Picberty being brother to the famous M. du Cass, was the same) to make the best terms we could with them, and set them at liberty. Accordingly, we put a part of the goods on board the bark into the prize, and then offered the remainder with the bark, together with what remained unpaid of the ransom, for 6000 pieces of eight, and to take the chevalier's bill, payable at London for the money. This they accepted, and gave us an acknowledgment; at the same time, that they thought it a good bargain. When this was settled, we had nothing more to do than to provide for our own security, and to look after the other galleon.

"I was very desirous of going out with the Duchefs, adds Captain Rogers, to cruise for her, but there having been some reflexions cast, on account of the Duchefs's not engaging our last prize so soon as it was thought she might have done, Captain Courtney was absolutely bent on going out with the Marquis; and the officers of both ships voting for this in council, my proposal was over-ruled, and we were forced to stay in the harbour against our will. It was, however, agreed that we should put ten of our best hands on board the Duchefs, and on Christmas-eve she and the Marquis sailed."

Things being thus settled, on the 25th of December about eight in the morning, being two leagues off Cape S. Lucas, they saw a sail, distant about seven leagues, which they concluded to be the other Manilla ship. At this time the Duchefs was two leagues to the westward, and both gave chase. It was twelve o'clock at night before the Duchefs got along side and began the engagement. This vessel fought her bravely for about four glasses, and then Captain Courtney lay by, to secure his masts, and knot his rigging, which were much wounded and shattered. The Marquis could not come up, not being so good a sailor as the Duchefs. On Monday, the 26th, as soon as it was day, (says Captain Cooke) we saw the Spaniard's flag; and knew him to be the admiral of the Manilla. At eight we perceived the Duke coming out to us. At two in the afternoon we got along side of the enemy; but the wind shifting, could fetch no nearer than about half a musket shot to leeward of her. She then fired two shot at us, and we returned a broadside and a volley of small arms, beginning the combat with three cheers.

"When we had fought two glasses, the Duchefs came up under her stern, and raked her fore and aft, and then fell a-stern again, we still continuing hot at her for five glasses. Then we weared, and stood to the westward, to fetch nearer up to her, for firing so many guns had laid us to leeward. The Duchefs went

They engaged the other galleon.

went up, and engaged again very briskly for half an hour, and then stretched a-head of her. We could perceive many shot in her between wind and water.—At five we tacked, and raked her fore and aft with our starboard broad-side. By this time it grew dark, and we fell a-stern to speak with the *Duchefs*, and to get more ammunition, we having but three rounds of shot for most of our guns left. At eight, I went on board the *Duchefs*, and found her much disabled in her masts and rigging, and had seven men killed and wounded. Captain Courtney and I agreed to be yard-arm and yard-arm with the enemy in the morning; he to lie on the bow, and I on the quarter; and if he boarded, I was to clap him aboard, and enter my men over him. Being supplied with more ammunition, I returned on board the *Marquis*, both of us keeping close under the *Spaniard's* quarter, and firing guns all night, to annoy the enemy, and to give the *Duke* notice where we were. Before day, the *Duke* joined us. The chase, mistaking him for her consort, had made signals all night, and edged away to meet him; otherwise the *Duke* could not have come up, there being but little wind, and that contrary. Then we all three agreed to fall upon the enemy at once, as soon as it was light; but while we lay athwart her hawse, those shot that missed the enemy, flew through the *Duke's* masts and rigging, which obliged the *Duke* to change his station, and to draw up along-side, close a-board her, where he kept up a warm stout fire of round shot, all other sort proving ineffectual, because of the strength of the ship's sides, which no other shot would penetrate: And as none of the *Spaniards* appeared in sight, but all kept to close quarters, it was in vain to make use of small arms, except now and then, when a man appeared, to observe our situation, and to keep an eye upon their ensign.

“In this manner, the *Duchefs* lying upon her hawse, the *Duke* along her broad-side, and the *Marquis* athwart her stern, we kept pelting her for four glasses; in the mean time, the *Duke* received a shot in his main-mast, which much disabled it; and, in shifting, both he and the *Duchefs* came close back under the enemy, and had like to have been all on board her. The *Duke*, in endeavouring to recover his station, received a fire-ball, which lighting upon his quarter-deck, blew up a chest of arms and cartouch boxes, all loaded, and several cartridges of powder in the steerage, by which means Mr. Vanbrugh our agent, and two others were very much burnt: The *Duchefs*, going to lash the enemy, was forced to cast off, and get clear, for fear of being set on fire. The enemy fired at us all three at once, but slowly, seldom missing our masts and rigging, and sometimes hulling us. After lying half an hour along the chase's side, the *Duchefs* lay by to stop her leaks, and to secure her foremast, being very much disabled, having 25 men killed and wounded, and the rigging much shattered. Captain Rogers some time after, lay by, to secure his masts. Then I lay athwart the enemy's hawse, till I had fired three broad-sides, some odd guns, and several volleys; then gave another broad-side, and some volleys into her stern. The *Duke* came up again, and fired several guns; and both fell a-stern the chase, keeping under sail, and standing to the westward. We knotted some of our rigging, and stopped our leaks made with 12 pounders. Our main-mast was disabled also; the sails and rigging much shattered; but the enemy aiming to disable my masts, I had the good fortune to have only my second mate and some others blown up with the powder. The ship was once set on fire by the enemy's stink-pots, but we soon put it out. About eleven, I wore ship, and designed to have attacked the enemy again; but seeing the *Duke* and *Duchefs* lying by, the one with a waift in his ensign, and the other with a Spanish jack, (the signals to speak with one another) I brought to.—Captain Courtney came on board of me, and we both went on board the *Duke*; where we considered the condition the three ships were in, the masts and rigging being much damaged, in a place where

we could get no recruit: That if we engaged the chase again we could propose to do no more than what we had already done, which, it was evident, did no great hurt; because we could perceive that few of our shot entered her sides to any purpose; and our small arms availed less, there being not a man to be seen above board; that the least thing in the world would bring the *Duke's* main-mast, and likewise the *Duchefs's* fore-mast by the board; either of which by its fall might carry away some other mast, and so leave us a perfect hull for the enemy, and nothing to command our ship with: That if we went to board the enemy, we should run a great hazard, in losing a great many men, with little hopes of success, they having above treble the number on board to oppose us, and there being now in all our three ships not above 120 men fit for boarding; and those but weak, having been very short of provisions: So that if we had boarded her, and been forced off, or left any of our men behind, the enemy by that means would have known our strength, and then gone into the harbour, and took possession of the prize in spite of all we could have done to prevent it. Besides, our ammunition was very short, having only enough to engage a few glasses longer. All this being seriously considered, and knowing the difficulty we should have to get masts, and the time and provisions we must spend before we could get them fitted, we resolved to forbear attempting her farther; since our battering her signified little, and we had not strength enough to board her. Therefore we agreed to keep her company till night, and then to lose her, and make the best of our way into the harbour to secure the prize we had already taken. We had engaged first and last about seven hours; during which time they had on board the *Duke* but eleven wounded men; among whom was the captain, for the second time, who had part of his heel-bone struck out with a splinter, and all under his ankle cut above half through with the same. On board the *Duchefs*, they had eleven killed, and more than that number wounded; and on board us [the *Marquis*] only two men scorched with gun powder.—The enemy's was a brave, lofty, new ship, named the *Virginia*, and this the first voyage she had made. Her burden was 900 tons, and her complement of men 450, besides passengers, 150 of whom were European pirates, who having now got all their wealth on board, were resolved to defend it to the last. The gunner, who had a post at Manilla, was an expert man, and had provided for her defence with great skill. He had filled up all the space between the guns with bales to secure the men. We shattered her sails and rigging very much, shot away her mizzen yard, and killed two of the men out of the tops, which was all the damage we could see done, though we could not have placed less than 500 shot in her hull.

“These large ships are built at Manilla, of excellent timber that will not splinter, and their sides are thicker and stronger than those of ships of the same burden constructed in Europe. Had we been together at first, and boarded her, perhaps we might have taken her; but after her netting and close quarters were fixed, she valued us but little. We might, indeed, at the expence of one of our ships, have burnt her; but that was objected to, not only from a principle of humanity, but because we had goods of great value on board all our ships. The enemy had heard at Manilla that there were two ships fitted out at Bristol, to cruise in the South Seas, and that Captain Dampier was their pilot. They had therefore provided for their defence accordingly. However, to do them justice, they fought gallantly, and, had the two ships been together, it is more than probable that neither of them would have been taken; but, as it happened, had not our unreasonable squabbles prevented our sailing out together, the chance would have rather been in our favour. Yet this misfortune, instead of leading to a reconciliation, served only as a foundation for new disputes.”

Thus

They are forced to abandon their design.

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Thus ended their second attempt with the loss of some brave sailors, and to the great regret of the officers, who thought by their success to crown their fortunes; but who now thought of nothing but returning home with what they had already got with all possible expedition. They were delayed by the necessary repairs of their ships, and taking in wood, water, &c. till the 7th of January; after which they were well enough satisfied to find as much bread on board the prize as joined to their own stock, would serve them on their run to Guam, at short allowance.

"About this time (says Captain Cooke) a warm contest arose concerning the appointment of a commander of the Manilla ship, which was looked upon as a trust of no small consequence. Captain Dover, being an owner, desired he might command on board her. Captain Rogers, and several officers of the council contended, That as Captain Dover was wholly unacquainted with the navigating part of the business, the command should be given to Captain Try or to me; but as I had already the command of the Marquis, I declined any further charge, and voted for Captain Dover; at the same time recommending Captain Fry and Captain Stretton to act under him, against which Captain Rogers and his officers entered their protest. However, on the 9th of January, in a full council, it was carried against them, and voted by a great majority, that the Captains Fry and Stretton should both act in equal post in the sole navigating the Bachelor frigate (for that was the name now given to the Manilla prize) and in fighting her, if occasion should require, under Captain Dover, who at the same time was restrained from interrupting them in their business; but charged to be careful of what was in the ship, and to see that nothing was acted on board contrary to the interest of the owners and captors. The matter being thus qualified, the nominal command given to Captain Dover, and the executive power vested in the naval officers, Captain Rogers withdrew his protest, and the council proceeded to the choice of inferior officers, appointing Alexander Selkirk, master, and Joseph Smith, chief mate. They also agreed to furnish her complement of men by selecting 30 from the Duke, 25 from the Dukes, and 13 from the Marquis; which, with 36 Lascars taken on board her, formed a tolerable crew of more than 100 mariners. This business being fully settled, and the Island of Guam pitched upon as the place of rendezvous in case of separation; on the 10th of January, we weighed anchor, and run out at midnight. At twelve the next day, Cape St. Lucas bore north, distant about five leagues. We steered away for some days south-west by south, till we got into the trade winds, and then our course was uniform.

Description of
the natives of
California.

"All the natives of California (continues our author) that we saw during our stay at Puerto Seguro, did not amount to 300. They had large limbs, were very strait and tall, and of a much darker complexion than any that we had met with in the South Seas. Their hair was long, lank, and black, and hung down to their hips. The men were all stark naked, but the women had a covering about their waists, made of silk grass, fringed and knotted. All of them that we saw were old and wrinkled: perhaps they concealed from us their maidens, for reasons that need not be explained. The language of the natives was guttural, very harsh and unpleasant. They seemed to covet nothing that we had, except axes, saws, and knives, and even those they did not steal. Their huts were low, and wholly made up of branches of trees, and seemed rather a kind of temporary covering than settled dwellings. While we lay in port, they subsisted chiefly on fish, and though they made use neither of nets nor lines, yet they had a method of striking them with lances, that was very dextrous, and at which they were very expert. They were, besides, most excellent divers, and instead of canoes, made use of rafts. They were very civil and inoffensive, and were observed to pay great respect to one among them, whose head was adorned with feathers,

very artificially combined, and who probably was their wizard or cunning-man. Some of them had strings of pearls, or parti-coloured shells so prettily intermixed, that though we had glass beads and other shewy trinkets, yet they paid no sort of attention to them, but prized their own ornaments above every thing but cutting instruments. Their arms were bows and arrows, with which their boys could shoot flying. They grew very familiar with us while we staid, and came frequently to gaze at the men while they cut wood and filled water, but never offered to assist in any thing like labour. They get fire, like other Indians, by rubbing two sticks together, which [in that country] kindle almost instantaneously."

Departing from this harbour, the crew were soon afterwards put to short allowance; but, in the article of bread, were relieved by the Bachelor, as a large quantity had been found on board that vessel concealed among some sweetmeats. On the 10th of March they made Saroua, one of the Ladrões Islands, and came in sight of Guam the same evening. The next day the vessels came to an anchor in the port of Umatta, at the distance of about a mile from the houses, in 13° 30' north lat. by estimation. Here they went in, at first, under French and Spanish colours. They saw several of the islanders boats; but none would go on board, till being off the anchoring place, there was one sent by the Spanish governor, desiring to know who they were, and what they wanted there. On this, the interpreter was dispatched with a letter, the purport of which was, that they were British subjects, driven thither by necessity; that they wished to purchase provisions, &c. which if they could obtain in a friendly manner, they would act with all civility, if not they should proceed according to the rules of war. A very agreeable answer was sent by Don Juan Antonio Pimental, the Spanish governor, and they were furnished with maize, rice, oxen, hogs, poultry, and other necessaries in plenty, and at very reasonable rates.

While they remained there, mutual civilities passed between the governor, the British officers, and the gentlemen of the island.—They found the variation in these parts only half a point to the eastward, though in their run across the great South Seas they had it 12°; "The reason (says our author) I take to be the unevenness [spheroidal figure] of the globe, and its unequal mixture of much matter, differing in itself as to the magnetic quality; having large and stony mountains, spacious vallies, deep seas, long-continued continents, with mighty scattered rocks of loadstone, iron mines, and other magnetic substances."

"The natives of Guam are of a dark complexion, not so black as the Indians of California; they are general, (says he) the largest and best limbed men I ever saw and some of them hairy and very strong. The women are strait and tall, and in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, go decently clothed; but in the remote parts of the island, they go quite naked. They are said to be man-eaters, and have no settled way of worship, but every one pays a kind of adoration to they know not what. The island is plentifully supplied with cattle, and might be made the garden of the world, if the Spaniards were not as idle as the Indians; but as nature spontaneously produces sufficient for sustenance, they avail themselves but little of cultivation. Of all the works of art for which the Indians are remarkable, the paños [praws] or boats, of this island are certainly the most wonderful, as they exceed in swift-sailing every other vessel yet seen throughout the world. It is said they will sail twenty leagues an hour, "This is surely an exaggerated account; yet the captain of the Spanish guard said, he would lose his head if they did not perform it."

They left the Island of Guam, on the 21st of March, steering away west by south, with a moderate breeze from the north-north-east. This continued to waft them along for some weeks; but bad weather overtook them by the middle of April. The gale was so strong that most of their main shrouds, their stays

Engraved for Moore's
Voyages & Travels.



DRESS of the Inhabitants of CALIFORNIA
with their manner of Rafts for Fishing, &c.

and running ropes gave way before it; and the yard coming by the board, wounded the first lieutenant in such a manner that his recovery was doubtful. "Most of our sails (says Captain Cooke) were also split, but being supplied with new shrouds by Captain Courtney, I bent new sails, but found the ship very leaky. The Duke and Duchefs too suffered much by the tempestuous weather; the Bachelor split her sails; but being otherwise stoutly built and rigged, nothing but running against a rock could hurt her. I had no conception of meeting with such boisterous weather so near the line, which proved as bad as that we encountered in surrounding Cape Horne, with this difference only, that the one was intensely cold, and the other intolerably hot. And being now crossed by violent winds [which experience has proved, with sudden squalls and alternate calms, to be common near the line at the equinoctial season] sometimes lying by, sometimes scudding before the wind, and unable to pursue our direct course, our provisions began to fail. The ships, besides, were leaky, and our men began to be sickly, with excessive labour and hard living.

"A general council, therefore was called, in order to consider what was best to be done in our present condition, when it was agreed to endeavour to make the island of Talao, or that of Ternate; or if neither of them could be reached, then to put into some port of Mindanao. Proceeding thus, on the 2d of May we observed a circle round the sun, and were apprehensive of more bad weather. In the night we passed by Talao, without seeing it; and Captain Dampier, who had been twice in these seas before, gave out, that if we could not reach Ternate, it would be impossible for us to get refreshment on the coast of New Guinea, which proved true; yet it was with the greatest difficulty that the men could be prevailed on to submit to short allowance. On Monday, having had tempestuous weather, we perceived that a strong current had driven us to the eastward, and to our astonishment we found the land in sight to be Cape Noba, a promontory at the east end of Gilolo, bearing south-south-east, distance 15 leagues. Perceiving now that we could not get to the island of Ternate, nor to that of Mindanao, we resolved to make the best of our way through the streights of Gilolo; but notwithstanding all our efforts, we continued sailing amongst a cluster of islands (most of them uninhabited, but all capable of producing spices) during the whole month of May, without being able to avail ourselves of any of their refreshments. On the 20th of May, we came in sight of the island of Ceram, as we then thought, but afterwards found it to be the island of Bouru.

On the 25th we came in sight of a low island right ahead of us, and about noon, observed an opening, which when we came near we found to be a passage between two little islands that almost joined. They were very full of green trees; and by the sea-side we beheld many groves of cocoa-nut, plantain, and other fruit-trees, which exhibited a very pleasant appearance. In a capacious bay we likewise took notice of a little town, and saw several of the inhabitants passing and repassing along the shore. We sent in our boats, for provisions and pilots, and the Duke and myself turned up towards the village; but on sounding, found no ground. The natives informed us that there was a bank opposite to the land mark, where we might anchor. Abundance of people came off with Indian wheat, cocoa-nuts, yams, potatoes, poultry, and several beautiful birds, which they exchanged for knives, scissars, and other toys, being very civil, and, to all appearance, honest. They are Mahometans; of a middle stature, and tawny, but the women are fairer than the men, having long, black hair, their mouths, lips, and noses, remarkably small. The women were decently covered, but the men, in general, were naked. The islands were named Canhava and Wanshut. But these not answering our purpose, we agreed to steer for Bonton, where we arrived on Mon-

day the 29th of May, and the same day Captain Dampier, Mr. Connelly, and Mr. Vanbrugh, went with a present to the king of Bonton; at the same time requesting him to supply us with provisions and to send us a pilot to carry us to Batavia.

"On the 30th a paroa [or prau] came from the Bonton, king with one of his nobles on board, and a pilot to carry us into harbour. He put on an air of importance, and asked, How we durst come to an anchor there, without leave from the great king of Bonton? However, he brought each commander a piece of his country cloth, a bottle of arrack, some rice in baskets as a present from the king; as also a letter from the officers we had sent on shore, giving an account, that they had been well received, and that the town where the king resided was large, walled, fortified, and defended after the European manner, with a number of heavy cannon. Another present was returned, and five guns fired by every ship at the messenger's going off, at which he seemed very well pleased. Our people trafficked with the natives for poultry, maize, pumpions, papas, lemons, Guinea-corn, &c. and gave them in exchange, knives, scissars, old cloth, and old nails. The people were civil, but our officers making a longer stay than they intended, we began to suspect that the Moors had detained them, as they are very treacherous. However, we heard from them every day; and at length the Duchefs's pinnace came down with Lieutenant Connelly, who told us they had purchased four last of rice, which cost 600 dollars, and that Mr. Vanbrugh was detained for the payment of the money. The next morning it came, and was equally distributed among the four ships, some great men coming to deliver it, and receive the money.—The town of Bonton is very populous, and by it runs a fine river, but it is barred so that ships of burden cannot approach it. About 50 islands are tributors to this king who gives audience in a chair of state covered with scarlet cloth, and is always attended by a guard of nine men, armed after the European manner, with musquets and scymitars. He has besides four or five slaves, who sit at his feet, and are ready whenever he commands to do the most servile offices. The petty princes and great men sit on his left hand, and the strangers stand before him."

Having supplied themselves with all that the town afforded, and the officers that had been to wait on the king, being returned, the English weighed anchor, and as no pilot was to be had there set sail without one, at four in the afternoon. "Captain Dampier (says our author) pretended to be acquainted with the passage, and mentions the same in his book, but now he remembered nothing of it but the story. On the 9th we came in sight of Solayo, lying close to the island of Celebes, and inhabited by Malayans, who are tributaries to the Dutch. Between the island of Solayo and the south end of these are three small low islands, and the best passage is between that which lies next to Solayo and a little one lying to the northward of it. It is very dangerous going to the southward of Solayo, the Dutch never daring to attempt it." They made prize of a country vessel on the 16th and brought her master on board the Duchefs. He was a Malayan, who came last from Bonton; and, for a good reward, undertook to pilot them to Batavia, on condition that they should keep the matter a secret from the Dutch. These conditions were agreed to; and the vessels passed through the streights of Malucca, and then steered to the westward, the pilot's boat attending them till they passed the last freight, and then bore away for Macassar. They came to an anchor in Batavia Road, on Tuesday the 20th of June 1710, according to the English reckoning, but by the Dutch account it was Wednesday the 21st of June. As soon as the vessels dropped their anchors, the Duchefs fired 13 guns, but the salute was not returned till the next morning, when the commander sent an apology by his boat, and fired gun for gun with every ship.—Afterwards the commander went on shore; and, having waited on the Shebander, was introduced to the

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the governor, who received them with a great deal of civility, and having examined their commissions, and enquired about the success of the voyage, though, not being king's ships, they would not admit of their heaving down at Orerest, yet gave them leave to careen at the Island of Hern, at no great distance, and also allowed of their hiring some Malayan caulkers in order to be employed in the business of stopping their leaks.

"As the Marquis was in the worst condition, (says Captain Cooke) she was ordered to be laid down first; but upon examination, she was judged unfit to proceed upon the voyage; and therefore was unladen and put up to sale. We then hove down the Duke and Duchefs, and found their sheathing much worm-eaten; but otherwise not much damaged; the Bachelor wanted no repairs but in her rigging. The weather was extremely hot during our stay at this city: many of our men and officers fell sick; and I was among the number. The master of the Duke, the gunner of the Duchefs, and several of the common men, fell a sacrifice to this unfriendly climate. One Read, a young man belonging to the Duchefs, venturing to swim, had both his legs snapped off by a shark, which at the second bite, before we could get him on board, cut him in two in the middle, and put an end to his misery. During our stay, though we had the run of the markets, we found it very difficult to procure provisions, to lay in a stock to serve us till we should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope, and therefore were obliged to purchase live cattle, and to kill and pickle them ourselves. All manner of traffic, except for provisions, was prohibited with the natives or inhabitants of the city, upon the severest penalties, to avoid every occasion of dispute with the East-India companies of both nations: and having settled all our affairs in a very amicable manner, new rigged our ships, and disposed of the men belonging to the Marquis among the other ships, we began on the 15th of December to prepare for sailing, when I was appointed second captain in the Duchefs, and Mr. Ballot, master; Captain Pope, first lieutenant of the Duke, and Mr. Selkirk, master; Captain Dampier second captain in the Bachelor, and Mr. Knolman, master. On the 20th of September we repaired on board, but before we were ready to sail, it was the 14th of October; when, about six in the morning we weighed anchor; but in the afternoon the sea-breeze overtook us, and we were forced to return.

"On the 19th we made sail with a fresh breeze, and at two in the afternoon, came to Java Head, when two English gentlemen came off to us to demand the release of a man that had concealed himself unknown to the officers, on board the Bachelor, and who was given up without opposition. In the meantime, while the gentlemen were in conversation with the officers, a party from the ship went off to buy fowls, for which they gave in exchange knives, toys, and other trifles, which the natives valued more than money. On the 23d the gentlemen took their leave; and the party that went off to truck for fowls having reported that there were buffaloes to be had for shooting, another party was sent off to bring some on board, but they returned without success. They came in sight of whole herds, but so exceedingly wild, that it was impossible to come within musket shot of them. One of the party, who had ventured to follow them into the woods, was surprised by a tyger, that was within an hundred yards of him before he thought proper to make his retreat; and he was pursued by the creature so closely, that had he not reached the water, he must have been devoured. His companions fired more than twenty shot at the tyger before he went off, and which he did at last sorely wounded."

From hence they made sail on the 26th, steering for the Cape of Good Hope, and arriving there in safety, came to an anchor in Table Bay, and the officers going on shore were well received by the Dutch. While

the English stayed at the Cape, their time was employed in taking in wood and water, and refitting their vessels. And here the captains wrote their owners an account of their voyage, and expressed their intention of returning home in company with the Dutch fleet, which arrived, to the number of 12 sail, on the 22d of February.

Mr. Vanbrugh, the owner's agent, and Mr. Appleby, with some others, died here; many were sickly, and all impatient to set sail for England, which however, they were not able to do till the month of April. Then the whole fleet, consisting of 25 sail of English and Dutch vessels left the Cape, and steered for S. Helena, where they arrived on the 3d of August. The description of this island by our voyager, is like that of many others who pursued the same track, and were doubtless well enough pleased at having such a port to touch at to relieve the sick, and breathe a while from their toils. The captain owns, however, "that the residence in a place so lonely in the middle of a vast ocean, remote from all communication with the world, has rather the appearance of living in exile than in a land of freedom." Were some of those who have written in such a romantic manner of the beauties of this isle to reside on it a twelvemonth, instead of remaining there only a few days to refresh themselves, it is probable they would give us another sort of description of a place, of which may be truly asserted what the Romans once said of Britain, "That it is entirely divided from the rest of the habitable world."

The fleet left Santa Helena on the first of May, and made the island of Ascension on the 7th of the same month. On the 27th two Dutch sailors dying, were committed to the ocean. About this time, all the flag-ships struck their flags; and the admiral hoisted a broad pendant. This was done, that if an enemy should come in sight, they might be taken for a squadron of Dutch men of war.

Thus they proceeded, without any thing remarkable happening, except a mutiny, for which two Dutchmen who were the ring-leaders were whipped and put in irons; and the Bachelor's pinrace having her back broken on the 26th of June by the ship running foul of her; but all on board were saved. The fleet sailed on till they came into 60° of north latitude, "where (says our author) we had no night, but cold, drizzling weather, yet nothing to compare to the cold in the same latitude south, in going round Cape Horne, for there the cold was so intense, that many of our men sickened; yet we were here and at Cape Horne much about the same time, allowing for the difference of the climates."

"On the 14th (continues he) we came in sight of Bera, and spoke with a Danish ship bound to Dublin, which informed us that the war still continued, and that he had spoken a day or two before, with a squadron of Dutch men of war, and three victuallers, lying off the island to wait for us; so that by keeping between that and Fair Island, we could not possibly miss of seeing them. The next day we came in sight of them; when all the fleet saluted the commodore, and he made the signal for all the commanders to come on board of him for sailing orders. The Captains Courtney and Dover went accordingly, and were well received, and given to understand that they might be supplied with what provisions they stood in need of, on paying for the same, having, he said, brought victuals from Holland for the purpose. We lay off Shetland some days, and caught ling and cod in abundance; during which time the Shetlanders came off to us; and brought fowls and sheep, which we purchased at a much cheaper rate than of our Dutch victuallers.

"At length our ship's company grew sickly, having been more than three months in our passage from the Cape to this place, and we were besides very peevish and quarrelsome among ourselves; now we came near home, jealousies arose about embezzlements. The agents had been to the Duke, to demand the gold plate,

1711

plate, pearl, and jewels on board; and they returned not very well satisfied with their reception. But, while these disputes were at their height, orders were given to set sail. In the mean time, letters were dispatched to London and Amsterdam, acquainting our owners with our progress, and present situation, and desiring their instructions, to regulate our future proceedings.—In consequence of these dispatches, the writer says, “A general letter was received from our owners, dated Bristol, June 6, 1710, in which they acquainted us, That the East India Company was incensed against us, and had appointed a secret committee to inspect their charter, as to privileges; and that they were resolved to take all advantages, in case of the least infringement of what they pretended to be their exclusive right of trading to the East Indies. This letter likewise recommended the greatest caution, on our part, with regard to the Dutch East India Company; or else from that as well as from our own, they had reason to fear all possible obstruction. It was, therefore, most strictly enjoined, That neither officer nor sailor should, on any pretence whatsoever, be suffered to take any goods on shore, nor were we to allow any stranger to come on board to purchase the least trifle, for that if any such thing should be proved, the whole cargo would be forfeited. It was a great relief to us, when, on the 5th of August, Mr. Hollidge, one of our principal owners, came on board us; for though we kept the strictest watch, it was hardly possible to prevent the sailors from running things ashore in the night. On this gentleman's arrival, it was judged necessary to draw up a short

account of our voyage from the journals of the respective commanders; to which all the officers and most of the seamen voluntarily swore and set their hands.” It was not till the 30th of September that the English sailed from the Texel, under convoy of the Essex, Canterbury, Medway, and Dullidge, and anchored in the Downs, on the 2d of October, 1711. The produce of the cargo and treasure in the ship was supposed to amount to near 400,000l. and after law-suits and every other kind of trouble and expence, 170,000l. clear remained.

Mr. Hatley whom they had lost with his little crew near the Gallapagos island was supposed with them to have perished, but it fell out otherwise; they made directly for the main, and coming to Cape Passao they surrendered themselves to the enemy. The persons to whom they submitted were not European Spaniards, and had no ideas of the laws of nations (laws which though originating in peace, are still preserved by civilised people amidst the horrors of war). These half Christians whipped their prisoners, and with their tortures would probably have ended their lives; but that the Spanish priest interfering, rescued them, and thus ended their sufferings. Mr. Hatley being afterwards carried to a Spanish settlement was civilly treated, and was set at liberty as soon as peace was proclaimed between the two nations.—

Such was the end of this expedition, which, though greater matters might have been expected, yet all things considered, it must be confessed that the commanders did whatever lay in their power to promote the business, and to benefit their country.

THE VOYAGES OF THE CAPTAINS CLIPPERTON AND SHELVOCK.

THE voyage of the Captains Rogers, Courtney, and Cooke, which we have just related, though not crowned with all the success which they at one time expected, was yet so advantageous to those concerned in it, that it revived the spirit of privateering, and gave rise to the undertaking which we are about to treat, and for which the persons concerned took occasion from a war subsisting between the emperor and Spain, to apply to the Imperial court for a commission to countenance an expedition, which they meant to fit out against the Spaniards, who were not at that time in actual war with England.

The person who was first thought on to command the vessels prepared for this purpose, was Captain George Shelvock, who had been thirty years in the royal navy, wherein he had arrived at the rank of first lieutenant. He was politic in his manners, and appearance, was of a winning address, but not insensible of his own merit. It is probable if he had been finally intrusted with the command, as at first intended, the voyage might have proved a fortunate one; but several concurring circumstances intervened to alter the disposition of it, and in consequence the main intention of those concerned was defeated, as will be seen in the sequel.

The captain received orders to repair to Ostend, with the Speedwell, and there, as soon as the commission was obtained, to take on board the proper complement of Flemings, which were to give colour to the expedition, and then to join the Success, which lay in the Downs, under the command of Captain Mitchel. The names of the ships were also to be changed; the Success was to be called the Prince Eugene, and the Speedwell the Starenberg.

Captain Shelvock had orders to lay in such a quantity of spirituous liquors as he should judge sufficient for the use of both ships. In the fulfilling of their commission it seems, however, that the captain did not act intirely to the satisfaction of the owners,

who thought the voyage already too long delayed. 1719. And when the Flemish soldiers arrived, they were found so insolent, that it was judged proper to return the imperial commission, and to proceed without them.

The plan of the voyage being thus altered the owners next determined to lay aside the design of constituting Captain Shelvock the commander in chief. By this time war with Spain was declared, and as they conceived no other accomplishment necessary than that of knowing the business whereon he was to be employed, and having an acquaintance with the western coasts of America, they cast their eyes upon Captain Clipperton (or Clippington). To this man, a rough, blunt sailor, known to some of the owners, and recommended by other merchants, they resolved to intrust the conduct of the expedition. Captain Shelvock, however, was continued captain of the Speedwell, Captain Mitchel was appointed second in command to Captain Clipperton, and Mr. Hatley second Captain to the superseded commander.

Unanimity was strongly recommended in their instructions, though the very basis of it seemed to be removed by this proceeding, and dissensions arose between them before they quitted England. The vessels, however, (after waiting three months for fair weather at Plymouth) set sail on the 13th of February. Captain Clipperton's ship, called the Success, carried 36 guns and 180 men, and the Speedwell, Captain Shelvock's vessel carried 24 guns and 106 men. The latter of these ships had on board the whole stock of liquors, whilst her consort had almost all the other stores necessary for the voyage. Fresh gales, squalls, and rain, accompanied them after they left the Channel. And on the 19th a storm began which obliged both the vessels to take in their top-sails. Captain Shelvock, it seems, had spoken with Clipperton, and desired him to take some of the liquor on board, that he might strike down some of the guns into his hold, which

Clipperton and Shelvock sail from Plymouth.

1719

Are separated.

Canary Isles
described.Cape Verd
Islands.

which he said would enable him to sail better. But this his desire was not attended to. On the 20th a signal was made for the *Speedwell* to bring to, which was obeyed, and the vessels were under their bare poles by about eleven at night. On the 20th, however, in the afternoon, the storm abating, the ships unaccountably separated, Clipperton, when he made sail, steering S. by E. and Shelvock N. W. By this strange management, which each commander afterwards laid to the charge of the other, Clipperton was left to proceed on his voyage without liquors and without his consort. Thus situate, he resolved to steer for the Canaries, the place of rendezvous agreed on between them, and having taken in wine at Gomera and cruised about ten days near the islands, he departed for those of Cape Verd, and anchored on the 21st at St. Vincent.

The Canaries, of which we have so often spoken, are supposed to have been denominated the Fortunate Islands, by the ancients, on account of their fertility. They are eight in number, and the largest of them, called Great Canary, is far distant from the others. It contains 9000 inhabitants, and is the seat of the bishop, the council royal, and the inquisition. There is a mountain on the Teneriff called the Pike of Teneriff, esteemed to be one of the highest in the world. It is reckoned three days journey to the top of it, which is generally covered with snow. The Island of Ferro is one of the larger isles; but there is no water to be found on it, except in few places, by the sea-side; to supply this want, however, in some measure, there is a sort of tree in almost all parts of the island, which is pretty large, is full of leaves that are always green, and covered with a little cloud that wets the leaves with its dew, so that a fine dew drops from it into little pails, wherein it is caught by the inhabitants, and is sufficient in quantity to water the cattle as well as supply the people. These islands were called Canaries, or Dog-Islands, by the Spaniards, who on first discovering them, in 1402, found no other creatures upon the land. They abound with wine, which is transported into all parts of the world.

Clipperton cruised ten days likewise about the Cape Verd Islands, but seeing no probability of meeting with his consort, he departed: And it was afterwards with difficulty that he prevailed on his men to continue on the voyage to the Straights without the assistance of spirituous liquors to comfort them in their course.—These islands are generally supposed to be denominated from the Green Cape of Africa, which is opposite to them; others think they were called the Green Islands, on account of the surrounding sea being covered so thick with a green herb, that the water can scarcely be seen; and it requires a strong wind to carry a vessel through it. This weed produces a berry, somewhat like white gooseberries, whence it comes is unaccountable; it cannot arise from the bottom, as the sea is there unfathomable, and the neighbouring lands yields no such production.

They left St. Vincent's on the first of April, and by the 29th of May found themselves in $52^{\circ} 15'$ of south latitude, being then off Cape Virgin in the north point of the entrance of the Maghellenic Straights, into which they sailed the next day, and sent their pinnace ashore on the main to get fresh water from a river which was then frozen up. Here they saw flocks of geese and ducks, but all appeared very shy. The surgeon's mate having been left on shore by accident for one night, was brought on board the next morning almost dead with cold. Anchoring at Queen Elizabeth's Island, they found plenty of smallage, an herb which greatly relieved those who were afflicted with the scurvy. They found also plenty of wild fowl and fish, and having filled their casks with water, they held on their course.

They afterwards came into a fine bay, to which they gave the name of No Bottom, on account of the depth of the water there. The trees on the shore were high, and their boughs were loaded with snow, which formed but a dismal prospect. While they

lay here a canoe came off to them, having four Indians on board, who were of a middle stature, their foreheads were low, their faces broad and round, their hair lank and short. They had no other cloathing but a piece of skin about their waists, round which they had likewise a circle of a bright azure hue. They were very jealous of their females; nor could they be prevailed upon, on any account, to suffer a woman who was among them to come on board. The captain gave them some bread and cheese, and also offered them a dram of brandy, though the latter was then so scarce amongst the English. They devoured the bread and cheese, but would not taste the brandy. They had bows and arrows, and some fishing tackle: they stayed two hours, and on their departure made signals of their design to return. The pinnace being sent on shore the next day, came back with the Indian canoe in the evening, laden with muscles, which the natives had given them in exchange for bread, knives and toys. They appeared to Clipperton's men to be a harmless people, and one of his crew that had been left on shore lived among them two nights and a day, and met with very kind treatment.

In the mean time the ship's company grew sickly, and one or other of them generally died every day. About the beginning of July the weather was rather moderate; on the 8th of this month they buried their master-gunner, and caused a strong plank to be driven at the head of his grave, whereon was this inscription, "Mr. William Pridham, gunner of the *Success*, deceased July 7, 1719, in this Streight, and was buried here."—Captain Michell, and Lieutenant Davidson went in the pinnace to Terra del Fuego, on the 20th, to make discovery of the passage that a French Tartan is said to have gone thro' into the South Sea in May, 1713, and to try if there were any anchoring beyond Cape Quad. They returned on the 29th, having found the passage, but so narrow that it was deemed hazardous to go that way. They however found several good bays to the northwest of Cape Quad, to anchor in.

They proceeded on their voyage on the first of August, meeting with the usual dangers and difficulties on their passage, and, arriving on the 18th in the South Seas, steered directly for Juan Fernandez, in order to refresh themselves. They came to this island on the 7th of September, where they searched in vain to find some tokens of the *Speedwell*. After having cruised for a month in these parts, Captain Clipperton preparing for his departure, caused the following inscription to be cut on a tree fronting the landing place, "Captain John W. Magee, 1719." Magee was a surgeon on board the *Success*, and well known to Captain Shelvock and his company. The reason of making choice of his name, was in order to blind the Spaniards in case they should read the inscription. All means were used here for the recovery of the sick, who were set on shore for this purpose, but a dejection prevailed, owing to the reflexion of having no cordial to revive their drooping spirits. They found the weather at this time changeable, and much rain fell while they stayed near the island. They took abundance of goats, so as to serve them for future store, as well as for present use; and they salted a great number with salt which they found ready made on the island. They wooded and watered here, and cleared their ship, Clipperton, by this time apprehending that he should be obliged to proceed on his cruise alone. As to the *Speedwell*, he declared it was his opinion that she was lost.

Before they took their departure from hence, four of the ship's crew betook themselves to the mountains, with a view of remaining upon the island, but two of them were made prisoners by the goat-hunters, who before they surrendered, were obliged to fire at them several times.

They prepared for sailing on the 7th, previous to which Captain Mitchell went on shore, and erected a cross, at the foot of which he buried a bottle, containing a letter addressed to Captain Shelvock, directing

ing him to another place of rendezvous, and appointing a proper signal whereby they might know each other in case they should meet at sea. The commander then weighed anchor, and sailed northward; till he got into the parallel of Lima, where he intended to act, though he had lost 30 of his men, and some uneasinesses had already broken out among the crew in regard to plunder. They took a small vessel on the 25th of October, which proved to be a snow of 40 tons, laden with sand and rubbish for manure, having on board seven Indians and two negros. In this bark they found nothing worth taking except two jars of eggs, as much treacle, and two pieces of eight. The next day they met with a ship called the *St. Vincent*, of 150 tons, with two friars, 161 Indians, and four negros on board. She was laden with wood from Guiaquil. Another prize they took on the 30th day of the same month, was a large ship, called the *Trinity*, of 400 tons, which had been taken by Captain Rogers, ten years before, when Guiaquil was plundered by that adventurer. Her cargo was valuable, and she had a great many passengers on board. On the 2d of November they took a fourth prize, which was a vessel of 70 tons, having on board the countess of Laguna, and several other passengers. They likewise found a great deal of money, and two jars of wine and brandy. The captain gave the countess her choice of staying in the prize, or coming on board the *Succes*. She chose the former, and an officer was sent with orders to suffer none but her own domestics to enter her cabin.

Captain Clipperton was now much weakened by the detachments he had made to take care of his prizes. Yet he was still bent on making more. Discovering a pink of 200 tons, on the 12th he bore up to her, and the vessel struck to him. Lieutenant Serjeantson was then sent on board with eight men to take possession of her. He immediately ordered all those whom he saw into the great cabin, and posted a centinel at the door. After this, thinking all things secure, he went down with some of his men into the ship's hold, to examine her lading, when a concealed party fell upon the captors, knocked down him and his party, and ordered them to be bound. In the mean time those in the cabin had secured the centinel; and thus the ship was recovered, owing to the artful management of the captain, who guessing that his opponent could not send any great number of men on board him to take possession, had ordered 12 of his passengers, under the conduct of a French boatswain, to conceal themselves in the hold, and then to rush out, on a certain signal, and secure the English, which stratagem succeeded, as we have seen according to the common expectation.

But as soon as the Spaniards had thus retaken the ship, they made for the shore with so much haste and so little caution, that they ran their own vessel upon the rocks, where she was lost; but when the captain perceived the danger, he ordered all his English prisoners to be unbound, and every man saved himself upon the rocks. They were however secured on shore, and sent to to the viceroy of Lima.

As soon as Clipperton knew that he had lost his prize and his men likewise, he determined to release his Spanish prisoners, by which means there would necessarily be a saving of his provisions, as well as a chance for his people to be better treated, when the enemy knew that their countrymen had not been ill used when in his power. In his way to the island of La Plata, he took another prize of 200 tons, having on board 30 Spaniards, and 40 negros. This vessel was called the *Cayetan*, and most of the Spaniards were passengers. By this time the captain knew that the coast was alarmed, and understood that two men of war, one of 50, and the other of 30 guns, had been fitted out to cruise for him. As for the goods on board, he had good reason to believe they would fetch no price in Europe, and in those parts where he now was, he did not see any likelihood of their being ransomed. On this account, he concluded, a thought

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which had once suggested itself to Captain Rogers, of sending a cargo of these goods to Brasil: for this purpose he made Mr. Mitchell commander of the prize bark wherein the countess of Laguna had been taken, mounting her eight guns, and sparing 13 Englishmen and ten negros, accommodating him with provisions and necessaries, and putting on board a cargo of European commodities valued at 10,000*l*. dispatching him for the Brazilian coast. After this he presented his other prizes to the Spanish prisoners, taking out of them such things as he thought proper, only detaining the captain of one of them, to serve him as a pilot.

Thus disincumbered, Captain Clipperton now prepared to return to cruise in his former station. As they were thus holding on their course, on the 4th of December they fell in with, and took a bark called the *Rosary*. — Having taken what they pleased out of her, they let her go, after they had cut her main-mast by the board, in order to prevent her over-setting. On the 27th, they looked into Guanaco Bay, and finding two ships at anchor there, fired a shot at each, but they made no return; whereupon, sending their boats on board, they found the people had quitted them, leaving nothing but some bread and a few jars of water behind them. After this the English hung out a flag of truce, and fired two guns at intervals of half an hour. They were answered from the shore, but nobody appearing to treat about the ransom of the vessels, they set them on fire, and departed for the Gallapagos islands, intending to remain there till the alarm occasioned by their progress should subside. Accordingly they put their design in execution, and arrived at the Duke of York's Island under the Equinoctial Line, where they cleaned their ships, and found water, in which latter circumstance, as we have already related, Captain Rogers had been disappointed. On the 21st of January they took a vessel called the *Prince Eugene*, bound for Lima, and having the Marquis de Ville Roche on board, which struck on their firing the first gun. A priest, who was on board the prize, having got leave to go on shore at the island of Velas, on his promise of persuading the inhabitants to traffic with them for some cattle; he returned on the 16th with a herd of black cattle, some fowls, and fruit, which he brought as a present to the Marquis; but he said the governor would not permit the inhabitants to trade with Captain Clipperton's people. He added, that Captain Mitchell had been there, and had got some cattle, but 200 men being got together, had forced him to retreat. The very next day it appeared by some intercepted letters that the Marquis was tampering with the people on shore to seize the ship's boat when it next came for water. On this account that nobleman was confined for some time, but on the 20th he was suffered to go on shore with his lady, their only child remaining as an hostage for their return.

Accordingly, they came on board on the 14th of April, and the governor with them, when Clipperton having agreed with them about their ransom, the lady and the child were set on shore, the marquis remaining as an hostage for the performance of the articles, which were never fulfilled. They sailed to Amapalla on the 20th, with an intent to water there, but being disappointed, repaired to the Isle of Tygers, and afterwards on the 9th of June to Gorgona, for the same purpose. On the 24th they took, the second time, the *St. Vincent*, which was now commanded by Don Clement de Andrada, and was laden with timber and cocoa-nuts; and on the 11th of August they anchored at the island of Lobos de Mar with their prize. Here they set up tents on the shore, and cleared their vessel, and here the crew, who had already begun to murmur, appeared much discontented. They blamed their captain for proceeding on his undertaking without his consent; they arraigned his conduct with regard to the marquis, from whom they firmly believed neither he nor they would ever receive any advantage, and at length some of the malecontents,

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1720

The Marquis de Ville Roche taken.

1721

contents, (being stirred up by one James Roch, the ship's corporal) formed a plot for seizing Clipperton and his officers, and running away with the ship; "that if they must still go through more hardships," it must be, as Roch said, for their own benefit rather than for that of the people. But the plot being discovered, two of them were severely punished, and the rest pardoned on promise of future amendment.

They took a fishing boat, with a large quantity of salt fish on the 17th; on board of this vessel they put 38 Spanish prisoners, and sent them away. But they found the St. Vincent, which was left at anchor under the Isle of Lobos, driven on shore and sunk. On the first of November they entered the bay of Conception, where having missed of a prize by her out-failing them, they went for Coquinbo, and in their way, took a ship laden with cloth, sugar, and tobacco. But they had no sooner come in full sight of the harbour, than they were perceived by three men of war, which were lying there with their top-sails loose, which immediately cut their cables, and made after them. The *Succes* and the prize immediately hauled their wind, and bore away, the former escaped by good sailing, though narrowly pursued by the two Spanish ships, but the latter fell into the hands of the enemy. There were taken in her, Mr. James Milne, Clipperton's third lieutenant, and 12 men. Don Blas de Lefso, who was governor of Cartagena, when attacked by Admiral Vernon, was the captain who took the prize, which he imagined to have been the privateer. He was so much enraged at this disappointment, that in the heat of his anger he struck Mr. Milne on the head with the flat of his sword; but afterwards recollecting the impropriety of his behaviour, sent for his prisoner, and was so generous as to ask his pardon for the affront, and finding him stripped by the soldiers, ordered him a new suit of cloaths. When at Lima he procured his liberty, and paid for his passage to Panama, where he made him a present of a jar of wine, and another of brandy, and after giving him 200 pieces of eight sent him home to his own country. Such an instance of generosity in an exasperated enemy, deserves to be had in honourable remembrance.—But to return to Captain Clipperton. He and his people were much dispirited with this loss, and their ill humours were kept alive by continued dangers and disappointment. They attacked a ship on the 16th, which bore away from them after having fired a few guns, which was a happy circumstance, as this was a ship of force, and which was intended to cruise for Captain Shelvock; but knowing this not to be the vessel which he was in quest of, and not being acquainted with her strength, the Captain, whose name was Fitzgerald, did not think proper to continue the engagement. Being in want of provisions, they continued cruising to the north; but as they met with little success, they resolved to go once more to the Gallapagos islands for refreshment, after having set on shore the remainder of their Spanish prisoners.

While Clipperton's people were indulging their ill humours, the captain himself fell into a practice too common with people who know not well how to bear up against misfortunes. He gave himself up to drinking in such a manner, that at length he was scarcely ever seen sober, or free from the bad effects of this ill course, which, at this time, he so imprudently adopted. It was on the 4th of December that they perceived themselves near the islands which they were in quest of; but through some unaccountable mistake or ill contrivance, they could neither find fresh water nor an anchoring place. On account of this disappointment they sailed for the isle of Cocos, so often mentioned in our accounts, with the greatest expedition. They came in sight of it on the 17th, and all that could be spared went on shore, on the 18th, when a sort of bark was built for the entertainment of the sick, at the same time that Clipperton did all he could for the recovery and encouragement of the men. They prepared for sailing on the 27th of January, but when

the men were mustered, three Englishmen and eight negroes were missing; and it appeared that they chose to remain on that unfortunate island.

Arriving on the coast of Mexico, Clipperton's people discovered a sail, to which their pinnace gave chase, and the vessel immediately struck. She proved to be the *Jesu-Maria*, which was then commanded by Captain Shelvock; and the report they received was, "That he had no more than 40 men alive; that he had lost the *Speedwell* at Juan Fernandez, where they had built a bark out of the wreck, that they had coasted along Chili and Peru, till they came to Pisco near Lima, where they took this prize; that they had no regular command among them; that they had chosen a quarter-master by a majority of votes; and that they had quite broken their articles with their owners, and had shared all among themselves. Captain Shelvock came on board on the 27th; the boat brought Captain Dod, who was said to have been ill used on account of his attachment to the owners; six chests of pitch and dammer with two barrels of tar, and six slabs of copper were sent on board by Captain Shelvock, to whom Clipperton spared 24 quarter-deck guns, some great shot, a compass and other necessaries. His people likewise bought cloaths, shoes, hats, &c. and here Hendric and Dod deserted Captain Shelvock, intending never more to sail with their commander. It was designed to attempt the Manilla ship before she entered Acapulco. This determination was made in the burying of March: on the 13th they again met Captain Shelvock, when, according to Clipperton's account, that gentleman rejected a proposal he made of burying all former miscarriages in oblivion, and acting together for the benefit of the owners; whereupon the *Succes* proceeded without him, and it being resolved to return home by way of the East Indies, the vessel sailed immediately for Guam.

After a run of 53 days they reached that island, and anchored off Umatta, on the 13th of May. The pinnace being sent with a flag of truce to the governor, in order to obtain provisions; a quantity of chocolate cakes, cattle, bread, sugar, greens, &c. were sent them, with a favourable answer, and the governor's health was drank by the whole ships company. But the Marquis de Ville Roche having agreed about his ransom, going on shore accompanied with the first lieutenant and doctor, a foundation was laid for a dispute which was near proving fatal to Clipperton and all his crew. For after the English had taken in wood, water, and provisions, in exchange for which they furnished the governor with arms and ammunition, the latter sent them a letter, on the 15th, wherein he demanded the restoration of the Marquis's jewels, some consecrated plate, and two negroes that were Christians. At the same time he desired a certificate under the captain's hand, that peace was proclaimed. Clipperton's answer was That from the people on board the last prize taken on the coast of Chili, he had heard that England and Spain were at peace; but he assured the governor if he did not send the ransom, and return Messrs. Godfrey and Pretty whom he had detained on shore, within 24 hours, the English would burn the ship in the harbour, destroy all the houses on the shore, and do whatever damage they could among the islands. Instead of complying with his demands, the governor caused a battery to be erected, from whence the Spaniards fired at the pinnace. As to the ship, she ran aground between the fire from the battery and that from the vessel in the harbour, in endeavouring to get her off, she went foul of the rocks. Thus they lay exposed to the fury of the enemy, whilst their captain was so much in liquor that the officers were obliged to chuse Mr. Cook, *pro tempore*, to the command in this exigency. In the mean time they had their first lieutenant, Mr. Davidson, killed, and three men wounded; and it was not without great difficulty that, having lightened their ship, they towed her off with the pinnace, and, just as they got her afloat, the enemy firing at her from their battery, raked them

The *Succes* is roughly handled at Guam.

Engraved for Morris's Voyages & Travels.



The SUCCESS wrecked on a Rock, being at the same time between the fire of the SPANISH FORT at IMATA.

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through between wind and water; killed one man and wounded two others. At length they got her to sea, but in a mangled condition, and went off on the 30th with the loss of both their bow anchors and cables, the stern and kedge anchors; four hawsers, four of their lower deck guns; and 19 barrels of powder. They had remained a mark for the enemy near 50 hours, and had the vessel not got clear before morning, it was thought she must have sunk outright. When they had done all in their power to repair their damage they were obliged to depart, and leave Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Pretty behind them; Clipperton having lost his faithless Marquis; together with all hopes of his ransom.

Having passed the Bashee Isles on the 20th of June, they came on the 1st of July to some other islands, not laid down in the charts; but not being able to learn their way to Macao, nor to get a pilot, they failed to Amoy, which lies in the province of Tonquin, where they anchored on the 8th, and were presently boarded by ten custom-house officers, who demanded what the ship was, and what was their business in those parts. They were answered, That the ship belonged to the king of Great Britain, and that she put in there in order to obtain provisions and necessaries. The next day there was a mutiny among the crew, who demanded immediately to share the prize-money, Mr. Cook claiming 30 shares to himself as first lieutenant, he having succeeded Mr. Davidson in that post. The men went on shore at will, and refused to work till they had their money, which (those on shore taking their part) Clipperton was at last obliged to grant them.

The men share
their prize
money.

The distribution being made on the 16th of September it amounted to 419 dollars for each foremast man, no reserve being made for those who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners, for the representatives of those that were dead, nor for the two gentlemen who had served on board the Speedwell.

The share of the owners, in ready money, wrought plate, gold, and jewels, amounting to 7000l. sterling, Clipperton shipped on board the *Queen of Angels*, a Portuguese vessel, commanded by Don Francisco le Vero; but she was burnt at Rio Janeiro, on the 6th of June 1722. And out of the effects, the salvage being deducted, no more than 1800l. remained.

Having left Amoy, where they paid no less than 1700 dollars for port charges, they held on their course to Macao, where he found the Portuguese captain who had undertaken to carry what belonged to the owners to Brasil. Here the crew met with an opposition; for this captain declared in favour of their commander. On this, Captain Cook and another officer went to consult one of the principal proprietors what measures were proper to be taken for bringing home the ship. After his return, she was surveyed and condemned; but being sold for 4000 dollars, Clipperton, who did not think it was dangerous to make a voyage in her, agreed with those who bought her, for his passage in her to Batavia. The Success's crew now shifted each for himself. As to Captain Mitchell and his crew, they were now pretty well convinced that these were killed, or taken, or lost at sea. Twenty of Captain Clipperton's men intending to go in a Chinese vessel to Canton, were taken by pirates: Mr. Taylor, the chief mate, and some others, got safe to Canton in an armed boat, from whence they got a passage home, and arrived safe in London in May, 1722. Captain Clipperton came to Batavia in the Success; and got his passage home in a Dutch East-Indiaman. He arrived at Galway in Ireland, in the beginning of July, 1722, but broken with toils and disappointments, died in about a week after his arrival.

Captain Shel-
lock's voyage.

Captain Shelvock having written a very particular and circumstantial account of his voyage we shall for the most part deliver the relation in his own words, omitting only such passages as are immaterial, and such occurrences as have been already noticed. The reader has been informed of the separation of the two

commanders, which Captain Shelvock says was unavoidable. He adds; that the men were so terrified by the storm, that had not his officers appeared armed, they would have seized the ship and returned to England. And the very next evening after this mutiny was quelled; he says Mr. Hatley, his second captain, was near throwing all in confusion again, telling him on deck, that he had private orders from one of the owners, and from Captain Clipperton, to take the charge of the ship upon himself; but being asked, "Whether he had a private commission too," answered only in terms of reproach. Captain Shelvock thus proceeds in his account:

"We had a very tedious voyage to our first place of rendezvous, the Canary Islands, and did not arrive there till March 17, when having finished our cruise without any thing remarkable happening, except taking an open boat with salt and wine, and having heard nothing of the Success; on March the 29th we took our departure from the island of Ferro, in hopes of meeting with Captain Clipperton among the islands of Cape Verd; and we took our prize along with us. But in our passage, my people began again to murmur; and one Turner Stevens, my gunner, very gravely made a proposal to me in the hearing of all the other officers, that we should go cruising in the Red Sea, "For (said he) there can be no harm in robbing those Mahometans; but as for the poor Spaniards (continued he) they are good Christians, and it would doubtless be a sin to injure them." Upon this I ordered him under confinement; and the man, afterwards having threatened in a very outrageous manner to blow up the ship, I, at his own request, discharged him as soon as we arrived, together with my chief mate, who had likewise been guilty of many and great misdemeanors.

On the 14th of April we made the isle of May, and running along shore, we saw a wreck, which we were told was the Vanzittern Indiaman, Captain Hide, that three weeks before had been cast away. I endeavoured to avail myself of this accident to supply the necessaries we stood in need of, but could procure nothing but two or three sheathing boards. At this place I sold our prize for 150 dollars to the governor, and we filled all our water casks, and gave our ship a very good heel. Six of my people having deserted, I applied in vain to the officer on shore to deliver them up to me; but threatening the master of a Portuguese ship to make reprisals, he brought me two of them that happened to be the best. They fell on their knees, and asked pardon, assuring me the governor on shore had seduced them, his design being to send the bark I sold him on Vanzittern's wreck, where he said they might all make their fortunes; so I lost the other four. Finding I could neither hear of the Success, nor get what might be serviceable in this place; and having read in Frezier's voyage, that in the island of St. Catherine on the coast of Brasil, in lat. 27° 30' south every thing might be had that we stood in need of, I concluded it would be best for me to put in there. On the 20th of April, we sailed from the Island of May, having wrenched the drum head of our capstan in weighing anchor, which took us up the remainder of the day to repair. We were 55 days in going to St. Catherine's, during which little remarkable happened, except that on the 5th of June we saw a ship stemming with us, and spoke with her. I ordered the five-oared boat out, and sent Captain Hatley in her, to enquire after news, and gave him money to buy tobacco [this was among the articles of which the Success had got the whole on board her, as the Speedwell had all the strong liquors. However, Mr. Hatley said he could get no tobacco, and laid out the money in china ware and sweetmeats, and other things, to the displeasure of Captain Shelvock]. On Friday, June 19, we made the Island of St. Catherine, and at ten the next morning anchored in ten fathom water; the Island of Gall bearing E. N. E. distant two leagues, and the easternmost point of St. Catherine E. by S. distant four leagues. The first thing

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He meets with
a vessel at sea.

thing I did was to send the carpenter on shore, with all the people that could be useful to him in felling of trees, and sawing them into planks, and to order the cooper and his crew to trim the casks, and fill them with water. Those who remained on board I employed in different services. Mean while the inhabitants came off to us every day with the produce of the place, which we purchased with salt.

On the 2d of July we were alarmed at break of day, by the appearance of a large ship at anchor, four or five miles below the place where we lay. I sent an officer in the launch, well manned and armed, to see what he could make of her, and put my ship into the best posture of defence I could. About noon my launch returned, and brought word that this ship was the Ruby, formerly an English man of war, and now one of M. Martinet's squadron; that she came from the South Seas, and was commanded by M. la Jonquiere; that he, his officers, and seamen, to the number of 420 were all French, and though in the Spanish service, they had not the least design to molest us. My lieutenant became thus punctually informed, by a direct breach of orders, in going aboard, and his temerity might have cost me very dear; for, had they been enemies, I should have lost 23 of my best hands; but their return confirmed the truth of his story, yet it was a great misfortune, that I had not, to the best of my knowledge, one man of experience or capacity sufficient to enable him to perform the common duty of an officer. The next day the Ruby turned up towards us, and the captain sent one of his lieutenants and a priest, to assure me of his friendship, and to desire I would dine with him, which I did, and met with a very handsome reception, with offers of what money I would have on my bills on London, or in general, any thing else his ship afforded. He informed me that the Spaniards in the South Seas had advice of our two ships, and that they talked of fitting out some men of war to receive us.

About this time there was a report spread that Hatley had taken a bribe of the master of the Portuguese we met on the 5th of June, or had robbed him of 80 or 100 moidores, had given ten to his cockswain, and six to each of his boat's crew, not to divulge it. I charged him with what had been said against him: his answer was, He had done nothing he was ashamed of, or that he could not justify. All I could do, was to protest against him, and I gave the protest to Captain Clipperton in the South Seas. On the 6th of July, M. la Jonquiere, accompanied by several of his officers and passengers, came to dine with me; but in the midst of our entertainment, my boatswain took it into his head to create a disturbance, because he had not been invited into the cabin as a guest. He first assaulted Mr. Betagh, the captain of marines, and then Mr. Adams the surgeon. This outrage, which was supported by a party he had formed, being by the help of my officers and French gentlemen, pretty well quieted, M. la Jonquiere declared, that if they persisted in their disobedience, he would see the ring-leaders punished by carrying them home in irons; and as they grew a little quieter, he expostulated with them, and appealed to themselves, whether they did not think it monstrous for people to behave themselves in such a manner. The next morning I was informed that the authors of the disturbance were most of them sorry for what had happened the night before, attributing it to having too much liquor. I was glad to hear this, and therefore passed it all over, with only threatening how I would manage them if ever they were guilty of the like again. I had resolved to punish the boatswain in the severest manner; but I was prevailed on not to do it, he, in very humble plight, asking my pardon, and begging I would not use any severity towards him. He said it was drink that had made him mad, and withal desired I would give him leave to go home in the French ship. This I willingly agreed to, he being a very odd sort of a fellow, and always incensing the people against the number of officers, whom he termed bloodsuckers.

July 15, we saw a great ship plying into the harbour's mouth; but when she discovered us, she made the best of her way out again. This possessed M. la Jonquiere with a notion of her being our consort, and put him in a hurry to be gone. Accordingly, when the night came on, he weighed, and put to sea the next morning, and, at his departure saluted me with five guns. Three Frenchmen belonging to me went away with him, but I had two Frenchmen and one Morpew an Irishman, in lieu of them: during all this time our carpenter went on but slowly in the woods; and, at last, when we came to caulk the stern all over with thick plank, we could not find (to my astonishment) any nails for that use. I was now told that the first carpenter and his crew, had sold most of the stores before the ship came to Plymouth, which was before I commanded her.

On the 25th of July came in a ship called The Wise Solomon of St. Maloes, of 40 guns, and about 160 men, commanded by M. Dumain Girard, and bound to the coast of Chili and Peru, to trade. She was the same ship we saw before, and had spoke with the Ruby at sea. This gentleman [M. Dumain Girard] I soon perceived, notwithstanding a little forced civility at his first arrival, was a designing mercenary man, and full of all the deceit and vanity ascribed to his nation. Desiring him to spare me some nails, he readily answered he would, but at the same time, gave me to understand that he could not afford them for less than 30 dollars a hundred, which sum I was forced to give him: I likewise bought of him 60 cheeses, and 300 weight of butter; so that it was well for me that I had some money from one of the Ruby's people. This done, I now thought of making a quick dispatch from this place, when there came a letter from my ship's company to me, with articles annexed to it for the immediate division of prize-money which they said they were resolved to insist on, alledging, that they knew by woeful experience how they were used on board the Duke and Duchefs; that they were never paid more than half their due, and that they had been well informed what a paymaster, a certain gentleman would make, if ever their fortunes should fall into his hands. They were so very importunate with me to comply with their articles, that both myself and all my chief officers thought it would be best and most adviseable to sign their papers with them, rather than run the risque when they should get out to sea, of their proceeding to acts of piracy. As soon as they had gained their point they expressed great satisfaction, and promised to be always ready to hazard their lives in any undertaking that I should think conducive to the ends which we were fitted out for. On the 3d of August came in the St. Francisco Xavier, a Portuguese man of war, of 40 guns, and 300 men from Lisbon, bound to Macao in China, commanded by Captain La Riviere, a Frenchman. I made no doubt but that Captain Hatley's affair would be reported to this gentleman; and therefore I told Hatley that I expected he would go and vindicate himself to the Portuguese captain, to prevent any disturbances that might arise on his account. To which he readily replied he would. Hatley, at his return, told me that the captain seemed to be angry with him for thinking he could harbour any ill thought of a gentleman bound on a voyage which, to his knowledge could hardly fail of ensuring the largest expectations.—Three of my men deserted on the third of August, and the mate and his party went up to the Portuguese plantations in search of them. It being almost midnight, the inhabitants were alarmed, and planted themselves in ambuscade, in order to destroy them as they came back. No sooner had they returned into the boat than they heard them rushing out of the woods, crying "Kill the dogs, kill all the English dogs." This outcry was instantly followed by a volley of small arms, which wounded three of my men, two through the thigh, and another through the arm. I sent a letter of complaint by Hatley to the captain of the Portuguese man of war

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in the harbour; but Hatley, at his entrance into the ship, was furiously assaulted by Emanuel Manfa, (the captain of the island) who cried out that this was the man who had committed so many insolencies towards them, and had made it a practice to abuse and affront him with the opprobrious name of cuckold. Upon this exclamation the ship's company sided with Manfa, and fell upon Hatley, and would certainly have used both him and his boat's crew very severely, had not the captain and his officers, with much difficulty, prevented it; for the Portuguese seamen were exasperated to such a degree, that it is more than likely they would have murdered him, had they not been timely hindered. The captain, in his answer to my letter, expressed his sorrow for what had happened, but said that the people were without law, and it was not in his power to punish them, adding, that they were wild, and lurked in the woods, and that seeking revenge would only expose my men to butchery. He asked my pardon for the ill usage my officer had met with on board his ship; but withal gave me to understand there could be no greater provocation to the people of that nation, than that which Hatley was accused of by Manfa; that his ship's company had got Hatley amongst them before he knew; and, that he was obliged to call his priest to his assistance before he could get him out of their hands; and in a very handsome manner touched upon Hatley's story. I made no long stay after this disaster, but took my departure from the northernmost point of St. Catherine's on the 9th of August, and on the 19th Mr. La Port, my third lieutenant, broke his leg. From the time we left St. Catherine's, we had, for the most part, squally weather. As we advanced to the southward, my people's stomachs increased to such a degree, that the allowance which the government gave in the navy was not sufficient to satisfy their hunger. Some of my officers, in particular Mr. Betagh, my captain of marines, who had been purser of a man of war, and was a man whom I had a great regard for, was the champion for an addition of allowance at my table; for, he told me that he had orders from the adventurers, to eat with me, and what was my table, if I did not eat better than the cook? He did not stop here, but, urged by his intemperance, and finding me unwilling to squander away our provisions without knowing where or when we might get any more, he at length had the insolence to tell me publicly 'That the voyage should be short with me;' which he often repeated. I should have had reason to fear it, had he been capable of commanding; but, for his punishment, I excluded him both from my mess and the great cabin. Upon this, finding I was in earnest with him, and fearing some heavier punishment, he sent me a letter, asking my pardon for what he had done; upon which I restored him in a handsomer manner than he afterwards deserved, as will be seen by the sequel. On the 19th of September, about midnight, I perceived the water to be discoloured all at once; and, upon heaving the lead, we found ourselves to be in 26 fathoms water, I stood off again to sea, but we did not deepen our water in the running of five leagues. This seems to be a bent very near to the entrance of the Straights of Maghellan. I had a fine opportunity of going through these streights; but Captain Clipperton in his plans pretended, out of the abundance of his judgement and experience, that the Straights of Le Maire, would be the best navigation, though he himself passed through the Straights of Maghellan. From this, I might have conjectured, that he, who never was fond of having a consort with him, designed to make use of this as a likely expedient to separate himself, for he was a man that would do any thing, though ever so dishonest or inhuman.

On the 13th of September, the fog clearing up, we had a full but melancholy prospect of the most desolate country that can be conceived, seeming no other than continued ridges and chains of mountains, one within another, perpetually buried in snow. Towards noon we were becalmed within three

leagues of the mountains called the Three Brothers, so named from their equal height, near resemblance, and proximity to one another. Till now, we had not been sensible of any helps or hindrances by currents; but this afternoon we were hurried with incredible impetuosity into the streights, and just as we had gained somewhat more than the mid-passage, the northern tide came rushing upon us with a violence equal to that of the tide which had brought us in, and, to our great astonishment, drove us out of the streights again at a great and extraordinary rate, notwithstanding we had a fresh and fair gale with us at N. W. Upon the shifting of this tide to windward, there arose such a short, and, while it lasted, so hollow a sea, and so lofty withal, that we alternately dipped our bowsprit and poop lanterns into the water. Our ship laboured in the most alarming manner, and became insensible of the guidance of her helm; but at midnight the tide shifted, and we got through the streights without seeing the land on either side, and, in the morning, had a very good offing to the southward. We had found it very cold before we came this length; westerly winds of themselves would have been sufficiently piercing, but they were always attended with drifts either of snow or fleet, which continually beating on our sails and rigging, cased the masts and every rope with ice, so that there was no handling them. It was common with us to be two or three days together lying to, under our bare poles, exposed all the while to the assaults of prodigious seas, much larger than any I had ever observed before. The winds reigning thus tempestuously, without intermission, in the western board, we had stretched away into 61° 30' south lat. where we were in continual dread of falling foul of islands of ice, and where we found the variation to be 21° 6' to the north-eastward. As we were furling the main-sail, on the 3d of October, one William Camell cried out that his hands were so benumbed he could not keep his hold; but before those that were next him could lay hold of him he fell into the sea; and the ship making fresh way, and the sea running high, we lost sight of him before we could bring to.

In the 22d of October, at eight o'clock at night, we carried away our fore-top mast, and the next morning we rigged another. We crept by very slow degrees, after we had ventured to tack and stand to the northward, in hopes to weather our way into the great South Seas; and indeed it may be averred, that from the time we passed the streights of Le Maire till we had the first sight of the coast of Chili, we had been continually distressed by the wind, and discouraged by the bad weather. November 10, we saw the coast of Chili, distant ten leagues, the latitude, by observation, 47° 28' south, [Captain Shelvock; who was by this time in want of wood and water, here mentions his not being able to reach the island of Juan Fernandez, the common rendezvous of passing into the South Seas, and where he might have met with Captain Clipperton, but notwithstanding all he says about the matter, it is probable he had no great desire to sail in company with one whom he thought not so well qualified as himself to conduct the expedition. He thus resumes his narrative.]

Surrounded with doubts and apprehensions lest we should be obliged to advance too far on these coasts, without a competent stock of provisions, one Joseph de la Fontaine, a Frenchman, assured me that if I would go to the island of Chiloe, which was at that time a little to the northward of us, there was no place for our purpose like it in all the South Seas; that the towns of Chacao and Calibuco, the first on the island, and the second on the continent, were rich places; that the former was the usual residence of the governor, and that at the latter there was a wealthy college of Jesuits, and that there were considerable magazines kept up, which were always well stocked with provisions of all kinds. On these considerations, I formed a resolution of going to Chiloe; and on the 30th of November we entered the channel, with an in-

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tent to surprize the towns of Chacao and Calibuco : But immediately after we had come to, the windward tide made out with prodigious rapidity, which instantly caused a great sea, the wind increasing at the same time, the channel all about us appeared like one continued breach. In the midst of this, our ship laid a great strain upon her cable, which unfortunately parted, and we lost our anchor. We passed by two commodious bays, and at length we rounded a point of land out of the tide's way, where we were commodiously sheltered from all inconveniences ; and the next morning I sent my second lieutenant to make a discovery of the town of Chacao and Calibuco, and Captain Hatley at the same time, to find out a watering place. He soon returned again, and brought with him an Indian, who gave us hopes of a sufficient supply of all we wanted, but afterwards came in the evening to tell us the country was forbidden to furnish us with any thing. The lieutenant not being yet returned, the information made me apprehend the enemy had taken him, and by that means learned who we were. However, on the 3d of December, a Spanish officer came to us in a piragua, rowed by eight Indians. As soon as we had sight of the piragua I hoisted French colours ; and when the Spaniard came on board, I told him ours was a homeward bound French ship, called the *S. Rose*, and that my name was *Le Janis le Breton*. Under this notion he staid with us all night, and the next morning departed, not seeming to suspect us. I wrote to the governor by this gentleman, signifying, that I wanted a supply of provisions, to carry me back to France, and received for answer, a complaint against the violences of our men, in killing their sheep, and driving away their cattle ; by which I knew they had seen my lieutenant ; and I was in despair of ever seeing him or the people who were with him any more. I therefore sent a message to the governor, signifying, that provisions I wanted, and provisions I must have, and that very speedily ; and that all the force of Chacao, Calibuco Carelmapo, or Castro, should not frighten or deter me from supplying myself. Soon after there came a piragua with a message, signifying that if I would send an officer to Chacao, they would treat with me. But I gave him for answer, that I would treat no where but on board my own ship, and farther, that it was now too late, since I had already dispatched 80 men to take all they could find. Soon after this, the pinnace arrived, which I had so long given over for lost, with all her crew, but they were so much terrified that I had no hopes of their being fit for service in any reasonable time. The officer had no excuse for not returning as soon as he got sight of the town, but that the tide hurried him away at unawares, and that in the night he had forgot that he had a grappling in the boat, to come to with, till the tide shifted. I said but little, and only made the officer sensible of his mismanagement, which had been the ruin of the advantageous views I might have had in taking either Chacao or Calibuco.

By the 16th of December we had our decks full of live cattle, such as European sheep, hogs, poultry, besides wheat, barley, potatoes, maize, and Indian corn ; and, in short, I computed that I had added one month's provisions to what remained of our Indian stock, and that without the least molestation from the enemy. The next day we began to unmoor, and at noon we weighed, and sailed out with the wind at W. S. W. The day before we departed, one of our men made his escape into the woods. It was beyond all dispute that this fellow would give a full account of us. This, added to the ill conduct of my lieutenant, together with the contrary execution of all my orders by those officers whom I had hitherto intrusted in affairs of importance, made me despair of ever having any thing done to the purpose ; and, on this occasion, I could not forbear reflecting on the conduct of some gentlemen in England, who blindly made use of their interest to prefer persons to posts for which they were utterly unfit.

I failed from Chiloe with a design to go strait to the island of Juan Fernandez, but was prevented by my people, who were possessed with notions of vast advantages to be made by going to the port of Concepcion. It was our Frenchman, who had been so instrumental in our attempt in Chiloe that was the cause of this. Finding his accounts hitherto tolerably just, they once more listened to him ; and every one of my ship's company who would say any thing at this juncture, did not fail to speak his mind somewhat insolently ; particularly William Morphew, one of the men I had out of the *Ruby*, and who had been in these seas several years, took upon him to tell me that it would not signify much whether we arrived two or three days sooner or later at Juan Fernandez. That I was a stranger here ; but that the Frenchman and himself were well acquainted with these parts, and that every body hoped I would be advised, and go to the port of Concepcion, and not put a mere punctilio of orders in the balance against a certainty of success, if we were so happy as to arrive in time at that port. Considering how easily they might be brought to throw off all command, and how little I was able to help myself alone, I complied with them [as people are easily persuaded to what they like] and on December the 23d we arrived in the bay, from whence I ordered the boats well manned and armed to go up in the night, to surprize what vessels might be in the harbour, and to make what observations they could concerning the place. Captain Hatley returned about noon with the pinnace, and informed me that he had taken the *Solidad de Anday* of 150 tons (the only ship in the road or port) which was lately come from Baldivia, laden with timber, but had on board only the boatswain, an old negro, and four Indian boys. He took also a small vessel of 25 tons, near the isle of Quiriquine, which belonged to a priest who had been gathering fruits, and was now made a prisoner in her, together with four or five Indians. This vessel we found very useful, and called her the *Mercury*, being well built, and ready on all occasions to look into the port. There was another small vessel that passed within pistol-shot, but Captain Hatley never once offered to follow her, or bring her to. He truly said he did not mind [observe] her, though his boat's crew all agreed she was full of men. This vessel was bringing advice of us from Chiloe. I did not fail to reprimand him for this, but to no effect.

On the 20th of December, the priest being very solicitous to ransom his bark, he left the ship in the morning, and, in my pinnace rowed by Indians, went ashore to get money for that purpose. At noon, Mr. Brooks, the first lieutenant, brought down the ship we had taken, and anchored her about half a mile short of us. The boatswain of her had not been on board above two hours before he gave me information of a vessel laden with wine, brandy, and other things, bound to the island of Chiloe, lying at anchor in the bay of Herradura, about two leagues to the northward of us. Hither I ordered Mr. Randal, our second lieutenant, with the boatswain of the *Solidad*, and 25 men to go ; with positive orders not to set a foot on shore, or make any hazardous attempt whatever. But the next evening they returned with a dismal story, that they went into the bay, and finding the vessel hauled dry on shore, the officer ordered the people to land, and bring away what they could out of her ; but their career was soon stopped ; for they had no sooner got upon the bank ; than they discovered the enemy rushing out furiously upon them. They all escaped except five, who were overtaken in shoal water, and they all agreed that those five were cut to pieces. The Spaniards came down upon them, preceded by 20 or 30 horses abreast, linked to each other. These were two deep, then came the enemy, mounted, and lying upon their horses necks, driving the others before them. They were not once seen to sit upright in their saddles, except when there was no danger, or to fire their muskets.—This new addition to our misfortunes quite dispirited the greatest part of my ship's company.

Captain Shelvock arrives at Concepcion.

A Skirmish there.

company. Nothing was now heard but murmuring, and cursing the South Seas, and declaring if this was making their fortune, they had better staid at home, and begged about the streets; but just as I was expostulating with Mr. Randall, who conducted this unfortunate undertaking, I was agreeably surprised with the sight of a large ship, which we saw coming about the northernmost point of the island of Quiriquine. It was almost dark, and she could not perceive what we were, so that she stood towards us without fear. As soon as she approached near enough, I hailed her, to which she returned no answer, and I fired into her. This was no sooner done, than she came to, and called for quarter. She was called the *St. Fermin*, and came from Calao, burden about 300 tons, and was laden with sugar, melasses, rice, coarse French linen, and some cloaths of Quito, together with a small quantity of chocolate, and about 5 or 6000 dollars in money and wrought plate. I sent Mr. Hendric (the agent for prizes) to inspect her lading, and to order every thing he could find valuable out of her, and the ship's company sent their agent likewise. In the afternoon they returned, and brought all the bales, boxes, chests, portmanteaus, &c. that were in her; and also all the rice, with a large quantity of sugar, melasses, and chocolate; and about 7000 weight of good rusk, with all her cables and stores. Don Francisco Larrayn, her captain, desired to ransom his ship, to which I willingly consented, and suffered him to go in his own launch for that purpose. On the 30th there came a boat with a flag of truce, which brought word that three only of our people were killed in the skirmish at Herradura, the other two wounded, but in a fair way of recovery, and that the boat had brought advice of us, as I suspected, from the island. The officer brought me seven jars of very good wine, as a present from the governor, with a letter full of civility, but written with a great deal of craft. He therein desired to see my commission, and then he would treat with me according to the law of arms. I therefore sent Mr. Betagh to Conception, with a copy of my commission, the declaration of war, &c. and soon after he returned with a Flemish Jesuit, a Spanish lawyer, an Englishman, and a Scotchman. The Jesuit assured me he was only come to pay his respects to me, and to do his utmost to promote the affair of the ransom, and bring it to an immediate conclusion. Therefore, the first thing I did was to shew my commission to the Englishman, who read it in Spanish. The Jesuit then told me that the captain of the *St. Fermin* and *Solidad*, had resolved to give me 12,000 dollars, and the *Mercury* included, instead of 16,000 dollars, which I had insisted on for the *St. Fermin* only. To this I positively answered, that all their persuasions, artifices, and pretences, should never make me agree with them. We had taken, in the *St. Fermin*, ten large silver candlesticks, each of them weighing about 25 pounds sterling. The holy father, in a very suppliant manner, represented to me that they were a legacy to his convent, and said he hoped I would make no dispute of so noble a charity. I offered to let him have them for their weight, which considering the great price they pay in those parts for the fashion of wrought plate, was a very advantageous offer; but he said they never bought any thing for sacred uses; and that, as the workmen put a great deal of alloy into plate, it would be difficult to determine the different value of the dollars and the candlesticks:—So, after many needless disputes, both about this and the ransom of the ships, the Jesuit and the rest affirming that the captain of the *St. Fermin*, &c. were not able to raise above 12,000 dollars, there was nothing done. Two days passing without any news from the governor, I began to be certainly convinced that they had something in view more than the accommodation of the ransom; but on the 4th, my two wounded men came on board, and brought a letter with them, importing, That as the prisoners were now sent back, the governor hoped no difficulty would remain to prevent my sending on shore all the

prisoners belonging to him. [But the Captain hearing no further news from the town, he burned the ships, and at length set sail to Juan Fernandez; and whilst they were on their way the plunder was sold before the mast, and the men had their respective shares allotted them. They arrived at the island, in the middle of January, and found the name of Magee cut on the tree, as has been related in Clipperton's voyage. The writer here takes occasion to exclaim against the commander for not having left him any directions, which he says was a sign that he never intended they should join again; however he could not but be certain that the Success had been there, and leaving the island, set sail to the northward.]

On the 21st of January (continues he) having a design to look into Copaiipo, as I went along shore, I sent Mr. Dodd, the second lieutenant of marines, with eight men, as a reinforcement to the *Mercury's* crew; and the next evening they left us, steering for the land, whilst I kept a proper offing, to prevent our being discovered. The next day the officer returned, and told me he had looked into the port, but could see no shipping there; on which I made him sensible of his error, and sent him to the right place, which was about six leagues to the northward of us, and ordered him to be ready to look into Caldera by day-light the next morning. They did so, and saw nothing; but instead of making use of the land-wind to come off to me, they kept along shore till the sea-breeze came on, and could not come to me till the morning after, by which means they hindered me of almost a whole day and night's sailing; and in this vexatious manner were all my orders executed. On the 5th of February, I dispatched Mr. Brooks a-head to discover if there were any shipping in Arica, and the next day I had sight of the head-land of Arica, and the island of Guano, with a ship at anchor on the northern side of it. I saw the *Mercury* standing out of the bay, by which I judged the ship was too warm for her, and therefore made all possible haste to get up to her with our ship. When I came into the port, I found that the vessel was already taken, and the *Mercury* only accidentally went a-drift. This prize was called *The Rosario*, of about 100 tons, laden with cormorant's dung, which the Spaniards call guana, and which is brought from the island of Iquique for the culture of the agi or cod-pepper, in the vale of Arica. There was no white face in her but the pilot, to whom I sent, to see if her owner would ransom her. At seven o'clock in the morning I received a letter from the owner, expressing his poverty, and declaring his readiness to comply, to the utmost of his power; and the honest man was as good as his word. I agreed upon restoring him his ship and six negros, for 1500 pieces of eight, and he was so punctual and expeditious, that at ten the next night he brought the ransom agreed for. Soon after the receipt of this, we took a vessel of about ten tons, as she was coming into the road with a cargo of dried fish and guana, within a mile of the town. The master of this bark likewise came off upon a balse [one of the seal-skin boats already described.] On this he brought off two jars of brandy, and 40 pieces of eight for his ransom, which, considering his mean appearance, was as much as I could have expected. One part of his freight was valuable, which was the dried fish.—

Sailing from Arica, Captain Shelvock fell in again with the *Wife Solomon*, in the road of Hillo, who seeming determined to protect certain vessels that were with him, the English made no attempt upon them, but proceeded on their voyage, a moiety of the money taken at Arica being divided among them on the 2d of February; and on the 22d of the same month, they came a-breast of Callao, but attempted nothing.—

On the 26th, says Captain Shelvock, the officers in the *Mercury* desired to be relieved; and it being Captain Hatley's turn to go in her, he proposed to me that he might continue along shore, till we had got the length of Lobos, in 7° south lat. I could not but approve of this, considering the probability there was

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of his meeting with the Panama ships; and every body being well pleased, I added to their complement of men, and gave them a month's provisions, mounted two of our quarter-deck guns on the Mercury, and lent Captain Hatley my pinnace. As soon as every thing was ready for their departure, Captain Betagh, whose duty it was to relieve the marine officer in the Mercury, being unwilling to go on this party, addressed himself to the people, and with a fearful countenance said, that he and they who were to go with him were sent for a sacrifice, and many other expressions tending to create a general mutiny. I now imagined no less than that he was about to act what he had threatened me, when he told me it should be a short voyage with me; and therefore I desired to know of the ship's company, who amongst them was of Betagh's opinion? Their answer, with one voice, was, "None." This done, I ordered the Mercury alongside, and Hatley and Betagh went on board of her; putting off from us, they gave us three cheers, and stood right in for the land, in latitude, by observation, of $10^{\circ} 9'$ south. The very next day, they took a small bark laden with rice, chocolate, wheat flour, and the like. The day following they took another. On the 7th day of their absence they made themselves masters of a ship of near 200 tons burden, worth 150,000 pieces of eight. Flushed with this success, it seems Betagh prevailed on Hatley and the greater part of the people with them, to lay hold of the opportunity, and go to India. But they had no sooner clapped their helm a-weather, than they saw a sail standing towards them, which in effect proved to be a Spanish man of war, that caught them, and put an end to their India voyage. The English prisoners were treated but indifferently; but it appears that Betagh, who was of their religion, and of a nation that the Spaniards affect to be fond of, was made an officer, and used very respectfully. This he certainly deserved, at their hands; for he gave them an account of the whole scheme of our voyage, and not only informed them of what we had done, but also of what I designed to do; so that they did not doubt but I myself should be in the same hands very speedily. We saw a sail at anchor in the roads of Guanacho, on the 29th day of February; and at eleven in the morning we came up and anchored along-side of her. There was nobody on board, but two India men and a boy, who informed us that there was a rich ship in the Cove of Payta.

March 21, at three in the afternoon, we saw the Pena Oradado, or the *Hole in the rock*; and in an hour afterwards, we entered the Cove of Payta with French colours flying. There we found only a small ship at anchor, with her foremast cut, and her main-topmast unrigged; but the taking of this town being considered in the scheme of our voyage as a matter of great importance, I consulted with my officers concerning the properest methods of going about it, at two o'clock the next morning I landed with 46 men, leaving Mr. Coldsea, the master, and some others, to bring the ship nearer in, that we might the more expeditiously embark the plunder we might get, being now on shore, I marched up to the great church without meeting any opposition; and indeed I found the town entirely deserted by the inhabitants. At day-light we saw what seemed great bodies of men on the hill, on each side of us, who I expected, when they had viewed our strength, would have paid us a visit; but I found that as we marched up towards them, we drove them before us. The remainder of the day was spent in shipping off what plunder we had got, which consisted of hogs, fowls, brown and white garavanahs, Indian corn, wheat, flour, sugar, and as much cocoa nut as we were able to stow away, with pans, and other conveniences for preparing it; so that we were supplied with breakfast meat for the whole voyage, and were full of provisions of one kind or other. In the afternoon a messenger came to us, to know what I would take for the ransom of the town, and ship; to which I answered, That I would

have 10,000 pieces of eight, and those to be paid in twenty-four hours, if they intended to save either. But the governor gave me to understand, in plain terms, that he neither could nor would ransom the town, and did not care what I did with it, so I spared the churches. Having received this negative answer, I got every thing serviceable out of the town, and instantly ordered it to be set on fire; and the houses being extremely dry, consumed away apace. But no sooner was Payta in a blaze, than those on board made signals for me to come off, and kept incessantly firing towards the mouth of the harbour. On this I ordered all my hands off, and went first on board myself in a canoe with three hands only; but before I had got half-way, saw a large ship lying with her fore-top sails a-brack, and with a Spanish flag flying at her fore-top-mast head. At this prospect two of my three people were ready to sink, and when I looked back on the town, I could not forbear wishing that I had not been so hasty. As the admiral was coming in with all his sails spread, Mr. Coldsea, by the assistance of the few on board, fired at him so smartly, that he stopped the enemy's career. The Spaniard apprehending he should have hot work with us, brought his ship to, that he might put himself into a condition of making a vigorous attack upon us. This inactivity of the enemy gave me an opportunity of getting on board, and suffered my men to come off, about 50 in number; but the Spaniard was within pistol shot before they had all got into the ship; upon which we cut our cable, but our ship falling the wrong way, I had but just room enough to sail clear of him. Being now close by him, his formidable appearance struck an universal damp on every one's spirits; and I myself could foresee nothing but that we should be torn to pieces by him, and longed for an opportunity to try our heels with him, while our masts were standing. I expected every minute that he would board us, and upon hearing a shout among them, I concluded they had now come to that resolution; but I presently saw that the occasion of this joy was their having shot down our ensign staff, upon which, they seeing our ensign trailing in the water, were in hopes we had struck; however, I soon undeceived them by spreading a new ensign in the mizzen shrouds. Upon this sight they lay snug, and held their way upon our quarter. At last, designing to do our business at once, they clapped their helm well a-starboard, to bring their whole broadside to point at us, but their fire had but little effect, they muzzled themselves, and all stood fast with us. This gave me time to get both a-head and to windward of him, before he could fill his sails again. And now I found that if our masts, which were by this time but slenderly supported, would bear what sail we had aboard, we should soon steal away from him. After this, he was in a great hurry to get his sprit-sail yard fore and aft, threatening us very hard, and plying us with his fore chase; but we were soon out of his reach, and all hands were immediately employed in repairing our damages. This ship was called the Peregrine, of 56 guns, with upwards of 450 men on board her. During this action, we had not a man killed or wounded, although the enemy often hulled us and once in particular, a shot coming into one of our ports, dismounted one of our guns between decks, tearing off the nut of the gun, and breaking it into a great many pieces, which flew fore and aft, in the midst of a crowd of people, but without hurting any of them. Our stern was much shattered, and our rigging much disabled. Our main-mast was a little wounded, yet stood a long while with only one good shroud to support it. Our foremast fared little better, yet I kept all the canvas, except the main-top-gallant-sail at hard-bat's end. An unlucky shot took the bow of our launch, as she lay upon the quarter, and set fire to some cartridges of powder, which were negligently left in her, and which blew away her moorings; and we lost her. Seeing a great smoke arise from the quarter, at first I imagined some

They burn Payta.

accident had happened within board. In short, in about three glances, we got clear of the admiral, who tacked and stood in for Payta, and we shortened sail. A narrower escape from an enemy could not well have been made, considering the vast difference between us as to force. The Spaniard had 56 guns, as has been said, and we, on the contrary, had but 20 mounted; they 450 men, we, on our part did not exceed 75; and 11 negros and two Indians were included in that number. He had farther this great odds over us, of being in a settled readiness, whilst we were in the utmost confusion. As for our small arms, they were wet and useless to us; and what was more, in the midst of the engagement, one third of my people instead of fighting were hard at work to make farther preparation for an obstinate resistance, if we had been pushed to extremities; and, particularly the carpenter and his crew, were busy in making ports for stern-chase guns, which, as it happened, we made no use of. Upon the whole, we had the good fortune to escape this danger, which was the more to be dreaded, because, as we had set fire to the town, they were probably exasperated, on account of the churches which I never intended to destroy; and if we had fallen into their hands, they might have given us but uncomfortable quarters. At the best, however, it cannot but be allowed to have been a most unfortunate affair. The loss of my boat and anchor was irreparable, and may be said to be the cause of that scene of trouble which will take up the remainder of this narrative; for we had now but one anchor, that at Payta being the third we had lost and we were besides destitute of a boat of any kind. At five the same evening, we saw a sail under our lee-bow, which I took to be the prize that we had left to cruise for us near the Saddle of Payta, and we therefore stood to the westward all night, and the next morning we saw two sail a-stern of us. I tacked, and stood towards them, and, in a little time could see that one of them was standing in for Payta, while the other kept stemming with us; but the nearer I approached her, the less I liked her, and could not but think it adviseable to put my ship about and crowd sail from her. However, she gained upon us, and advanced near enough to shew us she was the *Brilliant*, the admiral's consort. She was a French-built ship, of 36 guns, manned with people of that nation and other Europeans. She was handsomely rigged, which is rare to be seen in those parts, and sailed almost two feet for our one; so that notwithstanding we had a calm almost all the heat of the day, she neared us apace. But night coming on I made use of the old stratagem (I thought it might be new here) of turning a light adrift in a half tub, instead of a boat, darkening one part of the lanthorn, that it might appear the more like a ship's light, and then immediately altered my course. As the day broke, I hauled all my sails, and in full day-light could perceive nothing of the enemy. This was the ship wherein Betagh was so much respected; and by his advice it was, as I have been told, that the admiral ordered his consort to ply up to windward to Lobos, our first place of rendezvous, while he himself came to Payta, in search of us. This separation, though intended as a sure method to catch us, very fortunately proved to be the means of our preservation. Being thus closely pursued, I took an offing of thirty leagues from the shore, and then brought to, in order to consider what I had best do. I was still in the dark, as to my comfort, an embargo, as I was told at Payta, was laid on all shipping to leeward, for the term of six months, our prize, which I designed to make a fire-ship of, was taken by the *Brilliant*, and I was ignorant what was become of the *Mercury*.

In the midst of all this peril and perplexity, I called my officers together, to let them know that it was my opinion, as we were then circumstanced, we had a better prospect to windward than to leeward; that on the coast of Chili we should not be in the least suspected, and should at the same time, in

the most effectual manner, escape the enemy's men of war; that after taking in water at Juan Fernandez, we might cruise out the whole season off the Ports Conception, Valparaiso, and Coquimbo; where, among the shipping we might be stocked with anchors, cables, boats, and a vessel to convert into a fire-ship, on which I greatly depended. All this being universally approved of, we stretched away to the windward. My intentions, after this, were fixed upon the coast of Mexico. There I proposed to run to the height of Tres Marias, and California, as the most likely places to meet with the Success. These two places would have been commodious, the first for salting of turtle, and the last for wood and water, and for laying myself in the tract of the Manilla ship, which if I should have had the fortune to meet with, and a fire-ship with me, I would have tried what I could have done with her. [As they were pursuing their course, Captain Shelvock's people found a leak in the powder room, which spoiled all the powder except six barrels; the leak, however, being stopped they proceeded on their voyage.]

On the 11th of May, continues the Captain, we saw the island of Juan Fernandez. Here I plied off and on, till the 21st a hard gale arose, and brought with it a tumbling sea, so that in a few hours our cable, which was never wet before, parted, and inevitable shipwreck appeared before our eyes. But Providence so far interposed in our behalf, that if we had struck but a cable's length farther to the eastward or westward of the place where we did, we must all certainly have perished. Our main-mast, fore-mast, and mizzen top-mast went all away together; and happy it was for us that they did so; for, by making them serve by way of raft, and by the help of those who were on shore before the wind came on, we were all saved except one man. In the midst of this surprise, the first thing I took care of, was my commission, and, remembering the powder to be uppermost in the bread-room, I got most of it up, with about seven or eight bags of bread. These we saved, as the ship did not go to pieces immediately; however, in a few minutes after she struck, she was full of water. We saved, notwithstanding, two or three compasses and some of our mathematical instruments, and books. When we first got on shore, we were without any thing necessary for our relief; not so much as a seat whereon to rest our harrassed limbs, except the cold ground, which was to be our bed and pillow.—In the evening all the officers came to consult with me how we should get some necessaries out of the wreck; and having, by this time, lighted a fire, we wrapped ourselves in what we could get, laid ourselves round it, and, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, slept very sound. But the next morning, getting up with the first glimpse of day-light, we looked at each other like men awaked out of a dream; so great and so sudden was the melancholy change in our condition, that we could scarcely trust to our senses. I went immediately among the people, to set them about the work we had resolved upon the night before; but they were so far scattered that there was no getting them together, or we might probably have regained all our beef and pork. This opportunity was lost by their eagerness to build huts and tents, in order to settle themselves for good; for, while they were thus employed, a furious gale of wind came on, which destroyed all the provisions in the ship, except one cask of beef, and one of Farina de Pao, which were washed whole on the strand. I had saved 1100 dollars, belonging to the gentlemen adventurers, which were kept in my chest in the great cabin; the rest being put in the bottom of the bread-room for security, could not possibly be come at.—I found a very commodious spot of ground, about half a mile from the sea, on which I set up my tent. There was a fine run of water within a stone's cast of it, on each side, with firing near at hand, and trees proper for our use. The people settled within call about me, in the best manner they could; and having secured ourselves

Captain Shelvock suffers shipwreck

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against the inclemencies of the weather, we used to pass our time in the even round a great fire, roasting cray-fish in the embers.

I now began to think of building such a vessel from the wreck as might carry us all off at once from this island; and, for that purpose, consulted with the carpenter, but was astonished at his answering, "That he could not make brick without straw," and walking away from me in a surly humour. From him I went to the armourer, and asked him what he could do towards building a small vessel for us. He answered, That he hoped he could do all the iron work; that he had with much labour got his bellows out of the wreck, and that he did not doubt but we should find a great many other useful things when we came to set about a search for them in good earnest. [In effect after much trouble the captain persuaded them to set about the bark, but they went on with the work just as they pleased; and one among them of the name of Morphew, in the name of the company used his commander with much insolence. They were divided into parties, but this disagreement among themselves at length brought them back in some degree to their duty, and after paying the carpenter a sum of money agreed on, the vessel at length was finished, but patched up in a strange manner to serve the present exigency. In the mean time the boat was completed which had been begun by the armourer; this boat was employed in fishing, and a quantity of conger eels was cured for a supply of provisions.]

A bark built out of the wreck.

But now (continues our voyager) having done all we could when we came to put in water, to try the tightness of our work, it was followed by an universal outcry of "A sieve! A sieve!" I was afraid the people would have despaired, and desisted from using any farther means; but in a little time, with incessant labour, we repaired the ship's pumps, and fitted them to our bark, and the next spring-tide, which was on the 5th of October, we found means to launch her. As she went off the blocks, I named her *The Recovery*; though I was sadly afraid of hearing ill news from those afloat in her: but all proved indifferently well: and I knew it to be dangerous to lie here long, especially having no other anchor than a great stone and a slight rope to hold her with, while the least puff of wind might have driven her upon the rocks, and destroyed her; we therefore got all the water off that day, which we did so much the easier and quieter because the casks were ready stowed in the hold. Our vessel had two masts, and was about 20 tons burden; and, to my great satisfaction, I found that one pump constantly working kept her free. The next day we got every one on board, and embarked, leaving behind us eleven or twelve who had deserted us. They were deaf to all persuasions, and, in short, sent me word, They were not yet prepared for the other world; so they, together with the like number of blacks and Indians, remained on the island.

Shelvock's description of the island.

This island enjoys a fine wholesom air; insomuch that out of 70 of us that were on it for the space of five months and eleven days, not one of us had an hour's sickness, notwithstanding we fed on foul diet without bread or salt. For my own part, I must acknowledge the bounty of providence; for altho' I lost much of my flesh; yet from being before very corpulent, and almost crippled with the gout, I became one of the strongest and most active men on the island.—On the tops of some of the mountains here, are plains covered with groves of Italian laurel. Palm-trees are likewise found in most parts, growing in smooth joints like a cane, to the height of 30 or 40 feet: what seamen call palm cabbage, is the very substance of the head of this tree, which being cut off, there is found inclosed in it a white and tender young cabbage; but for every one that we got, we were obliged to cut down a fine lofty tree. The northern part of the island is very well watered, and the water keeps well at sea, and is as good as any in the world. Down the western peak descend two cascades, to appearance at least 300 feet perpendicular, which, with the palm-trees that

grow up close by the edges of them, exhibit a very grand and romantic prospect. We might have found goats enough on the mountains, if we had been able to follow them, and cats were so numerous that there was hardly such a thing as taking a step without starting one. Those whose stomachs could bear their flesh for food, found a more substantial relief from hunger by one meal of it, than by four or five from that of fish.

The Spaniards, who first stocked this island with goats, endeavoured afterwards to destroy these goats by dogs, which are likewise very numerous; but the former have many inaccessible places of refuge where no dogs can follow them; and still continue to afford a special supply to strangers.

While we were here, it was the season for the sea lionesses to come to land, to bring forth their young. These have bodies of a monstrous bulk, being from ten to twelve feet long, and nearly as much in circumference. I may venture to affirm that, one with another, they would yield each a butt of train oil. They are so indolent, that as soon as they have gained the land, they fall asleep, and in that condition remain for a month so torpid, that one might fire a pistol at their heads without disturbing them: But where the sea lionesses lie, as they do in companies after they have yeaned, to give suck to their young, there is always an old sea lion of the largest size incessantly on the watch; who at the approach of an enemy, makes a hideous roaring, threatening death to him who should be so hardy as to molest his charge; and, in truth, were they not so unwieldy, they would be desperate creatures to encounter. We were accustomed to walk among them without dread; for all but these that were to take care of the young were buried in the profoundest slumbers. On the land they ingender, and bring forth their young, who ingender also before they go off, against the next season; so quickly do they increase and propagate. The seals here may be properly called sea wolves from the resemblance their heads bear to those of wolves, differing in that particular from those of the northern hemisphere, where their heads are more like the dog's. They are naturally surly, and snarl in a very angry manner, on the approach of any body. Two fins compose their tails; and with these they get along much faster than the sea lions.

Sea lions and seals there.

Every thing one sees or hears on this island is different from what is elsewhere to be found. The very structure of the isle, in all its parts, appears with a certain savage, irregular beauty not to be expressed. The several prospects of lofty, inaccessible hills in the day, and the solitariness of the gloomy, narrow valleys in the night, added to the mixed, confused noise of the surge, continually beating against the shore, the tumbling of the waters from an immense precipice; the roaring of the sea lions, and sea wolves, whose voices are more or less shrill or hoarse, according to their youth or age, compose so wild and horrible a medley, that the stoutest man must be long accustomed to it, before he can taste the sweets of refreshing sleep, or wholly divest himself of terror.

We set sail (continues the captain) on the 6th of October, having nothing to subsist on at sea but smoked conger eels, one cask of beef, four live hogs, with three or four bushels of farina. We were forty in number, crowded together, and lying upon bundles of the eels, with no convenience of keeping the men clean, nor any thing to defend us from their abominable stench; nor was there a drop of water to be had, without sucking it out of the cask through a pipe, which being used promiscuously became intolerably nauseous. The unfavoury morsels daily eaten amongst us, created perpetual quarrels, every one contending for the frying-pan. All the convenience we had for firing was only a half-tub filled with earth, which rendered our cooking so tedious, that we had a continual noise of frying, from morning till night.—Thus we traversed the ocean; happy, however, in the

the thought of being once more afloat, and cherishing the hope that something would speedily fall into our hands like to it; for not having above six inches free board, and our bark tumbling prodigiously, the water continually ran over us; and having only a grating deck, and no tarpaulin to cover it, our pumps could but just keep us free.—

[Upon the fourth day of their new expedition they fell in with a Spanish vessel called the *Margarita*, which they attacked with vigour, but were three times repulsed. All night they lay by to provide flugs, ammunition being extremely scarce, and when dispositions were made in the morning for boarding the Spaniard, with a resolution of carrying their point or submitting to superior force, a fresh gale springing up, bore the enemy away from the English, and left them to their own disagreeable reflexions. In their engagements with this ship the gunner was killed, and the first lieutenant, the master, and one of the sailors were wounded.]—

“Our condition (says the captain) now grew worse and worse, for soon after we had parted from this vessel, a hard gale came on, which lasted for four days without ceasing, during all which time, we had not an hour’s hope of living a minute. We were obliged to scud away under bare poles, with our yaul in tow, and, having but a short piece of boat-rope, on the descent of every sea, we were in the greatest danger of having the bark’s stern broken by the violence of the boat’s precipitate fall after us; and once, in particular, a great hollow sea was near throwing her on our deck which would immediately have put an end to our

voyage. The excessive fright into which our people were put by this storm, made many of them form a resolution of going on shore with the first opportunity. In this extremity, calling to mind Mr. Frezier’s account of Iquique, I mentioned the surprisal of that place to the crew, which being universally approved of, we directed our course thither. It was three weeks before we got this length, and having nothing to ride the bark with, we were obliged to keep the sea with her, while the boat went between the rocks, and was received by some Indians on the strand with a kind of welcome. The men being landed, went to the lieutenant’s house, broke it open, and rummaged the whole village, where they found a booty more valuable at that time than gold and silver. It consisted of about 50 bushels of wheat flour, 120 of calavances [or garavances] some jerked beef, pork, and mutton, some thousand pounds weight of well cured fish; a good number of fowls; some rusk, and four or five days eating of soft bread, together with five or six jars of Peruvian wine and brandy; and, to crown all, they had the good fortune to find a boat near the shore, to bring off the booty, which otherwise would have been of little use to us, our own boat being already sufficiently laden with the men. The settlement of Iquique consists of about forty scattered, ill-built houses, which scarcely deserve that name, and a small church. There is not the least verdure to be seen in or about it, nor does it afford of itself the least necessary of life, not even water, which the inhabitants are obliged to fetch in boats from Pisagua, ten leagues to the northward.

By two Indian prisoners that we took here, we were informed that the lieutenant’s boat was then at Pisagua, and that it would not be long before her return. However, being determined to make some attempt in the road of Le Nasco, in lat. 16°; and at Pisco in 13° 45’ south, we set sail; and the very morning we came off the Sierra, or high-land of Le Nasco, two hours before day-light we fell in with a large ship, the circumstances of our engaging her were much the same with those we had with the *Margarita*. We met both at the same time in the morning, and whilst in pursuit, had the misfortune of being becalmed. We struggled with this last for six or seven hours, and were at last obliged to leave her, because the sea-breeze came on so strong, and the sea ran so high, that had she been of no force, our slight bark must have

gone in pieces before a third part of us could have entered her. The ship was called the *St. Francisco* Palacio, carrying 700 tons, eight guns, and ten parataroes, and was well manned; and provided with small arms. This last repulse was made a pretence for much murmuring: many despairing of ever being able to take any thing as our condition was, were for surrendering to the enemy who was all the night becalmed near us. To prevent their design, I took care to remove the two boats out of their power, by ordering two men into each of them, such as I thought I could trust, and to cast off from us at a little distance, so that none might escape in them. But, notwithstanding the confidence I had in these four, the two in the best boat ran away with her; and, the next day I was informed that the lieutenant and Morpew had made a party too strong for me to oppose, to go away with the boat that was left; but, it blowing fresh the next night, they were prevented from executing their design.

The next day we stood into the road of Pisco, as I had designed, where we discovered what appeared to be a large ship. We bore down to her, with a resolute despair, and laid her athwart the hawse; but, to our great satisfaction, we met with no resistance, and were received by the captain and his officers with their hats off, in the most submissive manner, asking for quarter. Before we came up, I had ordered our boat to intercept theirs, which, was going on shore. The men clapped her on board, but not holding fast, they fell astern, and could not fetch up with her again; so that in this boat we lost every thing that might have been valuable in the prize. She was a good ship, of about 200 tons, called the *Jesu Maria*, almost laden with pitch, tar, copper, and plank, but nothing else. The captain offered me 1600 dollars for her ransom, but, in my condition, I could not give ear to the proposal. He informed me that the *Margarita* had been arrived some time at Callao, where she had given a full account of us; that the captain of her and three more were killed in the engagement, and the priest and several others were wounded; he said she was ready to put to sea again, with an addition of ten guns and 50 men, to cruise for us, and moreover, that the *Flying Fish*, a frigate of 28 guns was already out with the same intent. Upon this advice, having cleared our bark we gave her to the Spanish captain, and, as soon as the breeze sprung up, we weighed and went to sea, and in going out met with our boat, which left us in the night: they edged towards us, imagining us to be Spaniards, by which means we got them again. The two fellows in her were almost dead, having had nothing to eat or drink for three days, and had just been ashore to kill seals, in order to drink their blood. They had no excuse for themselves, but that they fell asleep, and the faint breezes of the night had wafted us away from them.

Pisco being forty leagues to the windward of Callao. I kept close hauled till I had gained two degrees offing, and kept that distance till we had got well to the northward of Callao, and hauled in again for the land, a little to the southward of Truxillo, and looked into the roads of Malabriga and Cheripe; but seeing no ships at those places, I passed between the islands of Lobos de Tierra and the continent, and, on the 25th of November we found ourselves near the Saddle of Payta, where, having made some prisoners, I examined them concerning the condition of the town, which they answered was very poor at present, having neither money nor provisions in it, and shewed me a small bark on the shore, which Captain Clipperton had sent in a little while before with some of his prisoners, which had given them such an alarm, that every thing had been again removed into the country. This unwelcome news did not hinder us from keeping on our way, with our Spanish colours flying; till we came to the place of anchorage. No sooner was our anchor down than I sent away Mr. Brooks with both the boats armed with 24 men; no more of them, however, appeared than those who rowed, and

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They take the
Jesu Maria.

two

Captain Shel-
vock sails for
Iquique.They plunder
the village.

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two or three fitters in each, the rest with their arms lying in the bottom of the boat. Thus they advanced towards the town, without giving the least umbrage to the inhabitants, who were so thoroughly persuaded of our being Spaniards, that when the people landed, they found the children playing on the beach, who ran away at the sight of armed men. In an instant the whole place was in confusion; the town was deserted, and nothing left in it, but a few bales of coarse cloth, about 500 of dried dog fish, two or three pedlars packs, and a trifling quantity of bread and sweet meats, so that we unluckily had but little employment for our boats. As we lay at anchor, we took a boat with about 50 jars of Peruvian wine and brandy. The master of which told us he was come by stealth from Callao, there being orders that none but ships of force should stir out. This man was the first that acquainted me with Captain Hatley's being taken. From this place we directed our course for the island of Gorgona, in the bay of Panama, and in our passage thither built a wooden cistern, big enough to hold ten tons of water, wherewith to supply our want of casks, as without the help of some such contrivance, we should have but little hopes of ever being able to return home. In our way, we made the island of Plate, Cape St. Francis, and Gorgonella; and on the 2d of December we came to an anchor to the leeward of the northernmost point of Gorgona, within less than a quarter of a mile from the shore. Here we had the advantage of filling our water casks in the boat, the water running in small streams into the sea, and cut down our wood at high-water mark; so that in less than 48 hours we had done our business here, and hurried away to sea for fear of these who might be in quest of us.

Having got out of the track of the enemies, we consulted on the best methods of proceeding, when the majority were for going directly over to the coast of Asia. Upon which we changed the ship's name to the Happy Return, and applied all our endeavours towards abandoning these coasts; but the winds and currents were averse to it; and those who opposed our departure clandestinely, did so much damage to our cistern, that the greatest part of our water leaked out. This, together with continual contrary winds and dead calms, which detained us till our provisions were much exhausted, rendered us incapable to undertake so long a run; and therefore to furnish us with what we wanted, I proposed a descent on the island of Quibo, in lat. $7^{\circ} 40'$ north, where, by Captain Rogers's account, I guessed there must be people who lived in a plentiful manner on the products of the country.

On the 13th of January, we anchored between Quibo and the Isle of Quivetta, in a sandy bay, commodious for wooding and watering. The morning after our arrival, we saw two large piraguas rowing in for Quivetta with Spanish colours flying, and after a little debate whether it would be prudent for us to attack them in our boat or not, it was now resolved at all hazard, to go after them in our yawl. This enterprize was commanded by Mr. Brooks, who found the men on shore, and brought away their piraguas, and two prisoners, the one a mulatto, the other a negro: The rest sought for refuge in the woods. The mulatto mortified us very much, by telling us that a vessel laden with provisions had passed by us in the night; but, to make amends, promised to conduct us to a place where we might supply ourselves without any hazard, provided we were not above two or three days about it. No news could be more welcome to us; wherefore we were very brisk in getting off our wood and water; and on the 19th of January, we got safe in between Mariato and the island of Sebaco, and anchored in six fathom water, over against a green field. Our guide desired we might be going three hours at least before day light, and said that we should be in good time at the plantations. Accordingly I embarked at two the next morning in our own boat, and ordered the two lieutenants in the two piraguas, leaving my son and a few men with him to take care

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of the ship. Our guide carried us up some part of the river S. Martin, and out of that into several ranches of very curious creeks, among mangroves, where we had not room to row, which made me suspect he had no good design in his head; but we landed just at day break, in a fine savannah or plain, and, after a march of about three miles, came to two farm-houses, the owners of which had made their escape, except the wife and children of one house. The place answered the man's description, being surrounded by numerous herds of black cattle, hogs, and plenty of fowls of all sorts; and here we found some dried beef, plantains, and Indian corn, and were supplied with a wholesome breakfast of hot cake and milk, a diet we had been long unacquainted with. When it came to be broad day, I saw our ship close by us, upon which I asked our mulatto how he came to bring us so far about? He answered, There was a river between us, and he did not know whether it was fordable or not. I therefore sent some men to try, who found it was not above knee-deep. Wherefore, to avoid the trouble of carrying our plunder so far as we had been led, I ordered our boats to row down the river S. Martin, and to come to the beach over-against the ship. We had not been long here before the master of the family we were with, being anxious for their safety, returned, and made an offer of as many of his black cattle as we should think fit to require, which offer we kindly received; and he brought us the number we thought we could save; for having but little salt, and not being able to spare water, to keep them alive when at sea, all our demands were moderate; and the few we required were killed as soon as they were carried on board. Their flesh we preserved, by cutting it into long slips of the thickness of a finger, and then sprinkling it with so small a quantity of salt, that we did not use above four or five pounds to an hundred weight: Then letting it lie together two or three hours, we hung it up to dry in the sun, which perfectly cured it, and that better than it could have been done any other way. Having done all we proposed in coming here, we departed, with our decks full of fowls and hogs, among which there was one with its navel, or something like it, on its back. The Spaniards say, that when wild in the woods, this is a terrible animal.

On the 25th of January, we made a sail about two leagues to the leeward of us. We gave her chase till we found she was of European structure, when, fearing she might be one of the enemy's ships of war, I clapped on a wind, and, in half an hour after, it fell calm. Soon after we saw a boat rowing towards us which proved to be the Success's pinnace, commanded by Mr. Davidson their first lieutenant. Our first interview was attended with equal astonishment on both sides: he could hardly believe that he saw us in so mean and forlorn a condition, and I could scarcely believe that the Success (if in being) had been all this while wandering up and down these seas. I entertained him with a rehearsal of the constant run of misfortunes which had befallen us in the long interval since we separated near the coast of England, till our present meeting that day. He on his part, entertained me with several remarkable incidents, which had happened to them in the course of their voyage.

[At this time Mr. Davidson, in short, gave a relation of all that had passed on board the Success, from the time of their separation; in the course of which narrative, according to Captain Shelvock's account, Clipperton lost many opportunities of benefiting his owners; but we have already remarked how glad these commanders were of finding matter of complaint against each other. While they were thus discouraging, a gale sprang up, and they bore down to the Success. The reader has seen Clipperton's account of this matter, we shall now give him Captain Shelvock's relation of their various meetings in the South Seas.]

Here, says he, I gave Captain Clipperton and Mr. Godfrey the agent general, the whole history of my voyage

Their meeting
with Clipperton.

voyage hitherto, and expected that I should have been treated by them as one belonging to the same interest; but found I was mistaken; for they were unwilling to have any thing to do with me, since my ship was lost. However I conceived that he could not be so inhuman as to deny me the supply of such necessaries as I wanted, and he could conveniently spare. The answer I had to this was, That I should know more of his mind the next day. Amongst the rest of the discourse I had with him, he told me he was just come from the island of Cocos, that his people were sickly and at short allowance. Upon this, I offered my service to pilot him to Mariato, which was not above thirty leagues distant from us, where he might refresh his people, and supply himself with what he wanted. But this was not accepted, he being resolved to make the best of his way to Tres Marias, where he said there was turtle enough to be had. So I left him for that night. The next morning, as I was going on board of him with some of my officers, he suddenly spread all his canvas, and crowded away from us who were in the boat; upon which I returned to our ship, and made signals of distress, and fired our gun several times, which was not regarded by him, till his very officers cried out on his barbarity; and, at last, he brought to. When I had sailed up to him (being exasperated at such inhuman treatment) I sent Mr. Brooks my first lieutenant to know the reason of his abrupt departure, and to tell him that we stood in need of several necessaries, which if he was not inclined to give, I would purchase of him. Upon these terms, he spared me two of his quarter-deck guns, sixty round shot, some musquet balls and flints, and a Spanish chart of the coast of Mexico and part of India and China, a half-hour and a half-minute glass, a compass, and about 300 weight of salt; but, with all the arguments I could use, I could not prevail on him to spare us the least thing out of his surgeon's chest for the relief of Mr. Coldsea our master who had been ready to die of his wounds received in the engagement with the Margarita, for above three months past. When this was concluded, I again asked him, if I could be of any service to him, and assured him, I had a pretty good ship under foot, though she made but a poor figure, and believed I could hold him way, and that he knew our cargo was pretty valuable. To all this he answered, That if I had a cargo of gold, he had no business with me, and that I must take care of myself. Mr. Hendric the agent, and Mr. Rainer and Mr. Dodd, lieutenants of marines, seeing but little prospect that we should ever get home, and being weary of the work imposed upon them, desired I would let them go on board the Success, for a passage to England, which I complying to, they went on board accordingly, and Clipperton left us to shift for ourselves, near the island of Cano. Having purchased this supply, I was for going to the southward into the Bay of Panama, to try our fortune there, but the majority opposed me through fear, and were for going to Tres Marias, to salt turtle there, and then to stretch over to India. We directed our course thither, and a few days after, met with the Success, in quest of Sanfonnate, where they expected to receive the Marquis of Villa Roche's ransom. That nobleman had been some time a prisoner with them, and his wife was now at Guatemala, a city within thirty leagues of that port. We ranged close under their stern, and asked how Captain Clipperton and the rest of the gentlemen did; but it was not thought proper to return an answer: Without any concern, he steered one way and we another. After this, calms and contrary winds and unaccountable currents, reduced us to a very small allowance which we were obliged to diminish daily, and should have been in greater distress than ever, had it not been for the turtle which we took upon the surface of the water; we had a continual look-out for them, and they were easily known at a great distance, by the number of seabirds that perched on their backs. Upon sight of these, we used to lay aside the advantages we might

have made of the wind, to embrace the opportunity of prolonging our provisions. Upon the whole, though we lost some of our way in pursuit of turtle after this manner, it was not the greatest inconvenience that attended us; the dressing of it made a greater consumption of our water, the quantity of which decreased upon us very suddenly, by the continual use of it in boiling the turtle with plantain flour. This relapse into a state of famine, threatening us with a certain and speedy perdition, if means were not used to avert it, made me propose the plundering of some small town, as we coasted along the shore. Guatulco was the nearest port; but the very morning we were steering in for this place, at sun-rise we saw a sail a considerable way to the leeward of us. We thought it would be better to take this ship than to venture on shore; and therefore we bore down to her, and she, in the end proved to be the Success. We now met with a double baulk, both as to our hopes of Guatulco, and the ship; for we were, by this accident, got so far to the leeward of Guatulco, that it was needless to beat up so far against the wind upon an uncertainty, when we had a gale, that had it continued, would have carried us to some better port.

But the winds were only a few hours propitious, and, succeeded by perpetual contrary gales, destroyed all our hopes, and brought us down to a small earthen plate of calavances, [or garavances] for 24 hours, which not being sufficient to keep us alive, we had recourse to the remainder of our smoked congers, which had for some months been neglected, and lain soaking and rotting in the bilge water. They were certainly as disagreeable food as ever men eat. Under these calamitous circumstances did we meet with the Success a fourth time, near the port of Angels; and, after having made the appointed signal, we stood so near to one another, that, to use the seaphrase, a biscuit might have been tossed from ship to ship, but we did not change a word with each other; for, Captain Clipperton, as I have since been informed, had ordered all his officers and ship's company to take no notice of us: and though he was so truly sensible of the difficulties and hazards we had to cope with, if our design was to go for India, that he said, the child that was born the day before, would be grey-headed with age before we should arrive there, (by that expression intimating that it was impossible for us to do it) yet, notwithstanding he, without any remorse could see us on the brink of suffering the greatest hardships our ill fortune could load us with, and not lend us a helping hand to deliver us from the impending ruin.

Thus surrounded on all sides by present want, and threatening disasters, we, on the 12th of March, being off the port of Acapulco, saw a ship between us and the shore: I bore down to her, till, perceiving her to be a large European built ship, with Spanish colours flying, I concluded she was the Peregrine, which, as I had been informed, had carried the prince of S. Bueno, who had been viceroy of Peru, to this port, in his way to Spain. With these suspicions, being as yet unwilling to run ourselves immediately into the enemies clutches, I hauled my wind again, which he seeing, pulled down his Spanish, and hoisted an English ensign, and made the signal agreed on between Clipperton and me for knowing one another. Had they been in any other part, I should have been so far from any thoughts of such a change in him, that I should have looked on all his signals as the artifice of the enemy; who might have acquainted themselves with them by the information of such of our men as they had taken prisoners; but now, making no doubt that it was he, I bore down to him, and, being come along-side, he sent Mr. Cooke, his second lieutenant in his yawl, with an obliging letter to me, to inform me that he was cruising for the homeward-bound Manilla ship, and desiring that I would assist him in the enterprise, and come on board of him the next morning, proposing an union of the two ships companies: I was very well pleased with this offer,

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and, without hesitation, sent him word that I would be with him early. In the mean time, I read over his letter publicly to my people, and exhorted them to consider the great benefits that would accrue to us on all sides from it, upon which they all expressed the most resigned willingness to join in the undertaking. But as Clipperton had used us so unhandfomely before, they desired I would get them some security for their shares, signed by Captain Clipperton, Mr. Godfrey the agent, and the rest of the officers. I went on board, and, according to their request, Captain Clipperton and Mr. Godfrey immediately drew up an instrument fully worded for the purpose, and they, and all the other officers signed it. This was all my people wanted to make them easy.

We then proceeded upon our main business, and, after mature deliberation, it was thought most advisable, that I should send the greatest part of my men on board the *Succes*, as soon as we saw the Manilla ship, come out of Acapulco, and leave only a boat's crew with me in case I should have occasion to make use of my ship as a fire-ship, or a smoker, which we jointly proposed to do, if we found the enemy too hard for us; and it was determined to board her at once, as we should otherwise have much the worst of it, on account of their superior weight of metal, and the better capacity of their ships, which are built very strong, to bear a cannonading. Clipperton assured me, he was certain of the time when she would sail from the port, which the Spaniards say is always within a day or two after Passion-week, of which we had a fortnight yet to come.

Before I returned to my own ship, I acquainted Captain Clipperton with our slender stock of provision, but particularly with our shortness of water; he told me he had 80 tons of it on board, and he would spare me as much of it as I would have, or any thing else his ship afforded. I had now the pleasure of being restored to my command in as regular a manner as ever; every one, from the highest to the lowest, expressing the satisfaction he had in the prospect before us; but Morphey, that ringleader of all disorders, fearing my resentment, thought it was the best way to insinuate himself into the favour of the Captain and officers of the *Succes*, which he did effectually, by an humble, submissive outward deportment, and prevailing presents, in short he had his end, and left me; but, the next morning, Mr. Rainer, who acted with us afterwards as captain of marines, came on board of us, to visit his old shipmates, and so continued.

Thus we cruised in good order, and with a great deal of hope, until March 17, when, towards evening, Clipperton, contrary to his usual custom, stretched a-head of us about two leagues, without lowering so much as his top-gallant-sail for us to come up with him: I could not but be a little startled at this, as being quite contrary to his usual method. However, I kept standing after him, as I thought, in the night, till we were almost in with the breakers on the shore, which, of course, obliged us to tack, and stand out to sea again, admiring all the time that we had had no sight of any ship near us; which laid me under the most terrible apprehensions, considering the bad condition we were in, for want of water, and the vast distance we were from any place where we could expect to get a recruit of it, having now no choice left, but either to beat up 200 leagues against the wind, to go to Tres Marias, or bear away a much more considerable distance for the gulph of Amapalla, or the Island of Cocoas.

But notwithstanding our distress, I kept our cruising station for him two or three days, at last it was resolved to bear away to the first convenient place to water at; and, in troth, it was time; for we were now above 40 men, who had but three butts of water for a run of 300 leagues, and upwards, on a coast subject to long calms, variable winds, and uncertain currents.

It was afterwards told me, that the night Clipperton left us, he assembled all his officers, and told them it was his intention immediately to quit the coast.

6

His officers remonstrated to him on the barbarity of doing this without acquainting Captain Shelvock with his intentions, and sparing us some water, but he put off their serious expostulations with an inhuman sneer, saying, That if I should, through want, be obliged to surrender to the enemy, I should only share the same fate that, perhaps, some others had met with before me.

Thus this man, perhaps, through an excess of mean-spiritedness, and dreading the engagement with a ship that was always known to defend itself with some obstinacy, neglected as fine an opportunity as most of our nation have ever had, of taking this ship, which, (as I was informed by some Spaniards from Manilla, when I was in China) came out of Acapulco, about a week after we left the cruise. [The reader will observe, what a different account of this transaction is given by Captain Clipperton, and will probably conclude, on the whole, the commanders were once more heartily weary of one another.]

On the 30th of March in the evening, we entered the road of Sanfonuate, and, as the sun set, saw a ship at anchor there. It being a moon-light night, I sent the first lieutenant, with some of the best hands, to discover what this ship might be. On his return, he informed me, she was a large one, of one tier of guns at least; I nevertheless continued to ply in all night, and prepared for action. At day-light we found they had hoisted a jar of powder, containing about ten gallons, with a lighted match, at each main and fore-yard arm, and at the bowsprit end, with design to let them fall on our deck, if we boarded them. This contrivance, if it had taken effect, would have soon made an end of both ships, and of all that were in them. Seeing them so desperate in their preparations, I expected a warm dispute with them; and, by what I could see, they were in all points, by much superior to us in strength.

At eleven in the morning, the sea-breeze came in, and ran us upon them very fast, whilst, our small arms were briskly and effectually employed to break their powder jars, before we came on board them, which we did without delay, and, after the exchange of a few shot when on board of each other, they submitted.

This ship was called the *Sacra Familia*, of 300 tons, six guns, and 86 men, besides a great number of small arms, with some grenade shells and shot. She had been, some time arrived from Callao, laden with wine and brandy; but had now nothing in her but fifty jars of gun-powder, and a small parcel of rusk, and jerked beef: in short she could hardly be said to be worth the trouble we took, and the risque we ran for her, but she was reputed to be a better sailer, and was visibly better fitted out than our own; therefore I changed ships, and we all went on board our prize, which was equipped in the warlike manner we found her, and commissioned, on purpose to take us.

A merchant (the escrivan of the ship) being on board, desired we would sell him the *Jesu-Maria*, which we agreed to, and sent him on shore to raise the money for that purpose. At night he came off with another Spanish gentleman, and brought us a letter of advice from the governor on shore, signifying that there was a treaty of peace on foot between their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, which was what we had not before heard of. However, I sent to the governor, signifying that I should be very glad to see the proclamation and articles, and that thereupon I should be ready to obey the commands of my sovereign. So we came to an agreement with the governor to lie in the road till he sent to Guatemala (50 leagues distant) for those papers, provided he would supply us with water and provisions. On the 5th of April, the governor sent on board two papers, which by the best interpretation we could get of them, did not appear to us to be in the form of proclamations. We told those who brought the papers on board, that we were in great want of an interpreter; upon which they said there were some Englishmen at Guatemala, whom they would send for

Shelvock takes another ship.

for, if we would stay three days for them; and that they would supply us with water and provisions for that time; which we agreed to, and they desired we would send our boat on shore every morning for a supply: accordingly we sent her on the 7th of April, with our first lieutenant, Mr. Brooks, and five men. This officer, men and boat, the governor detained under a flag of truce, and, at night, sent off a small boat with two of our men, with a letter from himself, and another from Mr. Brooks. The governor's letter signified, That if we did not deliver up our ship to him, he would declare us pirates; and Mr. Brooks by his, informed me, it was his opinion that the governor was endeavouring to bully me into a surrender, having spoken very ambiguously of a cessation of arms. Notwithstanding which, I sent the governor a letter signifying, that if we could be secured of a safe and sure conduct for ourselves and effects to Panama, and from thence, by the way of Porto Bello, be conveyed to any of our British plantations, we would come to a farther treaty, which if he intended, he was desired to signify by firing two guns as soon as he had received this advice, and by sending back my officer and men; and if not, necessity would oblige us to sail. At three in the morning (the governor having shewn no signal, nor sent any word) we weighed our anchor, yet lay to, in the bay, till ten, but then made sail, being forced thereto for want of water; having, however, no other intent, in case of the certainty of a peace, than to deliver up the ship we were now in, at the first convenient port, as was signified to the governor by letter.

Being now got out to sea, we reduced ourselves to a pint of water for 24 hours each man, and directed our course to the gulph of Amapalla, which was about thirty-five leagues to the E. S. E. of this place, in order to get a fresh supply. The loss of my officer and boat's crew sensibly diminished the number of white faces; and we should have been so much weakened by it, that we should never have been able to manage this great ship with her heavy cotton sails, if we had not taken with us our negro prisoners who proved to be very good sailors. The loss of our boat was also a very great inconvenience to us; but as I only thought of taking in water enough to serve us to Panama, where we were fully resolved to surrender, if it was really peace, I imagined we might make shift without her, and get such a quantity as we might want in two or three days time. The winds were favourable, and we arrived there on the 10th following, in the evening. As soon as we entered the gulph, we found ourselves in the middle of several small islands, one of which was the island of Tygers, where we expected to find water, but our expectation proved vain; for, after a hazardous and fruitless search not only on that, but on some of the greatest of the other isles, there was not the least drop of fresh water to be found on any of them. In this miserable condition, threatened on all sides with inevitable destruction, unfit for the sea, fearful of trusting ourselves in the cruel hands of the inhabitants on shore, quite dispirited by the continued course of misfortunes, which had hitherto been our constant attendants, but above all, lamenting this unhappy baulk, in not finding water where we so much expected it, which had reduced us to such extremity as we had never known before; in short, ready to sink under the burden of our calamities, we weighed our anchor on the 13th of April before day-break, and stood out from this gulph. And now, having the open sea before us, I brought my people to the obstinate resolution not to surrender on this part of the coast, let the consequences be never so miserable. Upon this unanimous agreement, without 40 gallons of water in the ship, and no other liquids to supply the want of it, we came to so small an allowance as half a pint of water for 24 hours; and even this allowance was too large, there being no place that we knew of where we could get any more, nearer than Quibo, to which island, (about 200 leagues distant from us) we shaped our course; but having very uncertain winds,

and weather, we were 13 days at this allowance. Our sufferings from the extremity of thirst are hardly to be conceived; Some drank their own water, to allay the burning heat within them; but though they moistened their mouths, it increased their misery: some drank large draughts of sea-water, which was near putting a period to their lives, whilst others eat just enough of the calavances moistened with water, to sustain life; and these suffered the least.

At length we were fortunately relieved, by falling in unexpectedly with the island of Cano, in latitude 9° north; where seeing a run of water, Mr. Randall, without dreading the dangerous surf, passed through the breakers; and, to the unspeakable joy of the company, soon returned with his jars filled; but as he could not bring off more than 60 or 70 gallons, I took care to restrain our people to the proper use of it; allowing to each man only a quart for their immediate use; and I was the more strict in this distribution, because Mr. Randall assured me the breakers were so dangerous that he believed we should not be able to get any more. Being willing, however, to make another trial, the next day I sent the boatswain to endeavour to procure a further supply; but after wasting the whole day, in search of a smooth beach to land upon, he could not see one spot where he could venture on shore. Therefore, thinking we had stock sufficient to carry us to Quibo, I weighed anchor, and, in ranging the island, I accidentally discovered a smooth beach; where the boat getting on shore, the crew filled nine jars, which lasted till we arrived at Quibo, where we anchored, at the same place we had twice anchored at before. Here we consulted about surrendering ourselves to the Spaniards, being within 80 leagues of Panama, a place of little or no strength towards the sea, and but little frequented by the enemy's ships of war, where we could treat with them at a distance, and be truly informed how affairs stood in Europe. During our deliberations, we wooded and watered at leisure; and some searched the woods for fruits to refresh us, by way of preventing the scurvy, which we had been all along less subject to than any ship I ever saw or heard of in such long runs. Those who were thus usefully employed, brought us papas, guavas, cassia, limes, and a small kind of white, sour plumb, which was much eaten, and admired by most of us; but, by its violent operation, put a stop to our proceedings for some days. However, we soon recovered without any bad symptoms, made an end of wooding and watering, and set sail, fully determined to surrender at Panama [So after did they change their minds in regard to this circumstance.] In our way we passed by a great many small islands; but the most remarkable were, Montuosa, Sebaco, and the Isle of Picara, which lies on the western side of Quibo.

On the 15th of May, a small bark taking us for Spaniards, bore down to us, the master of which was in the greatest consternation when he found his mistake, but recovered when he heard we were bound to Panama to surrender, and readily offered his pilot thither; his vessel called The Holy Sacrament, being bound to that port, laden with dried beef, port, and live hogs, and as she was leaky, desired I would take her in tow. I was glad this bark fell into our hands, and ready complied with his request; because, if we found the governor of Sanfonnate's account to be false, we might be thoroughly enabled, by this help, to go to India. In the mean while it had remained a point yet undetermined, which should be the person intrusted with the flag of truce; for my people having known much treachery, were apprehensive that the person who might be sent, would only or chiefly make good his own case and that of his friends to the governor, and not care what became of the men. At last, my son was judged the fittest to go, as he would surely return, if it were only for my sake. Other difficulties were started that could not be so easily removed, notwithstanding which, we kept on our way fully fixed in our resolution.

On the 17th of May another small bark came down upon

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upon us, but having stood pretty near to us, she bore away again, and ran on shore directly, at the hazard of the lives of every soul on board. This otherwise unaccountable behaviour gave us good reason to believe that the governor of Sanfonate's account of a cessation of arms was groundless.

On the 15th of May we saw a sail a-head of us standing along shore; and being desirous of speaking with her, I let go the bark we had in tow, and made all the sail we could after her. We gained very little upon her all the day, but had, nevertheless, got a great way a-head of our bark, wherein were 4 of our own people and 5 Spaniards. However, notwithstanding night came on, all our sail was kept abroad, and next morning we were within gun-shot of her. I immediately ordered our colours to be spread, fired a gun to leeward, and set a man to wave a flag of truce; but, on sight of our English ensign she fired at us, and so continued to do, with her decks full of men, abusing us with the grossest appellations. I made no return till I came close upon her quarter, and then I sent one of their countrymen to the bowsprit end, to inform them, in Spanish, That we were bound to Panama, and desired to treat peaceably with them, and hoped at least they would have some regard to the white flag which they saw flying, but they still continued their fire; and presuming, as I supposed, by our quiet behaviour that we were unable to defend ourselves, they were preparing to board us, which I no sooner perceived than I gave them so warm a salute that they steered round off from us. We just missed getting hold of them; but, it falling almost immediately calm, we continued our engagement for the space of two or three hours. At length, a breeze wafting us nearer to them, we found that as fast as we approached, so fast did their courage cool. Their captain, however, still bravely encouraging his people, and exposing himself in the openest manner, was shot through, and dropped down dead, on which his people immediately and with one voice, cried out for quarter, and put an end to the dispute. Mr. Randall and two or three more went on board the prize, and found the prisoners in the most submissive posture, asking for mercy, which was granted, though they had no great reason to expect it, after their direct breach of the laws of arms and nations, in firing at a flag of truce.

The most considerable prisoners being brought on board, informed me, that their ship called the Conception de Recova, belonging to Callao, was of 200 tons burden, and laden with flour, loaves of sugar, bales of boxes of Marmalade; jars of preserved peaches, grapes, limes, and the like. She mounted six guns, and had upwards of 70 men on board. In this engagement only the Spanish captain and a negro were killed and one or two slightly wounded. On our part, our gunner was slightly wounded by a pistol ball, and our main-mast had a slight piece carried out of its side. We had now about eighty prisoners on board, of all colours, though we ourselves were but 26. Among these prisoners were several of note, particularly Don Baltazar de Abarca, Conde de Rosa, an European nobleman, who had been governor of Pisco, and was now upon his return to Spain, together with Captain Morel who had formerly been taken by Captain Rogers. They were all treated with the utmost civility; and this they the more wondered at, because, from a self-conviction of their own ungenerous behaviour to us, they could not but expect to have been dealt with quite otherwise.

The winds and calms prevented our joining the Holy Sacrament (the prize we had left behind us) till the 22d of May, when we bore down to her, and were surprised to find no soul on board, but her decks and quarters covered with blood. By many circumstances it plainly appeared that the Spanish crew had butchered those who had been left to assist them, while they were asleep; otherwise it could not have happened that five unarmed Spaniards could have overpowered four Englishmen completely provided with arms for their

defence. It is very probable, however, that these murderers paid with their lives, the loss of those lives they had taken away; for, being above four leagues from the land, and having no boat with them, they probably jumped into the sea on our approach, fearing, if they fell into our hands, to meet the vengeance due to so horrid a crime. That part of the deck which was dyed with gore they endeavoured to cover, by throwing the flocks and stuffings of beds over it; so that till these were removed, the blood was not to be seen. This tragical accident put a damp to the pleasure we had enjoyed for a day or two past, on the account of our late prize. Our prisoners, at such a sad and sudden change, began to be alarmed, and looked at one another as if they all expected to be the victims of our revenge upon this unhappy occasion. On the other hand, I was fearful lest these apprehensions should urge them to some desperate attempt. In this dilemma, I ordered all the prisoners into the stern gallery, except the nobleman and some of the chief officers, and a guard to be kept in the cabin. The Spanish gentleman observing this, let fall some expressions, whereby I perceived they were afraid I intended to proceed to severities towards their people; but I assured them, that if I were of so revengeful a nature, the laws of my country forbade my indulging it; that I acted under my king's command, and that the natural abhorrence our nation had to barbarity, might quiet their fears, and make them perfectly easy. They then, on their part, in the most solemn manner, disclaimed the most distant thought of an attempt upon our lives, and assured us, on their honour, that they never should be able to make a just return for the generous treatment they had met with. It was however prudent to secure our prisoners of the meaner sort; and, when we had so done, we hauled the Holy Sacrament along-side of us. She was half full of water, and the greater part of her dried beef was wet and spoiled. We also took out of the Conception a twelve month's provision of bread, flour, sugar, and sweetmeats, and a like proportion for the Success, which I expected to find at the Tres Marias, being then a stranger to Clipperton's faithless desertion. I likewise took from them their launch and their negros; for, considering we had a large ship, and a run of 175° of longitude to sail, which was little less than half way round the world, I thought we could do no other than to reinforce ourselves with these blacks; and indeed we afterwards found that we should never have reached the coasts of Asia without them.

Having thus supplied ourselves with every thing the Conception afforded, I suffered our prisoners to return to their own ship; but the chief of them would not leave us till they had drawn up a writing which they signed, wherein they acknowledged the circumstances of our engagement, in the manner I have already related. In short, no people, circumstanced as we were, could part in a more friendly manner than we did.

Thus were we put by our design of surrendering, and were going to take a long voyage to Asia. Our strength was indeed considerably augmented; for we had 15 guns, and ammunition sufficient to supply them: But before we proceeded any farther, it was necessary to get in a full stock of water. The island of Quibo was hazardous for us, being too near Panama, it was therefore determined to ply up to Cano, where we soon did our business. In our passage thither, the sweet-meats of all kinds, which we had taken out of our late prize, were divided among the messes. It happened that one of the sailors one day complained that he had a box of marmalade which he could not stick his knife into, and desired it might be changed. I opened it, and found it a cake of virgin silver, moulded on purpose to fill such boxes; and being very porous, it was nearly the same weight as so much marmalade. In overhauling the rest, we found five more of these boxes. This was a contrivance to defraud the king of Spain of his fifths, which he claims in all the silver taken out of any of the mines of Peru. We

methods of doubtless left a great many of these boxes behind us ;
 e Spaniards so that this deceit served them in a double capacity to
 conceal defraud their king's officers, and blind their enemies.*
 their treasure. I must here observe, that every thing we took in the
 Conception was divided amongst us, according to the
 Juan Fernandez articles, and that I had no more
 than six, instead of sixty shares. They would not
 so much as allow me the money I had laid out at St.
 Catharine's, which was upwards of 100l. I had
 some difficulty to persuade them to run to the north-
 ward so far as California, and was obliged to use many
 arguments to prevail upon them to believe that the
 harbour of Puerto Seguro was the only port of se-
 curity where we could safely lay down and refit our
 ship ; but having at last obtained their consent, I
 weighed from Cano, steering to the northward, and
 had favourable gales for 48 hours, but then came on
 the constant, or what may be called the trade winds
 on this coast, which were as contrary to us as they well
 could be. I was willing to try how far off these winds
 might prevail, which in my opinion, may be called
 the eddy of the true trade wind, whose course may be
 prevented by the interposition of the vast mountainous
 continent. Accordingly, I found that, at the dis-
 tance of sixty leagues, we had light, variable breezes,
 and that at the distance of between seventy and eighty
 leagues, the wind settled at E. N. E. and N. E. I
 therefore kept at this distance from the land, till we
 had run up to the height of 20° north lat. In all this
 passage we were not in the least sensible of any cur-
 rents, and entirely out of the way of certain riplings
 and over-falls of water, which we frequently met
 with near to the land, and which often surprised us
 when we were becalmed in deep water. In our course
 we were accompanied by vast shoals of fish, and were
 continually incommoded by numerous flocks of the
 birds called Boobies, making our ship their resting
 place, and fouling our ships and yards with their
 dung, as fast as we could clean them. However for
 change of diet, some of my people made ragoûts of
 them, and the smokers made stems for their pipes of
 their large wing-bones.

We fell in with Cape Corientes in the beginning of
 the month of August, and were carried away to the
 Tres Marias by a hard gale at south, and came to an
 anchor under the lee of the middle island, but could
 see no sign of the Success having been there. After
 a tedious search on all the three islands for fresh water,
 there was nothing like a stream on it that we could
 find. This was the more extraordinary to us, as one
 or two of our late navigators reported that fresh water
 was to be found there in plenty. It might have been
 so when they were there, but we were unfortunate
 enough to seek when there was none to be found. Af-
 ter employing three days in a fruitless search, I
 stretched over for the coast of California, and arrived
 there on the 11th of August. The inhabitants, as
 soon as they discovered us, made fires all along
 the shore, as the ship ran by them ; and, towards the
 evening, it falling calm, two of them came off to us
 on a bark-log, but were a long while before they would
 accept of our invitation to come on board of us. At
 length they ventured in, when, in a moment, seeing
 our blacks promiscuously standing together with the
 white men, they with very angry countenances, sepa-
 rated them from us, and would hardly suffer them to
 look at us. They talked to us with great vehemence,
 but we could comprehend no more of their meaning
 than that they rejoiced to see us. Night coming on,
 they took their leave, and we gave them a knife or
 two, an old coat, and some other trifles, which seemed
 to please them very well. They expressed themselves
 by signs in such a manner, that we could guess they
 gave us repeated invitations to go on shore with them.
 On Sunday the 13th of August, at day-break we
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found ourselves near Puerto Seguro, surrounded by
 numbers of small embarkations of the inhabitants,
 while the shore was crowded with Indians, whose num-
 bers visibly increased by multitudes, which flocked to-
 gether from the adjacent parts. Our anchor was
 no sooner down, than they came off to us in shoals,
 some few on their bark-logs, but most of them swim-
 ming, talking, and calling out to one another in a
 confused manner, but such as plainly shewed how de-
 sirous they were to come to us. Our ship was in an
 instant full of these swarthy gentlemen, quite naked ;
 and among the rest was their king or chief man, who
 unexpectedly delivered to us his batton or ensign of
 royalty, which I immediately returned to him. This
 man, notwithstanding the wildness of his appearance
 to us, had a good countenance, and his behaviour
 had something that was engaging in it. I was at first
 at a loss how to entertain our numerous guests ; but
 at length I thought of regaling them with some of
 our liquid sweetmeats, which we had in great plenty.
 These they liked extremely, and the spoons, which
 were mostly silver, they returned with great honesty.
 Having thus commenced a friendship with them, at
 day-break the next morning our boat went on shore to
 cut wood and fill water ; and before the sun was up,
 we were again crowded with our former guests, who
 seemed as if they would never be weary of gazing at
 us. I ordered a great boiler to be carried on shore,
 with great store of flour and sugar, and a negro cook,
 who was continually boiling of hasty pudding for the
 numbers of spectators on the beach ; and it really be-
 hoved us to keep in their favour, for on seeing a few
 of our men rolling great and cumbrous casks of water
 over the heavy sand, it inclined them to help us. To
 this may be added a sense of the kind treatment they
 met with from us, and the particular readiness of their
 chief to serve us, by shewing his people a good ex-
 ample ; for, after Mr. Randall, my lieutenant, he
 himself took up the second log of wood, to carry to
 the boat, and was immediately followed by 300 men,
 who encouraged by his example, all took to the work,
 repaying our civilities with their services ; and every
 day they were more and more fond of us. — Mean-
 while the rumour of our arrival was spread through
 all the neighbouring parts ; and some of the clans,
 different from those that inhabited the shores, came
 daily to take a view of us. Those who came from
 any distance in the country, could not swim ; and
 that they were different from those we had first seen on
 our arrival here, appeared by their manner of paint-
 ing themselves, and several other little distinctions
 that were visible among them ; but they all united to
 assist us ; nor were any of them idle but the women,
 who used to sit in companies on the scorching sands,
 waiting for their share of what was going forward,
 which they received very thankfully, and without
 quarrelling.

Having done all our business here in the space of
 five days, on the 18th of August we prepared for our
 departure in the afternoon. We employed the morn-
 ing in making a large distribution of sugar amongst
 the women. To the men we gave a great many
 knives, old axes, and old iron, which we had taken
 in our prizes. These were the most useful to them,
 and of which they stood most in need ; in return for
 which, some of them gave us bows and arrows, deer-
 skin bags, live foxes, squirrels, and the like. A
 great many of the men staid in the ship all the while we
 were purchasing our anchor, and it was not till we
 were under way that they all jumped overboard to join
 the lamentations of their countrymen on shore.

The men in this southern part of California are
 tall, strait, and well made ; their limbs are large ;
 their hair is black and coarse, and barely reaches
 down to their shoulders. Their women are of a much
 smaller

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* An affair, as vexatious as this, the captain says, was dis-
 covered too late, on board a prize taken by the Success, where
 they found a considerable quantity of virgin silver in the form
 of bricks, plaistered over with clay, which had been dried in the

sun ; (the only consistence they give their bricks in these parts)
 a great number of these had been thrown overboard as rubbish,
 nor was it discovered what they were till they came to the four
 or five last pieces of this curious composition.

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smaller size; their hair is much longer than the mens, and with it some of their faces are almost covered. The men go quite naked, and have not the least thing to cover any part of them except their heads, round which they wear a band of red and white silk grass, which hangs down to their knees, and have either a deer's skin, or that of a large bird curiously wrapped round their shoulders. Nothing can be more wild and savage to look at than these people at first sight: but there is a wide difference between what they seem and what they really are; for, by all we could discern in their behaviour towards one another, and in their deportment towards us, they are endued with great good nature. They seem to lead a careless life, and to enjoy every thing in common among them: having nothing but their daily food to provide, they are strangers to those numerous gratifications, the want of which multiplies distresses among nations more civilised and more refined. Their contentment makes them honest, for they never offered to steal the things most useful to them. In a word, they seem to pass their lives, according to the notions we have of the purest simplicity of the earliest ages of the world, before discord and contention were heard of among men. Having no enemies, they live in perfect peace and harmony with one another. Hunting and fishing are their only employments, except making the instruments, they use in these pursuits, which are the simplest that can be. They have no canoes, and go to sea on bark-logs; but they are the most expert divers I ever beheld. By their simple manner of living, and their continual exercise, they live to a great age, and yet, what is surprising, they do not appear to be very numerous, considering the extent of their country. Their only enemies are the wild beasts; and of these there are plenty in the woods and forests. They do not seem to be so jealous of their women as they have been represented; for we had the company of some hundreds of them, young and old, without any restraint from the men. Two things were remarkable, that they never would suffer us to take snuff, but would earnestly take it from us, whenever we attempted it; nor would they ever suffer us to look through a spying-glass, which I had frequent resort to, to see how our work of wooding and watering went on. In these two instances they always took upon them to controul us, and in these two only, the causes of which we could never learn. They go out to sea on the bark-logs above-mentioned, which are only composed of five logs of a light wood made fast to each other by wooden pegs, rowing with a double paddle; and with their harpoons (which are made of a sort of hard wood) the strike they largest albigores, and bring them in when struck. This was altogether surprising to us, who had so often experienced the strength of that fish, and the difficulty of getting them into our ship, when either hooked or struck. One would imagine, that as an Indian had struck one of these Albigores, it would run away with him and his bark-log; but they either strike them so as to give them a mortal wound, or have some particular way of managing them; for they struggle and resist in vain. When we were in this port, it was apparently their fishing season; but by the number of deer-skins one sees among them, it is natural to conclude they have also their season for hunting. The skins of their deer are grey, and so are also those of their foxes and squirrels, of all which it is likely they eat indifferently, as of most other animals that become their prey. Of birds we saw scarcely any among them except a few pelicans. What these Indians use instead of bread, is very remarkable. It is a small black seed, of an oily substance, which they grind, much in the same manner as we do our chocolate. The look of these black lumps or rolls, so made up, is not very inviting, yet the taste is not very disagreeable. When they want to drink, they go to the river.

Their arms are bows and arrows, the former are about six feet in length; the arrows seem to be somewhat too long for the bows. Their bow-strings are

made of deer's sinews, and their arrows are composed of a hollow cane, for two thirds of their length, the other third next the point, is of a heavy kind of wood, with a piece of flint, and sometimes with a sort of agate, the edges of which are indented or cut in teeth like a saw. They made no manner of shew of their arms to us; and it was rarely that we saw them in the hands of the men. The women had them in the woods, in search of game, which may there be presumed to be some part of their employment. Upon the whole, they may be said to be a happy people.

Sailing from Puerto Seguro, as already mentioned, we took our departure from Cape St. Lucas on the evening of the 18th of August, designing for Canton in China, the most likely place to meet with English ships homeward bound. On the 21st we discovered an island bearing W. S. W. about 110 leagues distant. I endeavoured to get in with it; but, night coming on, I could not lose time to view it. This isle my people called after my name. From hence we steered gradually into the parallel of 13° north lat. but had our course stopped for two or three days by westerly winds. We were astonished at such an unforeseen delay, and began to dread that we might meet with many such reverses of winds in this passage; nor could we conjecture or conceive the cause of them. In the midst of this, the usual trade-wind prevailed again, and delivered us from the fears and apprehensions in which we had been involved upon the occasion. With this we proceeded on our passage, keeping the parallel of 13° north lat. except when we judged ourselves to be near the shoals of St. Bartholomew. We then ventured to sail a degree more northerly, and so continued to do for a run of 60 or 70 leagues.

[A fortnight after they left California, Captain Shelvock's people who had hitherto enjoyed their health, grew sickly. This he attributes to the quantity of sweet-meats eaten by the crew; and to the dried beef half devoured by the ants, cock-roaches, and other vermin.—The latter is the most probable; and perhaps a great number of the distempers that afflict voyagers and travellers in the warmer climates are owing to the baleful effects of insects, their eggs or excrements, swallowed in corrupted meat, or bad water. At this time they lost their ingenious armourer, who had been so useful to them in constructing their boat, and with a sickly crew they had likewise a leaky vessel.]

Under these circumstances, continues the captain, we met with bleak and dismal weather, with tempestuous winds, flying and varying all round the compass. These boisterous gales raised such a tumbling sea, and our ship laboured so much in it, that the knee of her head, and her whole beak-head became loose; so that the bowsprit fetched away, and played with the motion of the ship, which it continued to do all the time that we were out at sea, and till we arrived at Canton. Our mainmast stood for some time without shrouds on the larboard side, till we could unlay our best cable to make more, having knotted and spliced the old shrouds till our labour was in vain. In the midst of all this sickness and distress, I myself was taken violently ill, and had no hope to recover, till a fit of the gout gave me some relief. Great was our want of every thing fit or comfortable for persons in such a state of sickness; yet, about the beginning of October we passed by Guam; and, though upon the very brink of perishing, we durst not venture in, fearing that the inhabitants should take the advantage of our weakness, and make some attempt upon our lives. From Guam we directed our course for the island of Formosa. And now, though the length of our voyage was decreasing very fast, yet our sickness was increasing upon us in a much greater proportion; and most truly it may be said, that both our ship and ourselves were no longer fit for the sea. It was the 3d of November before we had sight of the island, and the 10th before we could get any sort of directions to enable us to reach our intended port. At length, as we were passing through

They pass by Guam, and come to Formosa.

through a very narrow channel, between a couple of islands, a fisherman took notice, by our cautious manner of working that we were strangers, and made signals to us to bring our ship to, till he came up to us; when we made him understand in general that we were bound to Macao, and he then made a sign that he would conduct us thither, if we would give him as many pieces of silver as he counted little fishes out of his basket, which amounted to sixty. We accordingly counted out forty dollars into a hat, and the next day he took us into charge and anchored us safe in the road of Macao near the river of Canton.

[As we have given our readers in Capt. Clipperton's voyage, the relation of his affair at Guam, we shall here present them with Capt. Shelvock's account of that business, which he says, he had from several of the Success's people that came off to him while he was in these parts.]

Shelvock's account of Clipperton's affair at Guam.

They told me (says he) that their commander Clipperton, left me designedly; that they went directly to Guam, where they were very well refreshed, and supplied with provisions; that their captain sold the governor a great quantity of powder and shot, and several other valuable things; and that he permitted his prisoner, the Marquis of Villa Roche, to go on shore there: That Mr. Godfrey the agent, and a marine officer, went to settle the accounts for what supply of things they had had; and that, as soon as they were landed, and the boat come off again, Captain Clipperton weighed with his ship, in order to attack a ship of 20 guns from Manilla, that had lain quietly in the road with him all the time. In approaching her, he ran his own ship a-ground, and soon found that the enemy was prepared for him; his condition being then desperate, and supposing the loss of his ship inevitable, he had recourse to his cask of brandy, and took so abundantly of it that he fell on the deck, and snored out his time in a beastly manner, whilst his first lieutenant, Mr. Davidson, in his stead, undertook the command of the ship, which he bravely executed till he was killed. He was succeeded by Mr. Cook the second lieutenant, who made a handsome resistance, and got the ship a-float again, after she had lain on the rocks forty-eight hours. It was added that their thus losing the Marquis Villa Roche, and also Mr. Godfrey the agent-general, together with the officer that went on shore, gave the ship's company so much distaste, that they would not suffer him to have the command of them any longer, but, locking him up in his cabin, chose Captain Cook to take charge of the ship. It seems, they had much bad weather between Guam and Amoy in China, to which last place they got with great difficulty, and there made a dividend of all they had taken, half to the owners, and half to the ship's company. Clipperton designed for the streights of Malacca; but his people, fearing he had no good intent, would go no farther with him than Macao, that being a Christian port. Upon their arrival there the governor ordered Clipperton into custody. It seems he had broken prison formerly from thence, being confined upon having ran away with Dampier's commission, and one of his prizes*. But upon producing his majesty's commission for the Success, they gave him no further trouble, and only contented themselves with fleecing him a little. Here he sold the Success for 1000l. sterling. [The different relation of facts given by these voyagers, can only be accounted for by the channel of information, and by the inveterate hatred which they bore to each other. In the circumstances just related, it is probable the account given in Clipperton's voyage and confirmed by Mr. Taylor his chief mate, is more to be depended on than that which Captain Shelvock de-

livers by hear-say, and has possibly exaggerated with all the bitterness of a rival commander.]

About noon, on the 12th of November, (continues he) a pilot came off to us, and we immediately weighed, and entered the river of Canton, where finding the Bonita and Hastings, two English coasting ships, I anchored, and sent off an officer, to desire them to instruct us how to behave ourselves in this part, and to acquaint me with the customs of it. To this they answered, That since the Cadogan and Frances, two European ships, were arrived at Wampo, they would advise me to send up to their factories at Canton, to acquaint them with our arrival, and with the reasons that obliged me to come into that river; which I accordingly did the next day. I now thought I was going to rest a little from my labour; but, to my misfortune I suffered as much here, all circumstances considered, as I had in any former part of my voyage: for, the evening we anchored at Wampo, where the English ships commonly lie, there happened an accident that gave occasion to much trouble. One of my men, being in a hurry to remove his effects on board the Bonita, was stopped by a Hoppo, or custom-house officer, that wanted to make a search. The fellow being in liquor, and fearing they would take away the silver he had with him, fired a musquet at the pursuers, and killed the officer. Early the next morning the corpse was laid at the door of one of the English houses or factories, where Chinese officers appointed for that purpose, waited for the first considerable Englishman that should come out, without regard to whom this act of violence and murder was to be imputed. It happened that one of the supercargoes of the Bonita was the first that came out; him they seized, put him in chains, and led him, by way of example, about the suburbs of Canton. All that could be said or done by the most considerable of the Chinese merchants that were in commerce with the English, availed nothing; till my man who committed the fact was delivered to them, and soon after the Bonita's supercargo was released. It is the custom at Canton to exact a certain sum of money from all ships that come there, according to their measurement, which is divided into rates or portions of first, second, and third. I therefore every day expected the Hoppo to come to measure my ship, but was given to understand that I must go up to Canton, before that could be done, though even at the hazard of my life. I accordingly went, and staid two days at the Cadogan's factory, during which time I was hourly alarmed by such stories as made me fear that I should, indisposed as I was, be dragged away from my bed, and put in irons: but, at the end of two days, I was obliged to go down again into the ship, to be present at the measurement, and a day afterwards the Hoppo came, with a numerous retinue, and seemed to do his business very quietly, but would not let me know what was the sum he intended to exact. This gave me much trouble; for I began to think the Chinese, through a false representation of our great riches had an intention to gratify their love of money, by a heavy imposition, and in this I was not mistaken. I had not been here many days before I was deserted by all my officers, and ship's company who were continually employed in removing their effects from on board my ship to some of the Europeans, without my knowledge, as I was then confined to my bed. My officers were engaging the Indian gentlemen in their interest, and left me and my son, with a few negros, to look after the ship. In short, my people had so many ways of disposing of their effects, that it was impossible to oblige them to do what I should have thought justice to the gentlemen in England and to myself. In a word, they were

* The reader will observe here, that Captain Clipperton, or Clippington, whose voyage we have related, was the same man who, with a bark of ten tons, having two masts, two square sails, and two pataraoes, left Captain Dampier, in the year 1704, on the coast of Mexico, and, after insulting Ria Lexa, undertook to sail in her round half the globe. He took in provisions at

the Philippines, then he sailed to Pulo Condore, and from thence came to Macao, where, as Captain Shelvock affirms, half his crew were hanged for pirates, and afterwards found means to get on board an East-Indiaman at Canton, and thus got his passage home, arriving safe in England in the year 1707.

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were all soon recovered of their illness by the assistance they met with here, and were become their own masters. The gentlemen who presided over the trade, so little considered our case, that *they had half a mind* to refuse me a passage in one of their ships; and, in effect, I was treated by them almost as one enemy might treat another, in a neutral port. The Captains Hill and Newsham, when they first came to see me, were astonished at the ruinous appearance of my ship; and, when I had given them a short history of my voyage, and desired they would receive me with my effects, they answered, That since they plainly saw my ship was in no condition to stir any farther, upon paying our passage they would entertain us as soon as we pleased. This I depended on, and expected we should have no farther trouble than to remove ourselves at any time; but, on the contrary, I found that I had ignorantly applied to the wrong persons, and that my address should have been to the supercargoes; by which means I was then neglected, while the English captains were ordered to fall down with their five ships, five or six miles below us: Thus was I left destitute in the company of five foreign ships, whose captains perceiving my own countrymen so careless of me, were so kind as to offer me their service, and assisted me with what they could: Had it not been for them, I know not what I might have suffered, for I was under perpetual alarms lest the Chinese should seize my ship.—Having found my error in applying to the captains, and not to the supercargoes, I sent a letter to them, not to *desire*, but to *demand* a passage for me, my officers, and ship's company, which I was sensible they could not refuse; and indeed they did not; but their condescension was accompanied with a charge to the English Captains not to receive any thing belonging to us, except it was consigned to the East India company in England. This was an article which my people utterly rejected, vowing that they would as soon throw what they had into the sea, as comply with such a demand. For my part, it gave me no concern, being conscious to myself that I had infringed none of their privileges. At the same time that I was acquainted with their intention of receiving us as passengers, I was also informed of the Hoppo's demand for anchorage in the river, which was no less than 6000 tael; and, to quicken me in the payment of this exorbitant sum, there was a penalty of 500 additional tael for every day that we failed in the payment of it. In short, there were no means by which I could evade this unconscionable imposition; and as it was a day before I could possibly send the 6000 tael up to Canton, they required 500 tael more, for neglect of payment. So that they received from me, upon this extraordinary occasion, the full sum of 6500 tael, equal to 2166l. 13s. 4d. of our English money. This, it was apprehended, was about six times as much as the Cadogan paid, which was the largest English ship there, and measured a third more than mine. It was now high time to get out of my ship: but, before I quitted her, I sold her for 2000 tael, which money, and the rest of my effects, were consigned to the East India company. Towards the latter end of December, I sailed in the Cadogan, commanded by Captain John Hill, in company with the Frances, Captain Newsham, who sailing better than we, left us as soon as we were out at sea. Captain Hill finding his ship very tender, put into Batavia, where we continued about ten days, and were informed there were several pirates in those seas. Therefore, when we departed from Batavia, we joined the homeward bound Dutch fleet in Banum Bay. The commander promised to assist us in wooding and watering at Mew-Island, the water at Batavia being

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very bad: But, on our joining Captain Newsham, in the Straights of Sunda, the Dutch made it a pretence for leaving us before we got the length of Mew Island, and Captain Newsham also deserted us the same evening, so that we were left to ourselves.

For several days we continued at Mew Island, during which time several boats came off to us from Princes Island; and brought us turtle, cocoa nuts, pine-apples, and other fruits. Some of the people having seen wild cattle grazing near the strand, went on shore to kill them; but before they had advanced near enough, they discovered a small tyger, and saw the track of an old one; whereupon they returned to the boat. From Mew Island we had a very pleasant passage to and about the Cape of Good Hope, which was greatly owing to Captain Hill's good conduct, in coming in with the land be-times upon the easternmost part of the bank, and keeping a moderate distance from the land, which I think never exceeded a degree, and sometimes we even made the land itself. In this course we did not take in our top-sails above twice; once for a squall, which was over in an hour's time; and another time, being threatened by the appearance of bad weather, Captain Hill made all the necessary preparations to receive it; which being done, he stood in for the land; and, in a few hours we had fair weather and a favourable gale, and all our small sails set at the same time that there remained great appearance of foul weather to the southward, which continued for several days afterwards. Though the Frances and the Dutch ships had seven days the advantage of us by leaving us in the straits of Sunda, yet we gained the cape as many days before the Frances, though she sailed so much better than we did; and, as to the Dutch ships, there was no appearance of their arrival when we left the Cape. The officers of our ship, by comparing their accounts with those of some of the gentlemen belonging to the Frances, found that she had suffered a great deal of bad weather, whilst we, who were about ten leagues to the northward of them, or nearer the shore, enjoyed fine pleasant weather, and a fair wind, continually, till we arrived in the Table Bay, which was in the latter end of March. This I should think of sufficient weight for any other to pursue the same track. Here we found Governor Boon, in the London East-Indiaman, and some others, bound for England. From the Cape we had an agreeable passage to St. Helena, and from thence to England. We anchored under Dungeness on the 30th of July, and the same night some of the supercargoes and passengers, with myself, hired a small vessel to carry us to Dover, whither we came early the next morning, and the same day proceeded towards London, where we arrived on the first of August. Thus ended a long and unfortunate voyage of three years, seven months, and some days, in the course of which we sailed very considerably more than round the circumference of the earth, and went through a great variety of dangers, both at sea and on shore.—

Such was the end of this expedition, from which the owners promised themselves so much, and which as we have seen was defeated chiefly by the dissension that prevailed between the commissioners. Shelvock appears to have been the ablest of the two, but displeased with the slight cast upon him in the preferment of Clipperton to the command he seems to have been implacable in his resentment. The account we have taken of his voyage, as written by himself, shews him to be an experienced mariner, and an observer of men and manners. Both he and Clipperton in this voyage contributed to extend the nautical knowledge of the navigators of their age and country.

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THE VOYAGE OF COMMODORE ANSON, ROUND THE WORLD.

A War with Spain being resolved upon in the year 1739, two expeditions were planned by Sir Charles Wager, then at the head of the Admiralty, Captain Anson then out on a cruise, was ordered to return with his ship the *Centurion*, to command the one, and Mr. Cornwall was designed to conduct the other. As the scheme was first intended, two strong squadrons were to be fitted out. Captain Anson was to take on board three independant companies of 100 men each, and Bland's regiment of foot (who was himself to command the land forces) and was to sail round the Cape of Good Hope, to Manilla, in the island of Luconia; while Captain Cornwall was to proceed round Cape Horne, into the South Seas, there to range the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and when he had gotten the treasures in those parts into his possession, he was to join Captain Anson at the Philippine Islands; then they were to act in conjunction, as occasion might offer, or wait for orders from government to proceed on fresh enterprizes.

It was the 10th of September, before Captain Anson arrived in town. By the 13th of the same month, he received orders to take under his command the *Argyle*, *Severn*, *Pearl*, *Wager*, and *Trial Sloop*, and to proceed to victual them with the utmost expedition. They were ready to take the troops on board by the end of December; but when Captain Anson attended the board in January, he was told that the intended Manilla expedition was laid aside, but that to the South Seas, being still intended he should command the squadron. It was not, however, till the end of June that he received his majesty's instructions, nor did he sail till the latter end of September, by which unaccountable delay it appeared afterwards that the Spaniards got full intelligence of his strength and destination.

At length, however, the squadron was prepared for sea. It consisted of five men of war, a sloop, and two victualling ships, namely, The *Centurion*, of 60 guns, 400 men, as commodore; the *Gloucester*, of 50 guns, and 300 men, Richard Norris, Esq; commander; the *Severn*, of 50 guns, and 300 men, the Hon. Edward Legg, commander; the *Pearl*, of 40 guns, and 250 men, Matthew Mitchell, Esq; commander; and the *Wager* of 28 guns, and 160 men, the Hon. John Murray, commander; besides which the commodore had two victuallers, the *Industry* and *Anne pinks*, the larger of which was of 400, the smaller of about 200 tons burden. The troops were ordered to be taken on board at St. Helen's, but their numbers and strength were diminished by the delay before-mentioned. The deficiency in the crews amounting to 300 men, was made up only by 100 people sent from the hospitals, and a party of marines, who had never been at sea. Instead of the three independant companies, and Bland's regiment of foot, as had been designed, they had 400 invalids from Chelsea, many of whom perished upon the voyage before they arrived at the scene of action. The accounts we have of this voyage, are two, the one written by Mr. Thomas, the mathematical master on board the *Centurion*, and by the Rev. Mr. Richard Walters, who has explained many circumstances, and from these relations ours will chiefly be extracted.

"Being quite ready, says our author, about the beginning of 1740, we put to sea three different times, but as often put back by contrary winds, and stormy weather. At last, on Thursday the 18th of September, we sailed in company with the *Lark* and *St. Albans*, two of his majesty's ships of 13 guns each. The king's ships which joined us here were, the *Dragon*, the *Winchester*, the *Chatham*, and *South Sea Castle*,

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and near 200 sail of merchantmen, under convoy, some of which were bound to the Mediterranean, and others to North America. We had at present the command of the whole fleet; and, this afternoon, seeing a ship to the S. W. we made the *Dragon* a signal for chasing; but she proved one of our own ships, too far a-head of her station. On Monday the 22d we saw two sail to the westward, and sent the *Trial* sloop to speak with them. They were Dutch ships, bound to Curacao with soldiers for garrisons there. The *Winchester*, and *South Sea Castle*, with the merchant vessels under their convoy, parted from us on the 25th. And on Monday the 29th the *Dragon*, *St. Albans*, and *Lark*, with the merchant ships in their charge for the Mediterranean, did the same; and we had now no ships left in company but our own proper squadron. The next day we spoke with a Dutch man of war bound from Malta for Amsterdam. On the third of October we spoke with two English merchant ships, and on the 8th with a French sloop from Rochelle. On the 13th died one Philip Merrit, a common sailor, who was the first man that we lost on the voyage. At six o'clock in the morning of the 16th, we saw land, bearing W. N. W. at the distance of about six leagues, and, at four in the afternoon we anchored in Fonchale Road, abreast of the town, and about half a mile from it. During this whole passage, we had almost continual contrary winds, and boisterous, uncertain weather, by which means a passage that is very commonly made in ten or twelve days, took up thirty-eight. Our business in this place was only to take in water and wine, and some private stock; but soon after our arrival, we were informed that they had seen from the island to the westward, about 16 or 18 sail of ships, for several days together, which were supposed to be a junction of French and Spanish ships of war; and, as we had reason to imagine that our expedition had been long known, there was little room to doubt but that those ships were designed to intercept and destroy us before we could attempt any thing to the prejudice of Spain. On these tidings, the commodore sent out an English privateer that lay in the road, with one of his own officers, to see if they could discover them at sea, and what they were; but she returned the next day without having made any discovery. Captain Norris, at his own request, on account of his ill state of health, with the commodore's consent, quitted the command of the *Gloucester*, in order to return to England. The *Gloucester* was hereupon given to Captain Mitchell, the *Pearl* to Captain Kidd, the *Wager* to the Hon. Captain Murray, and the *Trial* sloop to Mr. David Cheap, our first lieutenant; and as one of the lieutenants of the *Gloucester* had quitted with Captain Norris, our two mates, who had long depended on the commodore, were promoted to be lieutenants on this occasion. On the afternoon of the 4th we weighed, and put to sea, with all the squadron under our command. An English sloop that lay in the road, saluted us with nine guns, which we returned with five. On the 6th of November, at four o'clock in the evening, we saw Palma, in 29° of north lat. and 19° 44' west long. from the meridian of London. The same day we spoke with a French ship from Marseilles, bound to Martinico, and the next morning with a Dutch ship bound to Batavia, the metropolis of the Dutch settlements in the East-Indies. On the 11th, about four in the morning, we crossed the northern tropic, for the first time in this voyage, in long. 24° 24' west from London. The *Anne pink* fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at her fore-top-mast head, to give us notice of it. The next day all the lieutenants of

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the Squadron were, by a signal, ordered on board the Centurion; and orders were given to unload the Industry pink, and each ship to take on board from her their respective quotas of provisions; in pursuance of which we immediately began to unload her, lying by in the day, and making an easy sail in the night. On the 19th, having unloaded and discharged the Industry, she parted from us at eight in the evening, in order to proceed for Barbadoes, whither she was bound; but the commodore having entered into a new contract with the master of the Anne pink, she was detained with us for his majesty's service, our ships being too much incumbered to admit of taking on board any more provisions at this time. We crossed the equinoctial line on the 28th, about five in the morning, in $28^{\circ} 15'$ west long. from London, observing the variation of the compass to be $34'$ east.

On the 2d of December, at eight in the morning, we saw a sail to the N. W. to which we gave chase. At night we lost sight of her; next morning we saw and chased her again, but quitted her in the afternoon. We imagined this sail to be a tender belonging to the Spanish fleet, sent purposely to gain intelligence of us; but, on our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, in our return home, we learned that she was the East-India Company's packet, bound for the island of St. Helena.

[Thus they proceeded on their voyage, anchored on the 17th, at seven in the evening, at the island of St. Catherine, and sent a lieutenant on shore to compliment the governor, and desire a pilot to carry them, who returned a civil answer, and their request was granted.]

Accordingly, says my author, we weighed and ran up the harbour, and, about noon, anchored in five fathoms and an half water, in a place they call Boon Porto; but being still too far from the watering place, we weighed on the 20th about eleven in the morning, and ran farther up between St. Catherine's, and the main-land of Brazil, and, in the afternoon, anchored and moored in five fathoms, about two miles from the watering place. The same evening our first lieutenant went on shore, with materials for building a tent to shelter the people who were to be employed in watering. Our ship's crew beginning to be very sickly, tents were erected on shore, one for every ship, to which the sick were sent, with proper surgeons to attend them. The agents for victualling were ordered to procure what provisions we could expend during our stay here, which they accordingly did; but though their meat, which is altogether beef, was both cheap and plentiful, it was, for the greatest part, carrion, and scarcely fit to be eaten. The men throughout the whole Squadron began to drop off apace with fevers and fluxes, probably occasioned by the violent heat of the climate, and the bad air, which is stagnated in this woody country. We continued here, wooding, watering, and overhauling our rigging, till Sunday the 18th of January, during which time we had short, variable, uncertain weather, with thunder, lightening, and excessive heat. While we lay here, we gave our ship a thorough cleansing, smoked her between decks, in order to destroy the vermin, and washed every part with vinegar, which I mention, because it is absolutely necessary in all ships, the stench of so many sick persons being noisome in hot climates. Before we arrived at this island, from the descriptions of M. Frezier, a French author, and some other persons who had been on the spot, we had received such accounts as, together with the climate wherein it is situated, gave us very great ideas of its fruitfulness, and hopes of a plentiful supply of every thing that we wanted for a long run; but we found ourselves miserably mistaken in almost every article we expected.

As here are several fine, sandy bays, we had very good fishing, with a seine for mulletts, old wives, sting-rays, maids, turbot, and other flat fish, bass, &c. Saffras is here in great plenty, guaiacum is reported to be plentiful likewise; but I saw none of it,

nor heard of any person who did, during our stay. Rum and sugar they have in small quantities, but very indifferent and dear. The inhabitants are a mixture of Portuguese and Indians incorporated together, and appear to be very poor, idle, lazy, ignorant and rude. I believe the original of the Portuguese here was chiefly from felons, who fled hither from other parts of the Brazils, to shelter themselves from justice; they were, till lately, without any regular form of government, except a chief, chosen from among themselves, who was more like a captain of robbers than the commander of a colony. When we came there, they had some European soldiers, and a governor from Rio Janerio, called Don Joffe Silva de Paz, a very expert engineer, who understood one part of his business very well; namely, the advantage which accrue from new works to those who are intrusted with the care of erecting them: for, besides a battery on a neck of land that narrowed the channel to a little more than a quarter of a mile; there were three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, neither of which was completed.

The country (including the main and the island) is mountainous, and overgrown with thick woods, and those so much intangled with the under-growth of briars, brambles, and the like, that in most places they are scarcely penetrable. These woods are reported to be full of tygers, which makes any excursion into the country dangerous, unless one goes well armed; and even then much caution is necessary.— They have here some hogs and fowls, but I believe not in great plenty. In the woods are monkeys, apes, armadilloes, and other wild creatures, as also parrots, paroquites, and other sorts of birds proper to the climate. Alligators are said to be plentiful in the lakes, and yet we saw none of them. The country seems to have a good soil, and to be capable of improvement, were the inhabitants more civilised and industrious. On the 29th we discovered a sail in the offing, on which the eighteen oared barge was manned and armed, and was sent under the command of the second lieutenant of the Centurion, to examine her before she arrived within the protection of the fort. She proved to be a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Grande, but though the officer behaved to the master with the greatest civility, yet the governor took offence at our sending our boat; complained of the violation of the peace, and made that a pretence for sending Don Pizarro the most circumstantial intelligence of our force and condition, as we afterwards learned, by letters intercepted in the South Seas.

We left this island on the 18th of January, having had a melancholly proof how much the healthiness of the place had been over-rated by former writers; for we found that though the Centurion alone had buried twenty-eight men since our arrival, the number of the sick had increased to ninety-five; and three men died this very day.

Before our departure, the commodore took every precaution to prevent a separation; but, considering that, in such boisterous seas as we were about to encounter, he himself might be disabled, he called the officers together, and, in a full council so ordered it, that if but one ship escaped, the expedition should not be abandoned. Proper places of rendezvous were appointed; the time was settled for staying at these places; and if the commodore did not arrive in that time, the captains were ordered to put themselves under the command of the senior, and to proceed without farther delay.

We had very stormy weather with thunder and lightening on the morning of the 22d, and the Trial carried away the head of her main-mast: A thick fog succeeding, we soon after lost sight of the Pearl, the parate. Trial, and the Anne pink. In the afternoon, however, we joined company with the Trial and the Anne, but the Pearl was still missing. From this time, to the 15th of February, we had very variable weather, mostly foggy, from 35 to 39 degrees of south latitude, the rest of the weather being a mixture not much

much unlike ours in England in the month of October, except that we had often thunder and lightning. Being past the lat. of 36° we observed the current which had hitherto set southerly, was now to the northward and the great river of Plata being between 35° and 36° strengthens my conjecture, that those currents are occasioned by the flux and reflux of that mighty river. On the 13th of February we saw the land very plain, and, at four in the afternoon of the same day, found ourselves within four miles of Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia, in 12 fathom water; on which we hauled off, and ran along the coast. At five the next morning we saw the land from west by north to south-west, half-west, which I believe to have been the harbour of Port Desire. The northernmost land in sight was Cape Blanco, and the southernmost, Penguin Island.—

We anchored on the 17th in the evening, about 18 leagues short of the harbour of Port St. Julian, where Drake touched in his voyage, and where Mr. Doughty was condemned and executed, on pretence of a conspiracy to murder him and ruin the expedition; from whence a small island within the harbour is to this day called the Island of True Justice. The next morning we saw a sail at S. by E. which we believing to be the Pearl, made the signal for the return of all cruisers; but she not minding or not seeing it, the Gloucester was ordered to chase, and returned, to our great satisfaction, with her at two in the afternoon. The Pearl's company informed us, that their commander, Captain Dandy Kidd, died on the 31st of January, and that they were chased on the 7th instant, by five large ships, which they believed to be Spanish men of war, and were sometimes within gun-shot of them, though they never fired, having endeavoured to decoy, the Pearl, by hoisting a broad red pendant, like that of the English commodore, at the admiral's main top-mast head, and hoping by that means to inveigle and make sure of their prey. Captain Mitchell thus decoyed, narrowly escaped the enemy, by running through a space of water, where the tides or currents making a great rippling, the Spaniards, who thought it was rocky and broken ground, were afraid to follow her. These we supposed to be the squadron of Admiral's Pizarro who got so great a name for bringing the flota safe home, the preceding year, by eluding the vigilance of our squadrons then waiting off Cadiz, and was therefore looked on as the most proper person to be sent to intercept us. We were now, on the 18th, sailing along shore for the harbour of St. Julian, I found the tide to set in here north and south, about a mile an hour. The time of flowing, on the full and change days, is N.E. by E. and S. W. by W. nearest. We sent one of our boats with an officer on shore, to sound, and endeavour to discover the mouth of the harbour. At six in the evening, we came to an anchor in twelve fathom water. At eight the lieutenant returned, having found the harbour, we sent our boats ashore, to make farther discoveries, and to endeavour to get some fresh water, and others to procure salt. We continued here till the 27th, during which time we staved most of our empty casks, in order to clear our ships as much as possible, and got up, and mounted such of our guns as we had before put down in the hold, in order to ease the ships; for now, not knowing how soon we might meet with the Spanish squadron, it was necessary to have them all in readiness. We could find no fresh water here, and but a very small quantity of salt, and no other refreshments whatever, all the country, as far as we could discover, being quite barren and desolate. We got some provisions out of the Anne victualler, on board each of the other ships, repaired the Trial's mast, and assisted her and the victualler to overhaul and new fix most of their rigging. Having lost the hopes of a supply of water, we were put to the allowance of one quart a man for one day, and three pints for another, alternately; but considering our passage had hitherto proved extremely stormy, and a dead time of the year coming on

very fast, it was thought proper in order to keep the people in as good heart as possible, to give them whole allowance of all other provisions, which was ordered accordingly. Here we farther secured our lower deck guns, by nailing quoins under the trucks, in case the tackles, breachings, or iron-work might give way, or fail in the stormy weather, which we had reason to expect. Here the commodore removed the Hon. Captain Murray into the Pearl, in the room of Captain Kidd, and Captain Cheap into the Wager, in the room of Captain Murray. He advanced Mr. Charles Saunders, his first lieutenant, to be commander of the Trial sloop, in the room of Captain Cheap, and made Mr. Piercy Brett first lieutenant of the Gloucester, second lieutenant of his own ship. The Trial being prepared, and the Pearl which had thrown about 14 tons of water overboard, when chased by the Spaniards, being supplied from the other ships, we prepared to prosecute our voyage.

This harbour of Port St. Julian is a barren harbour, fit only to receive small vessels. We lay off in the road about two miles from the mouth of it. It is not to be seen open from where we lay, one point shutting in another; and before any small ship or vessel pretends to venture into the harbour, they ought to send in their boats at low water, and fix poles or buoys at the end of the shoals, which in a manner block up the passage. The country around is pretty much on the level, except a few hillocks to the northward, and a pretty high one in the bay, which bears W. S. W. from the place where we lay at anchor. The latitude of Port S. Julian is $49^{\circ} 10'$ its longitude from London $69^{\circ} 48'$ west, and the variation of the compass $17^{\circ} 20'$ east. We had uncertain weather here, with much rain, some snow, and generally a thick fog, with so much wind and sea as made us ride hard, and hastened our departure from this uneasy situation. Sir John Narborough and others write that they have often seen and conversed with the inhabitants of this and other parts of Patagonia, and have given wonderful descriptions of them; but as we saw none of them, I have nothing to say of that sort; nor indeed do I think there is any thing in this wild part of the world worthy of the least notice.

On the 27th, at six in the morning, we made the signal, weighed, and put to sea; but the Gloucester being long in weighing her anchor, and the weather proving thick and hazy, we soon lost sight of her; and, at one in the afternoon, tacked and lay by for her coming up. At seven, we fired a gun, as a signal for her, and soon after she joined us, having broken her main yard in the flings.

Previous to our leaving this port, a council was held on board the Centurion, at which all the officers by sea and land attended; when it was proposed by the commodore that their first attempt should be on the town of Baldivia, the principal frontier of the district of Chili. To this proposition of the council unanimously agreed; in consequence of which, new instructions were given to the captain of the squadron, by which they were directed, in case of separation, to rendezvous at the island of Nuestra Senora del Seccoro, and there to cruise for ten days; after which they were ordered to repair to the height of Baldivia, and there, 30° and $40^{\circ} 30'$ to continue cruising 14 days longer; and, if in that time they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to quit that station, and direct their course to the island of Juan Fernandez.

On the 5th of March, in the morning, we passed by the straits of Maghellan, so near, that we saw them very plainly; the northernmost point of which, known by the name of Cape Virgin Mary, I found to be in $52^{\circ} 28'$ of south lat. and long. from London $70^{\circ} 55'$ west, variation of the compass $18^{\circ} 50'$ east. The soundings when it bore S. W. by S. at the distance of eight leagues, from 32 to 50 fathoms, the bottom black grey sand and mud.

The afternoon of this day being very bright and clear,

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clear, with light breezes, inclinable to be calm; most of the captains took the opportunity of the favourable weather to pay a visit to the commodore, but while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a sudden flame which burst out on board the *Centurion*, and which was succeeded by a cloud of smoke. However, they were soon relieved from their apprehensions, by receiving information that the blast was occasioned by a spark from the forge lighting on some gunpowder and other combustibles, which the officers were preparing for their use, in case we should fall in with the Spanish fleet, and that it had been extinguished without any damage to the ship.

In the morning of the 6th, we saw the land of Terra del Fuego, consisting of high, craggy hills, towering above each other, mostly covered with snow; with deep, horrid valleys, some few scattered trees, no plains, nor one cheerful green, through all the horrid prospect; so that the whole may not improperly be called The Land of Desolation; and I much question whether a more dreary prospect is to be seen in any other part of the habitable earth; for voyagers say this is inhabited; but surely its inhabitants must be the most miserable of human beings. This evening we lay by, that we might not overshoot the Straights of Le Maire in the night, though I believe, had we kept on, and passed round Staten Land, and a small island or two, which lie to the eastward of those straits, and, together with Terra del Fuego, frame them, it might have been more to our advantage than passing through them. The 7th, at eight in the morning, we were very near a point of land on Terra del Fuego, called Cape St. James, bearing E. S. E. another called Cape St. Vincent, S. E. half E. the middlemost of the Three Brothers, being three high hills on this land Monte Gorda appearing above, farther up in the country and bearing south from us. It is by these marks that the mariner knows he is near the Straights of Le Maire, and indeed we began to open them in this position. By noon we were almost through them, being assisted by a very strong tide, with much rippling, and which made to the southward somewhat before ten o'clock in the morning. The course through is almost directly south, and there are no shoals nor rocks in the passage, from whence any danger may be incurred, the only thing to be feared is the tide's turning, after the straits are entered, in which case the vessel will certainly be hurried back again, and can have no passage there till the next turn of the tide. The breadth of this passage appears to be about six or seven leagues, and its length about seven or eight. The strait lies in 55 degrees south latitude, longitude 67° 30' west from London; the soundings from 43 to 58 fathoms; the bottom black sand and pebbles.

In passing through, our joy was increased by the brightness of the sky and the serenity of the weather, which was indeed remarkably pleasing; for though the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, for its brilliancy and mildness gave place to none we had seen since we had left England. But we here found, what was constantly verified by all our observations in these high latitudes, that fair weather was always the fore-runner of a succeeding storm, and that sun-shine and tempest followed one another like light and shade. We had scarcely reached the extremity of the straits when the serenity of the sky, which had so much flattered our hopes, was all at once obscured; the wind shifted to the southward, and the sea began to swell to an astonishing height. Before night the tempest arose, and the tide, which had hitherto favoured us, turned furiously against us; so that instead of pursuing our intended course, we were driven to the eastward, by the united force of wind and current, with so much precipitation, that in the morning we found ourselves seven leagues to the east of the Straights of Le Maire. From this time, we had such a continual succession of tem-

pestuous weather as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confess that what they had hitherto called storms were inconsiderable gales, compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short, and at the same time, such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other parts of the globe; and it was not without reason that this unusual appearance filled us with continual terror; for had any one of those waves broke fairly over us, it must in all probability, have sent us to the bottom. Nor did we escape with terror only; for our vessel incessantly rolling gunwale to, gave us such quick and violent motions that we were in perpetual danger of being dashed against the masts or sides of the ship: And though we were extremely careful to secure ourselves from these sudden shocks, by grasping at some fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their holds, some of whom were killed, and others greatly injured. In particular, one of our best seamen was carried overboard, and drowned, another dislocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main-hold, and broke his thigh, and one of our boatswain's mates broke his collar-bone twice, besides other accidents of the same nature. These tempests, so dreadful in themselves, (even though unattended by any other unfavourable circumstance,) were rendered more mischievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at some times afforded; for though we were often obliged to lie to for four days together under a heavy wind, and were frequently reduced to remain at the mercy of the waves, under our bare poles; yet now and then we ventured to make sail, with our courses double-reefed, and the weather proving more tolerable, would encourage us to set our topsails; after which the wind without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and, in an instant, tear our sails from the yards; and that nothing might be wanting to aggravate our distress, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and fleet, which cased our rigging and froze our sails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle and apt to snap upon the slightest strain, adding inexpressible difficulty and labour to the working of the ship, benumbing the limbs of the people employed in handling the sails, or handling the ropes, and making them incapable of exerting themselves with their usual activity, and even disabling many by mortifying their fingers and toes. And now, as it were, to add to the finishing stroke of our misfortunes, our people began to be universally afflicted with that most terrible, and at sea, incurable disease, the scurvy, which quickly made a most dreadful havock among us, beginning at first to carry off two or three a day; but soon increasing, and at last carrying off eight or ten; and as most of the living were ill of the same distemper, and the little remainder who preserved their health better, were quite worn out with incessant labour, I have some times seen four or five dead bodies, some sown up in their hammocks, others not; lying about the decks, for want of help to bury them in the sea.

[In short, the voyagers met with nothing but difficulties and dangers, splitting their sails, and having their seamen killed or disabled in almost every gale. The *Pearl* and *Severn* were separated from the fleet on the 10th of April, and from that time they saw no more of them, but afterwards, by letters taken on board some of the Spanish ships, they heard of the arrival of those vessels at Rio. On the 23d of the same month, they lost sight of the *Gloucester*, *Wager*, *Trial*, and *Anne*, being all the remainder of the squadron. The *Wager* suffered ship-wreck at the Island del Seguro, the rest joined the commodore at the Island of Juan Fernandez. The bad weather with some few intervals still continued. On the 8th of May the commodore saw the main land of Patagonia, as also several islands, one of which he took to be Seguro, which owing to Sir John Narborough's agreeable

The *Pearl* and *Severn* and other vessels are separated from the fleet.

agreeable description of it* was appointed for the first place of rendezvous for the fleet in the South Seas.

This (says my author) was an unhappy appointment in its consequences, for when the people, already reduced to the last extremity, found this to be the place of rendezvous, where they had hoped to meet the rest of their companions with joy, and saw what a miserable part of the world it appeared to be, their grief was succeeded by despair; they saw no end of their sufferings, nor any door open to their safety. Those that had hitherto been well, and in heart, were now full of despondency, fell down, sickened, and died; and, to sum up this melancholy part, I verily believe that our touching on this coast, the long stay we made here, and our hindrance by cross winds, which we should have avoided in a direct course to Juan Fernandez, lost us at least 60 of as stout and able men as any in the navy. This unspeakable distress was still aggravated by the difficulties which we found in working the ship, as the scurvy had destroyed, in all, no less than 200 of our men, and had, in some degree, affected the whole crew. Indeed, it were endless to recite minutely the various disasters, fatigues, and terrors, which we encountered on this coast. All these went on increasing till the 22d of May, at which time the fury of all the storms that we had hitherto experienced, seemed to be combined, and to have confirmed our destruction. In this hurricane almost all our sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging was broken. About eight in the evening, a mountainous sea took us on our starboard quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our masts were in danger of coming by the board, and our ballast and stores were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks apart. It was a most tremendous blow, and we were all thrown into the utmost consternation, from the apprehension of instantly foundering. Our deplorable situation no longer allowing any room for deliberation, we stood for Juan Fernandez; and, to save time, which was now very precious, (our men dying, four, five, or six in a day,) we endeavoured to hit the island on a meridian course. On the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel in which it is laid down, we expected to have seen it; and indeed the commodore was persuaded that he did see it; but all the officers being of opinion that it was only a cloud, to which the haziness of the weather gave too much colour, we made sail to the eastward, and, by so doing lost above 14 days in recovering our westing again. This was a most fatal disappointment; for in this run we lost above 80 of our men, most of whom would probably have been saved, if the commodore's advice had been attended to. On the 8th of June, at six in the evening, we at last saw the island, bearing north by east, half-east, about 15 or 16 leagues off. On the 10th, at two in the morning, we anchored in 56 fathom water, close under the north-east part of the island. At ten in the morning of the 11th, with much labour and difficulty, we weighed our anchor, and, at noon, happily moored our ship in the great bay, about a mile from the shore, in 52 fathom water, to our inexpressible joy; having been from St. Catherine's in the Brazils to this place, 148 days on such a dreadful and fatal passage, as I believe very few other persons ever experienced. At two in the afternoon, the Trial appeared in the offing; on which we immediately sent some hands on board her, by which assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from calamities similar to those which we had so severely felt; for her commander, Captain Saunders, waiting on the commodore, informed him, that out of his small complement he had buried 34,

and those who recovered were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men were able to stand by the sails. The same day we got out our long boat, and sent her on shore, with materials for building tents for the sick, and with orders to bring on board some water. On the 17th the Trial came again to an anchor, and moored: This day and the next, we sent on shore the remainder of our sick people, the whole number now on shore being 135, many of whom as they were too far gone in the scurvy died, to the number of sixty. We now began to send on shore materials for the tents, for the coopers, sail-makers, and some of the officers: we sent also a copper oven, which we had with us for baking soft bread for the ship's company, and the smith's forge, for making or repairing such iron-work as was necessary. After a short interval of relaxation, all hands were busily employed in cutting large quantities of wood for the ship's use, some in making charcoal for the smith, and for a farther store; the bakers in preparing bread; the coopers in making up and cleaning the casks for water; the sail-makers in mending the sails and making others. Some were fishing for the sick, and others were otherwise employed. Here being great plenty of fine fish, all to be taken by the hook, two or three people could never fail to take as much in about two hours, as all the ship's company could eat. Besides we took great quantities for salting and curing; and some private persons who had hooks and lines, fished for themselves, and caught enough for their own use, and to give to those who had none. In the mean time, the people on board were employed in cleaning the vessel, which was in a very filthy condition, and in stripping the masts, and overhauling the rigging. One of the boatswain's mates, (with some assistants) having run up a ropewalk on shore, was employed in making what small cordage we might want; others in watering; in short, in every thing that might contribute to put us in as good a condition, and in as short a time as possible; and as fast as the sick recovered, they were put on the like employments.

At first sight of this island it appeared with a most unpromising aspect, being extremely mountainous, rugged, and irregular; but, on our near approach it improved upon us; and, when we were landed, we found all the vegetables which are usually esteemed to be peculiarly adapted to the cure of those scorbutic disorders that are contracted by salt diet, and long continuance at sea; for here were water-creffes, wild correl, and Sicilian radishes, in profusion. These vegetables (not to mention the turnips which now abound in every plain with the fish and flesh we got here) were not only extremely grateful to us, but were likewise very refreshing to the sick, and contributed not a little to the recovery of those who were not already too far advanced in the disorder to admit of relief, and to the restoring of others to their wonted vigour, who though not apparently under the malignancy of the distemper and its baleful concomitants, were yet greatly debilitated by continual watching and anxiety of mind, from which not one on board was exempt.

During the time of our residence here, we found the inland parts of the island no way to fall short of the sanguine prepossessions we had first entertained in its favour: For the woods which covered most of the steepest hills and precipices, were free from all bushes and underwood, and afforded an easy passage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices in the northern parts of the island, necessarily traced out, by their various combinations, a great number of romantic valleys, most of which had a stream of the clearest water running through them, which tumbled in cascades from one rock to another, as the bottom of the valley, by the course of the neighbouring hills, was at any time broken into a sharp and sudden descent. Some particular spots occurred in these valleys, where the shades and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftiness of the overhanging rocks, and the transparency and frequent falls

* He had been there in the height of summer; whereas winter was approaching, when Anson arrived in those parts.

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falls of the neighbouring streams, presented scenes of such elegance and dignity, as could with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place that the scenes of simple nature may perhaps be said to excel all the fictitious descriptions of the most animated imagination. The spot where the commodore chose to fix his residence, exceeded in beauty any thing that words can be supposed to represent. It was a delightful little lawn that lay on an easy ascent, at the distance of about half a mile from the sea, and was probably the very spot whereon Captain Shelvock had pitched his tent twenty years before. In front there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the sea-side, which sloping to the water with a gentle descent, opened a prospect to the bay with the ships at anchor. This lawn was screened behind by a tall wood of myrtle, sweeping round it in the form of a theatre, the slope on which the wood stood, rising with a much sharper ascent than the lawn itself, yet not so much but that the hills and precipices without land towered considerably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were besides, two streams of chrystal water, which ran on the right and left of the tent, within an hundred yards distance, and were shaded by the trees that skirted the lawn on either side, and completed the symmetry of the whole.—

It is astonishing (continues the writer) that among all the voyagers who have visited this island before us, and who have obliged the world with descriptions of it, none of them have mentioned a charming little bird, that with its wild, various, and irregular notes enchants the ear, and makes the woods resound with its melody. This untutored chorister is somewhat less in size than the gold-finch, its plumage beautifully intermingled with red and other vivid colours, and the golden crown on its head so bright and glowing, that when seen in the full light of the sun, it surpasses all description. These little birds are far from being uncommon or unfamiliar: They perched on the branches of the myrtle trees so near us, and sang so cheerfully, as if they had been conscious that we were strangers and had come to bid us welcome. Besides the above, there is another little bird unnoticed by any former writer, and which seems likewise to be peculiar to the island, and is consequently without a name. It is still less than the former in size, but not inferior in beauty, though not so musical. The back, wings, and head, are of a lively green, intermixed with shining golden spots, and the belly is a snow-white ground with ebony coloured spots, so elegantly varied, that no art can imitate. To the catalogue of birds mentioned by former writers, should also be added blackbirds and thrushes very like those of England, and owls, but of a very diminutive size. Of four-footed animals we saw none but cats, rats, dogs, and goats, and of the latter but few, as the dogs of various kinds, gray-hounds, mastiffs, pointers, spaniels, and murgrels, have thinned them in plains, and driven them to inaccessible mountains; yet some were shot by the hunters, and were preferred by them to the best venison. Among those presented to the commodore were two or three venerable through age, which had been marked more than thirty years before by Selkirk.

We once had an opportunity of observing a remarkable dispute between a herd of these animals and a number of dogs; for going in our boat into the eastern bay, we perceived some dogs run very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to observe what game they were after, we lay on our oars some time to view them, and at last saw them take a hill, where looking a little farther, we observed, upon the ridge of it, an herd of goats, which seemed drawn up for their reception. There was a very narrow path skirted on each side by precipices, in which the leader of the herd posted himself fronting the enemy, the rest of the goats being ranged behind him where the ground was more open. As this spot was inaccessible by any other path except that where this champion had placed him-

self, the dogs, though they ran up hill with great alacrity, yet, when they came within about 20 yards, found they durst not encounter this formidable Goliath; for he would infallibly have driven the first that approached him down the precipice; they therefore laid themselves quietly down, panting, and did not offer to stir while we were in sight. These dogs have multiplied prodigiously, and have destroyed most of the cats as well as goats: the rats, however keep possession, and were very troublesome guests in the night, when they generally paid us their visits. It is not easy to determine in what manner such a number of dogs subsist, as they are much more numerous than all the other four-footed creatures upon the island. Our people were inclined to think they lived in a great measure upon the young sea-lions and seals; and supported their opinion by the report of the sailors, some of whom killed the dogs for food, and said they tasted fishy: and indeed there is hardly any other way of accounting for the subsistence of these animals; for, as has been said, they have already destroyed all the goats in the accessible part of the country; so that there remain now only a few, among the crags and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. These are divided into separate herds of twenty or thirty each, which inhabit distinct fastnesses and never mingle with each other: by these means we found it extremely difficult to kill them; and yet we were so desirous of their flesh, that we discovered I believe, all their herds; and it was thought, on comparing their numbers, that they scarcely exceeded 200 upon the whole island. The dogs had destroyed the pardellas likewise, so that there was not one of them to be seen: we found, indeed, their boroughs in the earth, which leaves no doubt of their being in plenty there in Selkirk's time, as well as cats; of which there is now scarcely one left alive. Flesh-meat being very scarce, our people, tired of fish, though excellent in its kind, at length condescended to eat seals, which, by degrees they came to relish, and called them lamb. Of these, it being their breeding time, and of the sea-lions the numbers were incredible. These animals have frequently furious battles among themselves, principally about their females; and we were one day surprised by the sight of two animals, which at first seemed different from all we had ever observed; but, on a nearer approach, they proved to be two sea-lions that had been goring each other with their tusks, and were covered with blood, with which they plentifully abound. This led us to watch them more closely; and one was observed larger than the rest, and from his driving off other males, and keeping a great number of females to himself, he was humorously styled the Bashaw. To this pre-eminence, however, he had not arrived without many bloody contests; for on our people's attacking him in the midst of his seraglio of females, being overpowered after having made a desperate defence, the signs of his bravery appeared in numerous scars on every part of his body.

We had now been ten days on this island, when some of our people discovered from an eminence a ship to the leeward, with her courses even with the horizon, without any other sail abroad but the main-top-sail; from whence it was concluded she was one of our own squadron; but the weather being hazy, no definitive determination could be formed concerning her. She disappeared for some days, and we were all under the deepest concern, fearing that the weakness of her condition had disabled her from working to windward, and that all on board had perished. We continued our employ till the 20th, when we saw the ship again, and, on her near approach, could distinguish her to be the Gloucester; and, making no doubt of her being in distress, the commodore sent our boat on board her with water and refreshments. We found her in a miserable condition, having not many more than an hundred people alive, and almost all those helpless with the scurvy; their water so very short that they were obliged to allow but a pint a day to a man, and the continual flaws off the land, together with their

being disabled in their sails and yards hindered them from getting into the bay. The next day we sent them a fresh supply of fish, greens, and water, and men to help to work the ship; soon after which the flaws drove them off again, and the ship appeared no more till the 30th, when she fired a gun, and made a signal of distress. She continued in this manner off and on, sometimes in sight, and sometimes not, till the 23d of July; during which time, though we often relieved the people on board with water and other necessities, yet their sufferings were insupportable and their whole complement was by this time reduced to 96 men, all of whom must have perished in a few days more, had not the wind proved favourable to bring them into the bay; but providentially a fresh gale sprung up from the sea, which brought them to an anchor. We immediately sent men on board to assist in mooring the ship, and continued our assistance during our stay at this place.

The Gloucester joins them again.

On the 5th of August the commodore sent the Trial sloop to search the island of Little Juan Fernandez, lest any of the squadron should have mistaken that island for the place of rendezvous, and might remain there, in expectation of meeting with the rest of the ships. On the 15th, the Anne pink, which had been separated from us, with the rest of the squadron, on the 23d of April, appeared in sight. Her arrival gave us new spirits, she being principally laden with provisions, and we were immediately ordered full allowance of bread. This ship had been about two months in a safe harbour, on the main land, near the same parallel with del Socorro, whither she had been directed by Providence, and where she lay in security, and enjoyed plenty, and her people, sixteen in number being freed from their fears of shipwreck, very soon recovered their wonted vigour, having experienced none of those hardships which were endured by the rest of the fleet. They told us they had seen some Indians, and, once took one of their canoes, with a man, a woman, some children, a dog, a cat, &c. but the day after this capture, all escaped, the dog excepted, in the ship's boat, and left the canoe in her stead. Those Indians, they said, understood a few Spanish words, and probably might have some little correspondence with the Spaniards of Chili, or their nearer bordering Indians, or some of the fathers for propagating the faith, might sometimes have been among them. The principal refreshment the crew met with in this port were wild nettle-tops, celery, and sorrel; cockles and muscles of an extraordinary size; and good store of sheep, geese, and penguins. They judged the place to lie in lat. $45^{\circ} 30'$ south, and might be known by an island which faces it, which the inhabitants call Inchin, and by a river in which they found some excellent fish. The Anne pink was the last that joined us at Juan Fernandez. The remaining ships of the squadron were the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship. The Severn and Pearl, which parted company at Cape Noir, (as has been already observed) put back to the Brasils, so that of all the ships that came into the South Seas, the Wager alone was missing. [Of the fate of this ship a relation will be given before the conclusion of this voyage, as also of the expedition of the Spanish admiral Pizarro, who by this time was set out to intercept the English squadron.]

They meet with the Anne pink.

On the 22d the Trial returned from searching the island of Little Fernandez, and reported it to be about 20 leagues distant from the place where we lay, being about three leagues in compass, very mountainous, and having some woods, and good runs of water; with multitudes of goats, fish, sea-lions, seals, as with us; but no ships were to be seen, nor the marks of any having been there. While we were at Juan Fernandez, we began, and pretty far advanced a wharf for the better landing and embarking such necessities as we had occasion for. We kept two ovens employed in baking bread for the ship's companies, two Smith's forges for repairing old, and fitting new iron work, and continued making charcoal

for future use. The commodore likewise ordered the carpenters to take a careful survey of the Anne pink; the master of which set forth that she was in so rotten a condition, as not to be able to proceed or return, without very considerable repairs; which representation, upon a survey, being found to be true, the commodore purchased her materials at a fair valuation, and ordered her to be broken up, and her crew to be put on board the Gloucester; that ship not having hands enough left to navigate her, much less to fight her, in case of an attack from the enemy.

We reckoned this island (Juan Fernandez) to be in $33^{\circ} 40'$ south lat. and in $87^{\circ} 37'$ west lon. from London. The distance from the main continent is 150 leagues, and the compass, by the best accounts of those who have been round it, is about 12 or 13 leagues. There are two small and very commodious bays within the points, which form a large one where we lay; one to the eastward, the other to the westward of us, and no doubt several others in other parts of the island. The variation, by an observation taken on the morning of the 2d of July, was $8^{\circ} 4'$ half-east. It was reported that the south-west end of the island was more level than that where we resided, and the goats more numerous, but wood scarcer.

On Tuesday, September the 8th, at noon, we saw a sail, bearing N. E. by E. and perceiving by our glasses, that she could be none of our squadron, nor was an English built ship, we fired a gun, as a signal for getting all our people on board; and having taken several men out of the Trial, bent our sails, set up our rigging, and slipped our small bower cable; and at six in the evening we weighed, in pursuit of her. In the morning of the next day we got down our stumps, which are generally set up in bad weather instead of top-gallant masts and yards, rigged them and bent their sails. At eleven the same morning, we mustered and quartered the ship's company. At noon the island of Juan Fernandez bore half south at distance eight leagues. The two next days we saw nothing of the chase, nor any thing remarkable.

On Saturday, September the 12th, at five in the morning, we saw a sail to the windward, which bore down to us; and about two leagues distance, she hauled up the lee clue-garnet of her main-sail, and fired a gun, which we supposed to be a signal concerted between her and others that came out in her company; but we not answering nor regarding it, she hauled close on a wind, and stood from us, endeavouring to escape; upon which we gave chase; but the weather sometimes proving hazy and foggy, we were in danger of losing sight of her. About nine in the morning we tacked, and at noon coming within gun shot, we fired five shot at her rigging, to bring her to; but she keeping on her course, we fired four more, on which she struck her colours, and surrendered without making any opposition. This ship, however, happened not to be the same that we went out after. She proved to be a rich merchant ship, having on board 18,000l. in dollars and plate, with some jewels and abundance of gold and silver twist; but the bulk of her cargo consisted of sugars and bale goods, most of the latter European, but from the produce of the country. She was called the Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo, was of about 500 tons burthen, and was commanded by Don Manuel Zamora, and had on board thirteen passengers, most of them persons of fortune, amongst whom was the governor of the city of S. Jago, the capital of Chili. She came from Callao in Peru, and was bound for Valparaiso in Chili, where those ships annually trade, exchanging silver in return for gold and corn, the latter being very scarce in Peru. Some of the prisoners informed us, that if we had taken this vessel on her return from Chili to Peru, we should have met with as much gold in her as we had now found silver. She had on board her, in the whole, fifty-seven persons, many of them Indians and black slaves, who were afterwards very useful to us in assisting

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lasting towards the ship's duty. She had been 27 days from Callao, and wanted not above two days to complete her voyage when we took her.

[In this ship the commodore found an account of the misadventures of the Spanish admiral Pizarro's squadron, who in his course, had met with two ships which they supposed to be English, but the sea ran so high, that they could not pretend to pursue them. These ships were supposed to be the Pearl and Severn. As to the rest they found that the Spaniard had been forced to put back, but heard also that he had sent advice to the viceroy of Peru concerning them, intimating, That though he had been forced back, yet possibly the English, who were obstinate enough to persist in desperate undertakings, might come into these seas; but knowing experimentally what they must have suffered in that dreadful passage, he doubted not but that they must be in a very weak and defenceless condition; he therefore advised the viceroy to fit out all the strength of shipping that he could, and to send them to cruise at Juan Fernandez, where it was likely that they might meet their enemy; in which case he farther advised that the Spaniards should not waste the time in a distant cannonading, but board the English sword in hand, which, in their weak condition was likely to prove an infallible method of taking them.]

This, (says our author) was a well laid scheme, and, in pursuance of it, the viceroy equipt three ships at Callao, one of 54, one of 30, and one of 20 guns, all double manned with the choicest men they could possibly procure, and sent them to wait for us accordingly. Those ships arrived at Juan Fernandez some time in May, and continued till about June the 6th, when, imagining that we must be either put back or lost, they quitted their station, and sailed for the port of Conception in Chili, and, by these means, we luckily missed them: had it happened otherwise, as we arrived there with only our single ship, in such a defenceless condition, and had they put their orders in execution with any tolerable degree of resolution, we must, in all human probability, have fallen into their hands. Our prisoners informed us further, that those ships, during their cruise, had met with a storm, in which they had received so much damage, that it must be at least two months before they could again be fit to go to sea; the whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we could have wished; and now we were at no loss to account for the fresh marks that we found at Juan Fernandez, of that island's having been lately visited by some white people.

On Sunday the 13th, having got on board most of the prisoners of note, and all the silver, we made sail for Juan Fernandez; and the weather proving very moderate, at six in the evening that island bore N. W. by N. at the distance of five leagues. At six the next morning we fired three guns, as a signal to the ships in the bay. At four we anchored, got in our small bower cable, which we had slipped at leaving the place, and moored our ship. The 15th we employed in watering, and setting up our rigging, in order to pursue our voyage. And this day, the commodore being informed that several merchant-ships were now pursuing their trade without fear of any surprize, the trial was ordered out on a cruise, and proceeded immediately. On the 16th we got up a new top-gallant mast, and wanting some cordage we were supplied with it from the Gloucester. This and the following days until the 19th, we spent in getting every thing ready for sea with the utmost expedition. The 19th we sent 28 of our prisoners on board the Gloucester, she being weakly manned, and these prisoners being good sailors. We likewise supplied the prize with two months provisions of all sorts, at full allowance, for 20 men; put all the guns belonging to the Anne pink on board of her; and, having left orders with Captain Mitchell, of the Gloucester, to burn the pink, together with her useless stores, and appointed him his station off the town of Payta, (where the ships between Lima and Panama

generally touch to deliver part of their cargoes to be dispersed through the inland parts of Peru) with orders to sail to that station as soon as possible; we weighed, and took leave of our winter residence, in company with the prize, which the commodore had fitted up to cruise against the enemy. The 21st at four in the evening, we had the last sight of this island, it then bearing from us W. by N. at the distance of 17 leagues. The remaining days, until the 24th, we had variable and uncertain weather, in which we split our main-top-sail and fore-sail, and received some other slight damage.

The 24th, at five in the evening, being somewhat hazy, we saw two sail to windward, on which we cleared ship, in order to be ready to engage; the largest of the two ships bearing down upon us. At seven she came so near, that we hailed her in Spanish, and she answered in English, and told us, that she was a prize taken by the Trial, and that her consort was the Trial itself, which was very much disabled. At eleven the next morning, there being a hard gale, and high sea, the Trial fired two guns as a signal of distress, and bore away before the wind, and we after her. The same day at half an hour past noon, we spoke with her, and found she had sprung her main-mast, and that her main top-mast had gone by the board; and as we were all of us standing to the eastward next morning, with a fresh gale at south, she had the additional misfortune to spring her fore-mast, so that now she had not a mast left. This was a great obstruction; for now we had intelligence by the Trial's prize, that there were many ships at sea richly laden, and that they had no apprehensions of being attacked by us, having received intelligence that our squadron was either put back, or destroyed. Therefore in the course of 28 hours, which we were detained in waiting upon the Trial, I am persuaded we missed the taking many valuable prizes. The result was, that a council being called, and all the officers convened together on board our ship, it was there concluded that, in her present condition, the Trial could be of no farther service; and the commodore, being resolved to separate the ships in order to cruise upon the coast to the greatest advantage, gave orders to Captain Charles Saunders, the commander, to burn the Trial, and in her room commissioned the Trial's prize for his majesty's service, with the same commander, officers, and people. This ship was called by the Spaniards the Nuestra Senora de Arinzazie; but, being now commissioned for his majesty's service, she was henceforth called the Trial's prize. She was the largest ship we took in those seas, being between five and six hundred tons, and laden with bale goods, sugar, and other commodities to a considerable value, and about 5000*l.* in specie and wrought silver.

On the 28th, at nine in the morning, we parted with the Trial and both the prizes. And on the 30th we saw the main land of Chili. This day we began to exercise our people with small arms, which was the first time we had done it since we came into those seas, and which we continued at all proper opportunities during the voyage.

On the first of October we came in sight of the high land of Valparaiso, bearing N. E. half E. at the distance of about 14 leagues. This city lies in the latitude of 32° 58' south, its longitude from London is by my account 80° 37' west. On the 5th, the commodore, being informed that there were murmurings amongst the people, because the prize-money was not immediately divided, ordered the articles of war to be read; and, after that, remonstrated to them on the danger of mutiny, and said he had heard the reason of their discontent, but assured them their properties were secured by act of parliament as firmly as any one's own inheritance, and that the money, plate, &c. were weighed, and marked in public; so that any capable person, if he pleased, might take an inventory of the whole. He then read an account of the particulars, and told them they might (if they pleased)

pleased) make choice of any person to take an inventory for them, or buy their parts; which spread a visible joy and gave content to every one.

We continued cruising off the coast of Valparaíso, till the 8th, when, at twelve at night we broke the main-top-sail yard in the flings, on which we unbent the top-sail, and got down the broken yard. At ten in the morning, we saw the high-land of Choapa, and over it the Cordillera mountains, being part of that long ridge of mountains called the Andes, which run from one end of South America to the other, appearing excessively high, with their tops covered with snow. We crossed the south tropic to the northward on the 14th, and from this time, till we were some degrees to the northward of the equator, met with nothing but fair weather and a smooth sea.

The 21st, at noon, the high land of Morro Quemado bore E. by N. at the distance of four leagues; and here we continued cruising off and on till the 2d of November, when, about six in the morning, we saw two sail of ships standing towards us; upon which we made a clear ship, and immediately gave them chase, when we soon perceived that they were the *Trial* and *Centurion* prizes. As we had the wind of them, we brought to, and hailed their coming up, when Captain Saunders came on board, and acquainted the commodore that he had cleared the *Trial*, pursuant to his orders, and having scuttled her, he remained by her till she sunk; but that it was not till the 4th of October, that this was effected, by reason of the great swell and hollow sea; that, during his attendance on the sloop, they were all driven so far to leeward, that they were afterwards obliged to stretch a long way to the westward, to regain the ground, they had lost. He added that in their cruise they had met no prize, nor had seen any vessel on all the coast. At four in the afternoon, on the 5th instant, we discovered the high land of Baranca, and half an hour after, we saw a sail to the northward, to which we gave chase, and cleared our ship for engaging; and at ten in the evening, coming up with her, we fired eight guns, and took her. She came from Guayaquil, and was bound for Callao, with timber, cacao, cordage, tobacco, and a small trunk of bale goods, all of little value to us, but a considerable loss to the Spaniards. She was called the *Santa Teresa*, and was commanded by Don Bartolo Urunaga, having between 30 and 40 people on board, passengers included, and five or six women besides children. Our third lieutenant, two other officers, and a party of sailors were sent on board to take care of her; and our other prizes being far a-stern, occasioned by our chasing this ship, we lay by till four the next morning, and fired a gun every hour, as a signal for their joining us.

On the 12th of this month, at five in the morning, we saw a sail, to which we gave chase; but there being very little wind, we manned and armed our barge, pinnace, and the *Trial's* pinnace, and sent them to take her, and at eight they boarded and took her, and brought her to us at half an hour past ten. She was called the *Carmen*, commanded by Signor Marcus Marina, and came out of Payta the day before. She was bound to Callao, and laden with iron and cloth. We found an Irishman on board named John Williams, who pretended to be a prisoner amongst them, and with much seeming joy entered with us. He informed us, that amongst other ships in the port of Payta, they left in the road a bark which was taking in 400,000 dollars, with which she would sail for Panama, in a day or two at farthest; and the Spanish prisoners on being examined, confirming the intelligence, and farther giving some account of the strength of the place, the commodore resolved to attack it that very night, and made preparations accordingly. Mr. Thomas Simmers, mate of our ship, with one midshipman, and about ten or twelve men, were sent to command and take care of this last prize. At ten at night we sent our barge, and the *Trial's* pinnace to attack the town of Payta, and to take it by surprise. They had 49 men well armed,

and were commanded by the Lieutenants Brett, Dennis, and Hughes, who had orders, if possible, to secure the governor of Payta, and send him prisoner on board, in order to procure a supply of provisions, and a ransom for the town. At half an hour past eleven we sounded, and found 43 fathom water, the ground mud; the island of Lobos, bearing N. N. E. at the distance of three or four miles. At seven in the morning, Point Onado, being the point that forms the Bay of Payta, bore S. S. E. two miles distant, and the town of Payta, at the same time, began to open in a direct line with it, distant about four miles; soon after which we saw our British colours flying on the castle. At ten, the *Trial's* boat came on board, laden with gold and silver, corn, wrought plate, jewels, and rich moveables. The crew informed us, that they took the town about two in the morning; and that though the Spaniards had some time before been apprised of our intent, yet they made a very faint resistance, having fired but two guns from their castle before our men landed, and a few small arms afterwards; and then they all quitted the town with the greatest precipitation. The governor and his family made their escape in so much haste, that his lady was handed out of a window with no other clothes to cover her but her shift. All the inhabitants fled in the like confusion; except some women and children. In this action we lost one man, Peter Obrian, the commodore's steward, who was shot through the breast by a musquet ball; and had two wounded, namely, Arthur Lusk, a quarter-master, and the Spanish pilot of the *Teresa*, whom we had made use of as a guide, the first through the fleshy part of the arm, near the shoulder, the second through the wrist, but neither dangerously: and I have had it reported from several officers then on shore, that our men ran to the attack, and fired in so irregular a manner, that it was, and still remains a doubt whether those were not shot by our people rather than by the enemy. Payta, at the time of the attack, had a fort with eight guns mounted, which commanded the town and harbour; and the balcony of the governor's house, which again commanded that fort, and several other houses were lined with armed men, of which there might be about 400 in the town; but these people having enjoyed a long peace, and being enervated by luxury so customary in those parts, their arms in a bad condition, and no person of experience or courage to head them, it is no wonder that they made so small a resistance, and were all driven out of the town in less than half an hour, by only 49 men, but I believe the noise of two drums which we made use of, together with the suddenness of the surprise, contributed to intimidate them, and facilitated our success.

On our getting possession of the castle, our commanding officer very inconsiderately ordered the guns to be thrown over the walls, which accordingly was executed; but some time after, reflecting on the ill consequence which might attend that proceeding, he ordered two of them to be got up and remounted.

This town contained 140 or 150 houses; We found in it two churches, which, together with the governor's house and castle, were the only remarkable buildings. There were several large store-houses full of rich European goods, all which were destroyed when we set the town on fire. This afternoon we employed in getting off the plunder, and provisions of hogs and fowls, which were here in great plenty. On the evening we anchored in ten fathom water, the town bearing from us S. by E. half E. at about three miles distance, not being able to get farther in, by reason of the flaws of wind from off the land.

From this time to the 15th we were employed in getting on board the plunder, which chiefly consisted of rich brocades, laced clothes, bales of fine linens and woollens, and the like; together with a great number of hogs, as also some sheep and fowls, cases of Spanish brandies and wines, a quantity of onions, olives, sweet-meats, &c. all which the sailors hoped would have been equally divided

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vided among the ships companies, but they found themselves disappointed.

We found in the road one ship, two snows, one schooner, and two quarter galleys, all which we took possession of. The 14th in the morning, we saw a bark-log, as they call it, being a sort of raft, made of the stumps of trees, fastened together, overlaid with poles, and covered with small twigs twisted mat-wise, with several people in her coming along shore, from the southward, she had a sort of mast and sail in her, and at first sight we knew not what to make of her; and none of our boats being on board, we sent the Carmen's boat with Mr. Langdon, a midshipman, who commanded in the second place on board that ship, and some armed people to pursue them, who perceiving it put on shore, and made their escape over the rocks, Mr. Langdon took their bark-log, which he found to be laden with dried fish, which we suppose they were carrying to Payta for a market. This evening the Spaniards, who had all along appeared in great numbers from the hills, and were now considerably increased, making a show of warlike preparations as if they designed in the night to attack our people in the town, they thereupon barricaded the streets, and kept very strict watches, to prevent a surprise. Several negroes delivered themselves up, desiring to be made prisoners, that they might have some food, and more especially water, to keep them from perishing; for the country thereabouts being for many miles round quite barren and sandy, without either water or any other thing necessary for life, and the nearest town to them, named, as I think, Santa Cruz, whence relief might be got, being a day and a half or two days journey off, the people who had left the town were in a starving condition, and we had melancholy accounts of several dying among them chiefly for want of water during our small stay; and yet so greatly were they infatuated or frightened, that they never offered to treat for the ransom of the place, which if they had done, I believe it would not have been destroyed; in which case they might have secured to themselves not only their habitations, but provision and water enough (till they could have got a fresh recruit) which we should, on that condition, have readily left them.

The town seems to be very unhappily situated on that and some other accounts. They having no water but what is brought them by land carriage from several leagues off; so that they are obliged to keep very considerable quantities by them in earthen jars, not only for their own use, but for the ships which frequently touch here, where they likewise often unload, and take in fresh cargoes. They are in the same case as to grain, bread, and almost all other necessities of life; and lie so open to an enemy, that the town has been often taken and ruined by the English, Dutch, and French; all which inconveniences, one would imagine, should tempt them to change their situation: but then the convenience of their trade is so great, being the only proper place they can pitch on for a mart between Panama and Peru, that they prefer this lucrative convenience to all other considerations.

Among the slaves who had desired to be entertained in our service, was one, who, having been a slave in Jamaica, had, on the death of his master, obtained his liberty, and thereupon entered himself a servant to one of the South-Sea Company's factors, whom he accompanied to Porto Bello and Panama, and there got into the service of a Spanish gentleman, who took a great fancy to him, and with whom he went to Lima in Peru, where his master likewise dying, left him a very considerable legacy; but the power being now in the hands of his executors, they not only defrauded him of his legacy, but made him a slave a second time. He was now at Payta with one of his masters, on his passage from Lima to Panama, when he took this opportunity to come over to us; and being a handy fellow, and accustomed to wait upon gentlemen, he was immediately taken into the commodore's service, came with us into England; and, I believe, continued

with him to his death. This person gave us some information of the designs of the Spaniards on shore, and told us that we had killed one or two of them, and wounded several others; but this account was never, that I know of, farther confirmed.

The 15th in the morning, we sent on shore all our Spanish, and several Indian prisoners, keeping all the blacks, and some of the Indians, to assist in working the ships, &c. To the blacks, who were all or the most of them slaves, was promised their liberty in England, in case they would stand by and assist us against our enemies the Spaniards; which they all promised very cordially; but we could soon discover, that, notwithstanding their seeming condescension, most of them would much rather have continued in their old master's service, than to fail to accept of liberty with us; not that I believe those people were in love with slavery, but then it must be on their own terms, the Spaniards in those parts being in great fear of the Indians, whom, though they have subdued, and seem to have incorporated among them, they dare not trust, but keep these blacks as guards, and use them well. The truth is, those Indians have still preserved, by tradition, from father to son, the memory of the great cruelties which the first Spaniards exercised in those parts, and are angry enough at their present hard usage. They look on themselves as the natural lords of the country, and the Spaniards as covetous intruders, and cruel and inhuman tyrants; and want only opportunity to make them sensible of their resentment, and to recover their lost country and liberty. It is on this account that the Spaniards are very kind to their black slaves, whom they cherish and encourage highly, and look on them in the same light as a standing militia, always ready to arm against those Indians; so that, though the negroes in all other plantations in the West-Indies are ever ready for revolts and rebellions, these, on the contrary, are always ready to defend their kind masters with their lives. In effect, they live very easy, are favoured by the Spaniards, and scorn and insult the poor Indians, who in return hate and detest both them and their masters; that being all that is left in their power.

This day an order was given to Mr. Brett, the then commanding officer on shore, to burn and destroy the town entirely, the two churches, which stood a little way from the rest, only excepted, the Spaniards, as has been already said, never having made any advance towards treating for its ransom.

But now, before I entirely quit the relation of our transaction, at this place, it may, perhaps, be expected, that I should give a more particular account of the booty we made, and of the loss the Spaniards sustained, I have already observed, that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town, but as most of them were, what we could neither dispose of, nor carry away, the total of this merchandise can only be guessed at. The Spaniards, in their representations sent to the court of Madrid (as we were afterwards assured) estimated their whole loss at a million and a half of dollars; and when it is considered, that no small part of the goods we left behind us, were of the richest and most expensive species, as broadcloths, silks, cambrics, velvets, &c. I cannot but think their valuation sufficiently moderate.

As to ourselves, the acquisition we made, though inconsiderable in comparison of what we destroyed, was yet far from despicable; for the wrought plate, dollars, and other coin, which fell into our hands, amounted to upwards of 30,000*l.* besides several rings, bracelets, jewels, whose intrinsic value we could not then estimate: and over and above all this, the plunder, which became the property of the immediate captors, was very great; so that, upon the whole, it was by much the most important booty we met with upon that coast.

There remains still another matter to be related, which on account of the signal honour, that our national character in those parts has thence received, and the reputation which our commodore in particular, has

has thereby acquired, merits a distinct and circumstantial discussion. I have already observed, that all the prisoners taken by us, were before our departure, put on shore and discharged, amongst whom there were some persons of considerable distinction, especially a youth about 17 years of age, son of the vice president of the council of Chili. As the barbarity of the buccaneers, and the artful uses the ecclesiastics had made of the account, had filled the natives of those countries with the most terrible ideas of English cruelty, we always found our prisoners, at their first coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety; particularly this youth, who, having never having been from home before, lamented his captivity in the most moving manner, regretting, in very plaintive terms his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native country, of all which, he was fully persuaded, he had taken his last farewell, believing that he was now devoted for the remaining part of his life to an abject and cruel servitude. Indeed, his companions on board, and all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the same desponding opinion of their situation. Mr. Anson constantly exerted his utmost endeavours to efface those terrifying impressions they had received of us, always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there was room for, should dine at his table by turns, and giving the most peremptory orders that they should be treated with the utmost decency and humanity; but notwithstanding all his precaution, it was generally observed, that for the first day or two they did not quit their fears, suspecting the gentleness of their usage to be only preparatory to some unthought of calamity. However, being at length convinced of our sincerity, they grew perfectly easy in their situation, and remarkably chearful; so that it was often disputable whether they considered their being detained by us as a real misfortune; for the youth I have mentioned, who was near two months on board us, had at last conquered his melancholy surmises, and had taken such an affection to Mr. Anson, that it is doubtful to me, whether, if his own opinion had been asked, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the *Centurion*, to the being set on shore at Payta, where he was at liberty to return to his country and friends.

This conduct of the commodore to his prisoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the highest idea of his humanity and benevolence, and occasioned them likewise (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole English nation; but whatever they might be disposed to think of Mr. Anson, before the capture of the *Teresa*, their veneration for him was prodigiously increased by his conduct towards the ladies, whom he took in that vessel; for, being informed that there were among them a mother and two daughters of exquisite beauty, he not only ordered that they should be left in full possession of their own apartments, but also on the severest penalty forbade any of the common people to approach them: and that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, or otherwise of having the means of complaining, he permitted the pilot, who in Spanish ships is generally the second person on board, to stay with them as a guardian and protector. These were measures that seemed so different from what might have been expected from an enemy and a heretic, that the Spaniards on board, though they had experienced his beneficence were surprised at this new instance of it; and the more so, as all was done without the solicitation or the interposition of one friend in their favour. The ladies were so sensible of the obligations they owed the commander, that they absolutely refused to go on shore at Payta till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the *Centurion*, there personally to return thanks for his civilities. Indeed all the prisoners left us with the strongest assurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A Jesuit, in particu-

lar, whom the commodore had taken, and who was an ecclesiastic of some distinction, could not help expressing himself with great thankfulness for the civilities which he and his countrymen had found on board; declaring, that he would consider it as his duty to do Mr. Anson justice at all times; adding, That his usage of the men prisoners was such as never could be forgotten, and such as he should never fail to acknowledge on all occasions, but that his behaviour to the ladies was so extraordinary, and so extremely honourable, that he doubted if all the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character would be sufficient to render it credible. Indeed we were afterwards informed that he and the rest of our prisoners had not been silent on this head, but that at Lima, and at other places, they had given the greatest encomiums to our commodore. The Jesuit, in particular, as we were told, on this account, in a lax and hypothetical sense interpreted the article of his church which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved.

After we had finished our business, set the town in flames, and got the treasure on board, Mr. Brett, the officer who commanded the attack, having collected his men together, was directing his march towards the beach, where the boats waited to take them on board, when the Spaniards on the hill behind the town, observing his retreat, resolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure; and thereby lay some foundation for future boasting. To this end, a party of horse, all picked men, singled out for this daring enterprize, marched down the hill with much seeming resolution; so that, had we not entertained a just opinion of their prowess, we might have imagined, that, now we were upon the open beach, with no advantages of situation, they would certainly have charged us: but we presumed, and we were not mistaken, that all this was mere ostentation; for, notwithstanding the pomp and parade they at first came on with, Mr. Brett had no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy stopped their career and never dared to advance a step farther.

When our people arrived at their boats and were ready to go on board, they were for some time retarded by missing one of their number; and being unable, on their mutual enquiries among each other, to inform themselves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, after a considerable delay, they resolved to get into their boats, and to depart without him: but, when the last man was actually embarked, and the boats were just put off, they heard him calling to them to take him in. The place was by this time so thoroughly on fire, and the smoke covered the beach so effectually, that they could scarcely discern him, though they heard his voice. However, the lieutenant instantly ordered one of the boats to his relief whose crew found him up to his chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durst, being extremely frightened with the apprehensions of falling into the hands of the enemy, enraged, as they must be at the pillage and destruction of their town. On enquiry into the cause of his staying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a dose of brandy, which had thrown him into so sound a sleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to scorch him. He was strangely amazed, at the first opening of his eyes, to see the houses in a blaze on one side, and several Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other, the greatness and suddenness of his fright, instantly reduced him into a state of sobriety, and gave him sufficient presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke, as the likeliest means to escape the enemy; and making the best of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he could (for he could not swim,) before he ventured to look back. By the time our people had helped their comrade out of the water, and were making the best of their way to the squadron, the flames had taken possession of every part of the town, and burned so furiously, both by means of combustibles that had been distributed for that purpose, and by the slightness of the materials

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They burn
Payta.

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materials of which the houses were composed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was sufficiently apparent no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could possibly put a stop to it, or prevent the entire destruction of the place, and all the merchandise contained therein. Our detachment having now safely joined the squadron, the commodore prepared to leave the place the same evening, at seven, Cape Blanco in lat. 4 deg. 28 min. S. and long. 88 deg. 16 min. W. from London, bore from us S. S. E. half E. about seven or eight miles distant. This afternoon and the next day we employed in taking the most useful and valuable things out of the Santa Teresa and the Payta bark: we likewise designing to take every necessary thing which we conveniently could out of the Santa Teresa, in order to destroy her, and bring our strength into a less compass, took her in tow, and set the Payta bark on fire, with the same view. The next day we destroyed the Santa Teresa in the same manner, having got out of them both some anchors, cables, hawsers, yards, and top-masts, blocks, bales of goods, and several other necessaries.

On the 17th, at three in the afternoon, the Gloucester, with a prize of her's in tow, joined us. This prize was called *The Del Oro*, and was chiefly laden with wine; however, out of her, and a small boat which they took going along shore, they got, in gold, silver, and wrought plate, to about the value of 17 or 18,000*l*. These two were all the prizes the Gloucester took in those seas.

On board this prize of the Gloucester, (says our author) were two horses, which being, I suppose, fat, and probably better in taste than their salt beef or pork, they killed for food; and this, I imagine, gave ground to that fiction which one of the spurious accounts of our voyage has given, of our eagerly hunting and eating wild horses, whereas in reality we never saw nor heard of a wild horse during the voyage.

The Gloucester had chased two or three ships, which had escaped her, and one of those touched at Payta; and though they could give no certain account that the ship which had chased them was an enemy, yet the circumstances they gave were so strong, that it put the people of Payta, upon securing their treasure, and the best of their effects, not caring to be too well provided for the profit of such unwelcome visitors.

The 21st, at half past five in the morning, we saw the island of Plata, so called from Sir Francis Drake's having, as it is said, divided the treasure he took in the South Seas, at this place. At two this afternoon, the port of Manta bore S. E. by E. distant about eight or nine leagues; we at this time sent six months provisions on board the *Carmen*; and all the ships had orders, in case of separation, for several places of rendezvous, on the coast of Mexico, or, in case of not meeting there, to make the best of their way to Macao in China, where they were to wait for the arrival of the commodore.

On the 22d a division was made of the plunder of Payta, and here we cannot but observe a great difference between the relations given by Pascoe Thomas, and that given by Mr. Walters; the former having asserted, that the commodore did not interfere in the distribution; the latter, that it was by his prudent management, that a jealousy, which had arisen between those who were the real captors, and those who remained on board the ship, was accommodated. Mr. Walters's account of the matter is as follows:—And now, says he, (while the ships lay to, in hopes of joining the Gloucester) a jealousy, which had taken its rise at Payta, between those who had been commanded on shore for the attack, and those who had continued on board, grew to such a height, that the commodore, being made acquainted with it thought it necessary to interpose his authority to oppose it. The ground of this animosity was the plunder gotten at Payta, which those who had acted on shore had appropriated to themselves, considering it as a reward for

the risks they had run, and the resolution they had shewn in that service. But those who had remained on board, looked on this as a very partial and unjust procedure, urging that, had it been left to their choice, they should have preferred the acting on shore to the continuing on board; that their duty while their commanders were on shore was extremely fatiguing: for, besides the labour of the day, they were constantly under arms all night, to secure the prisoners, whose numbers exceeded their own, and of whom it was then necessary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts there might have been formed in that critical conjuncture, that, upon the whole, it could not be denied, but that the presence of a sufficient force on board was as necessary to the success of the enterprize, as the action of the others on shore; and, therefore, those who had continued on board, maintained, that they could not be deprived of their share of plunder without manifest injustice. These were the contests amongst our men, which were carried on with great heat on both sides; and, though the plunder in question was a very trifle in comparison of the treasure taken in the place (in which there was no doubt but those on board had an equal right) yet as the obstinacy of sailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in dispute, the commodore thought it necessary to put a stop to this ferment betimes. Accordingly, on the morning after our leaving Payta, he ordered all hands upon the quarter deck, where, addressing himself to those who had been detached on shore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their services on that occasion; but then, representing to them the reasons urged by those who had continued on board, for an equal distribution of the plunder, he told them that he thought those reasons very conclusive, and that the expectations of their comrades were justly founded; and therefore, he insisted that not only the men, but all the officers likewise who had been employed in taking the place, should produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck, and that it should be impartially divided amongst the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commission: and, to prevent those who had been in possession of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their share, the commodore added, that, as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like services, he would give his entire share to be distributed amongst those who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus, this troublesome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might, perhaps, have been attended with mischievous consequences, was, by the commodore's prudence, soon appeased, to the general satisfaction of the ship's company; not but there were some few whose selfish dispositions were uninfluenced by the justice of this procedure, and who were incapable of discerning the force of equity, however glaring, while it tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands.

Being now joined by the Gloucester and her prize, it was resolved that we should stand to the northward and make the best of our way either to Cape St. Lucas, in California, or to Cape Corientes, on the coast of Mexico; indeed, the commodore, when at Juan Fernandez, had determined to touch in the neighbourhood of Panama, and to endeavour to get some correspondence over land with the fleet under the command of Admiral Vernon, for when he departed from England, he left a large force at Portsmouth, which was intended to be sent to the West-Indies, there to be employed in an expedition against some of the Spanish settlements, and Mr. Anson, taking it for granted that this enterprize had succeeded, and that Porto Bello might perhaps be then garrisoned with British troops, he hoped that, on his arrival at the isthmus, he should easily procure an intercourse with our countrymen on the other side, either by means of the Indians, who were greatly disposed in our favour, or through the Spaniards themselves, some of whom, for proper rewards might be induced to

carry

carry on his intelligence; which, after it was once begun might be continued with very little difficulty, so that Mr. Anson flattered him by these means he might have received a reinforcement from the other side, and by settling a prudent plan of operations with our commanders in the West-Indies, he might even have taken Panama itself, which would have given to the British nation, the possession of that isthmus; whereby we should have been in effect, masters of all the treasures of Peru.

Such were the projects which the commodore revolved in his thoughts, at the island of Juan Fernandez, notwithstanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced; but on examining the papers which were found on board the Carmelo, the first prize that we took, we learned that the attempt against Cartagena had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet in that part of the world would engage in any new enterprize which would at all facilitate this plan. Mr. Anson therefore gave over all hopes of being reinforced across the isthmus, and consequently had no inducement at present to proceed to Panama; as he was incapable of attacking the place, and there was great reason to believe that, by this time, there was a general embargo on all the coast. The only feasible measure then which was left us, was to steer as soon as possible to the southern parts of California, or to the adjacent coast of Mexico, there to cruise for the Manilla galleon, which, we knew was now at sea, bound to the port of Acapulco; and we doubted not but we should get on that station time enough to intercept her: but there was a business which we foresaw would occasion some delay, and that was recruiting our water, it being impossible to think of venturing upon this passage to the coast of Mexico till we had procured a fresh supply. It was for some time a matter of deliberation, where we should take in this necessary article; but by consulting the accounts of former navigators, and, examining our prisoners, we at last resolved for the island of Quibo, situated at the mouth of the bay of Panama; nor was it but on good grounds that the commodore conceived this to be the properest place for watering the squadron. Indeed, there was the small island called Cocoas, which was less out of our way than Quibo, where some of the buccaneers had pretended to find water, but none of our prisoners knew any thing of it, and it was thought too dangerous to risque the safety of the squadron, by exposing ourselves to the hazard of not meeting with water when we came there on the mere authority of those legendary writers, of whose misrepresentations and falsities we had almost daily experience. Determined, therefore to take in water at Quibo, we directed our course northward, being eight sail in company, and consequently having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th, at day-break, we discovered Cape Blanco, bearing S. S. E. half E. seven miles distant. By this time we found that our last prize, the Solidad, was far from answering the character given of her as a good sailor; and she and the Santa Teresa delaying us considerably, the commodore commanded them to be cleared of every thing that might prove useful to the rest of the ships, and then to be burnt. And having given proper instructions, and appointed a rendezvous to the Gloucester, and to the prizes in case of separation, we proceeded in our course to Quibo.

On the 25th, Point Manta bore S. E. by S. at seven miles distance, and there being a town of the same name in the neighbourhood, Captain Mitchell, in the Gloucester, took the opportunity of setting on shore several of his prisoners. The boats were now daily employed in distributing provisions on board the prizes to complete their six months stock, and that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manilla ship a warm reception, if happily she should fall in our way, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight stocks on the main and fore-tops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of swivel guns.

[After coming in sight of the island of Gallo, they

crossed the Bay of Panama, and in their passage had sultry weather, frequent calms and heavy rains, which attended them as far as the 7th degree of north latitude. They burned Captain Mitchell's largest prize on the 27th, and on the 3d of December they saw Quibo, the east end of it bearing, W. N. W. but kept off all night on account of the shoals at the entrance of the channel. At six the next morning they saw Point Manta, at the distance of about three leagues, and all the vessels, except the Centurion, were very near point in weathering it; and the Gloucester, being most to the leeward, was obliged to tack and stand to the southward. At length the rest of the vessels came to an anchor at seven in the evening.]

The next morning, says my author, an officer was dispatched on shore to discover the watering place, who having found it, returned before noon; and then we sent our long-boat for water, and, at the same time, weighed and stood farther in with our ships, for the convenience of being sooner supplied; so that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted.

While the ship continued at anchor here, the commodore, attended by some of his officers, went to examine a bay which lay to the northward, and they afterwards ranged all along the eastern side of the island. In the places where they put on shore in the course of this expedition, they generally found the soil to be rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the north-west part of the island, they discovered a natural cascade, which surpassed, as they conceived every thing of this kind, which human art had ever yet produced. It was a river of transparent water, about forty yards wide, which rolled down a declivity of near a hundred and fifty feet in length. The channel itself was very irregular, entirely composed of rocks, both its sides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks, and by these the course of the water was frequently interrupted; for in some parts it ran sloping with a rapid but uniform motion, whilst in others it tumbled over rocks with a perpendicular descent. In the neighbourhood of this stream was a fine wood, and even the huge masses of rock which over-hung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty forest trees. While the commodore, with those that accompanied him, were attentively viewing this place and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks, and the wood, there came in sight, as it were to heighten and animate the prospect, a prodigious flight of Macaws, which hovering over this spot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing above it, afforded a most brilliant appearance by the glittering of their variegated plumage.

Within three days we completed our business in this place, and were impatient to depart, that we might arrive time enough on the Mexican coast to intercept the galleon; but the wind being contrary, detained us a night; and when we had gained an offing, while we were hovering about, in hopes of getting sight of the Gloucester, on the 20th we discerned a small sail to the northward, to which we gave chase, and took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, called the Jesu Nazareno, laden with oakum, rock salt, and a small quantity of money to purchase a cargo of provisions at Cheripe, which has a good market, though it is but an inconsiderable village on the continent. On the 12th of September we joined the Gloucester, and found that, in tacking to the southward on her first approach to the island, she had sprung her fore-top-mast which had disabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us sooner. We now scuttled and sunk the Jesu Nazareno, and on the 12th of December stood to the westward, having previously delivered fresh instructions for the conduct of the fleet.

We had now little doubt of arriving soon enough upon our intended station, as we expected to fall in with the regular trade wind; but, to our extreme vexation,

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vexation, we were baffled for near a month, so that it was the 25th of December before we saw the island of Cocos, which, according to our reckoning, was only an hundred leagues from the continent; and even then we had the mortification to make so little way that we did not lose sight of that island again in five days. We had flattered ourselves that the uncertain and western gales we met with, were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent, from which, as we got more distant, we hoped to be relieved, by falling in with the regular easterly wind; but being likewise disappointed in this, we began at length to despair of the great purpose which we had in view. This produced a general dejection amongst us, having considered the project as almost infallible, and indulged ourselves in the boundless hopes of the advantages we should receive from it. However, our despondency was in some measure alleviated by a favourable change of the wind; and as we now advanced apace to our station, our hopes began to revive. On the 17th of January we were advanced to the lat. of $12^{\circ} 50'$ north; and, on the 26th of January, finding ourselves to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and stood to the eastward, with a view of making the land; and we expected by our reckonings to have fallen in with it on the 28th, yet though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no sign of it at sun-set. About ten at night, we discovered a light on the larboard bow bearing N. N. E. from us, and soon after the Trial's prize made the signal for seeing a sail. As none of us had any doubt but that what we saw was a ship's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm persuasion that it was the Manilla galleon, which had so long been the object of our wishes. We immediately cast off the Carmelo, and pressed forwards with all our canvas, making a signal to the Gloucester to do the same. Thus we chased the light, keeping all our hands at their respective quarters, under an expectation of engaging within half an hour, as at some times we conceived the chace to be about a mile distant, and at others to be within the reach of our guns. In this constant and eager expectation we continued all night, always presuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up to this Manilla ship; but when day-light came we were vexatiously disappointed, finding that the light which had occasioned all the expectancy, was only a fire on the shore. At sun-rise, after this mortifying delusion, we found ourselves about nine leagues off land. Being now in the track of the Manilla galleon, it was a doubt with us, being near the end of January, whether she was arrived or not; but, examining our prisoners about it, they assured us that she was sometimes known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to persuade us that the fire we had seen on shore was a proof that she was yet at sea, it being customary, they said, to make use of these fires as signals for her direction when she continued out longer than ordinary. On account of this reasoning of our prisoners, we resolved to cruise for her some days; and we accordingly spread our ships at the distance of 12 leagues from the coast, in such a manner that it was impossible she should pass us unobserved; however, not seeing her soon, we were solicitous to gain some positive intelligence. With this view, the commodore resolved to send a boat, under cover of the night, into the harbour of Acapulco, to see whether the Manilla ships were there or not. To execute this enterprise, the barge was dispatched on the 6th of February, carrying a sufficient crew, and two officers, also a Spanish pilot and an Indian. She did not return till the 11th, when the officers acquainted Mr. Anson, that they had mistaken the harbour, and that Acapulco lay considerably more to the eastward; so that not having a sufficient quantity of provisions, they were obliged to return, to make known their disappointment. On this intelligence, we made sail to the eastward; and, the next day, we dispatched the barge with particular instructions to the crew to keep at a sufficient

distance not to be seen from the shore. We watched six days without receiving any intelligence, so that we began to be uneasy for her safety; but on the 7th she returned with advice that being at the very place they sought for, though they were then ignorant of their situation, they surprised a fishing canoe with three negroes on board, who told them that the Manilla ship had arrived at Acapulco on the 9th of January, but that having delivered her cargo, she was taking in water and provisions in order to return, and that the Viceroy of Mexico had fixed her departure for the 14th of March. This last intelligence was most joyfully received by us, since we had no doubt but that she must fall into our hands; and it was much more eligible to seize her on her return than before her arrival, as the money for which she had sold her cargo, and which she would have now on board would be much more esteemed by us than the cargo itself. Thus were we a second time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manilla ship, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to consider as the most desirable capture that could be made on any part of the ocean. As it was the 17th of February when the barge returned and brought us our intelligence, the commodore resolved to continue the greater part of the intermediate time in his station to the westward of Acapulco, in order to avoid a discovery from the shore. During this interval we were so strongly prepossessed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an assurance of her coming out of port, that one or other was constantly imagining that he discovered one of our cutters returning with the signal. Thus disappointed, however, we did not despair, nor did we abate of our vigilance; but after remaining till the 25th of March, we at length concluded (and we afterwards found it true) that we had been discovered, and that, in consequence, an embargo had been laid upon the galleon, and her departure postponed till the next year. The cutters having finished their cruise before the harbour, returned to the squadron, and the signal being given for the fleet to join, it was determined to retire to Chequetan, in order to take in a fresh supply of water, our stock being then nearly exhausted. In the mean time, a cutter commanded by Mr. Hughes, lieutenant of the Trial's prize, was ordered to continue off the harbour of Acapulco for 24 days, that if the galleon should set sail in that time we might be speedily informed of it.

We entered the harbour of Chequetan on the 5th of April. It lies in $17^{\circ} 36'$ of north latitude, and is about 30 leagues to the westward of Acapulco. The watering place has the appearance of a large standing lake, without any visible outlet to the sea, from which it is separated by a part of the strand. The origin of this lake is a spring that bubbles out of the ground, near half a mile up the country. We found its water a little brackish, but considerably more so towards the sea side, but the nearer we advanced towards the spring head, the softer and fresher it proved. This laid us under a necessity of filling all our casks from the farthest part of the lake, which, however, was facilitated by means of canoes that traversed the lake, and brought a number of small casks to the side next the beach; there the water was started into larger vessels in the boats, and by that contrivance brought on board with very little trouble.

The country hereabouts, particularly the tract of the coast contiguous to Acapulco, appearing to be well cultivated and peopled, we hoped easily to procure from thence some fresh provisions and other refreshments of which we stood in need. To facilitate these views, the morning after we came to an anchor, the commodore ordered a party of 40 men well armed, to march into the country, and endeavour to discover some town where they were to set on foot a correspondence with the inhabitants; as, when we once began this intercourse, we doubted not but by proper presents we should allure them to bring us down whatever fruits or fresh provisions were in their power. As our prizes abounded with various sorts of coarse merchan-

Chequetan described.

dise which were of little consequence to us, though to them they would be extremely valuable, our people were directed to proceed with the greatest circumspection on this occasion, and to make as little shew of hostility as possible; for we were sensible that we could find no wealth in those parts worth our notice; and thought that what necessities we really wanted, would be better, and more abundantly supplied, by an open, amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour of opening a commerce with the inhabitants proved ineffectual, and therefore we desisted from any more attempts of the same nature, contenting ourselves with what we could procure in the neighbourhood of the port where we lay. We caught fish in abundance; among the rest were bream, mullets, soals, fiddle-fish, and lobsters; and we here, and in no other place met with that extraordinary fish called the torpedo, which is in shape very much resembling the fiddle-fish, and is only distinguished from it in appearance by a brown circular spot of about the bigness of a crown piece near the center of its back. This fish is, indeed, of a most singular nature, benumbing whoever touches it all over his body, but more particularly that limb which happens to come immediately in contact with it; the same effect, too, will be in some degree produced by touching the fish with any thing held in the hand; and it has lately been discovered, that it may be communicated like the electrical stroke to a large circle, by means of a certain apparatus much more simple than that which is used in experiments in electricity.

The animals which we met with on shore, were chiefly guanoes, with which the country abounds, and which by some are reckoned delicious food. We saw no beasts of prey, except we should esteem that amphibious creature the alligator as such; several of which our people discovered, but none of them very large. It is, however, certain, that there were great numbers of tygers in the woods, though none of them happened to make their appearance while we remained upon the coast. Parrots and pheasants were found in plenty, but by no means proper food, being dry and tasteless, though they were often killed and eaten, being by some thought preferable to salt provisions.

The papah, lime, and a little four plumb, were all the fruits the woods furnished, and of these there were but a scanty portion; nor was there any other useful vegetable, except brook-lime, which, being esteemed an antiscorbutic, was frequently eaten, though from its bitterness it was exceedingly unpalatable.

While we lay at Chequetan, it was resolved, after mature deliberation, to destroy all our prizes, as the whole number of men on board our squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth-rate man of war. It was therefore judged most prudent to set fire to the ships, and to divide the men between the *Centurion* and *Gloucester*, now, preparing to set sail for China. Besides the necessary repairs for a voyage of such a length, the removal of their stores and cargoes into the men of war took up so much time, that it was the end of April before we were in a condition to leave the place.

It should have been remarked, that from this harbour of Chequetan we discovered but one path-way through the woods into the country; and as this was much beaten, we were from that circumstance convinced, that it was not unfrequented by the natives. As it passed by the spring-head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach to surprise us, we, at some distance from the spring-head, felled several large trees, and laid them one upon another, across the path, and at this barricade we constantly kept a guard. We, besides, ordered our men, employed in watering, to have their arms always in readiness, in case of an alarm, and to march instantly to his post. And, though our principal intention herein was to prevent our being disturbed by the enemy's horse, yet it answered another purpose, which was, to hinder our people from straggling singly into the country, where we had reason to believe they

would be surprised by the Spaniards, who would doubtless be very solicitous to pick up some of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future designs. To avoid this inconvenience, the strictest orders were given to the centinels, to let no person whatever pass beyond this post, but notwithstanding this precaution, we missed one Lewis Legere, who was the commodore's cook, as he was a Frenchman and a Roman catholic, it was first imagined that he had deserted with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy, though this appeared by the event, to be an ill-grounded surmise: for it was afterwards known, that he had been taken by some Indians, who carried him prisoner to Acapulco, from whence he was transported to Mexico, and from thence to Vera Cruz, where he was shipped on board a vessel bound to Old Spain. But, the vessel being obliged by some accident to put into Lisbon, Legere escaped on shore, and was by the British consul sent from thence to England, where he gave the first authentic account of the safety of the commodore, and of his principal transactions in the South Seas. The relation he gave of his own seizure, was that he rambled into the woods at some distance from the barricade where he had first attempted to pass, but had been stoppt and threatened to be punished; that his principal view was to gather a quantity of limes for his master's stores, and that in this occupation he was surprised unawares by four Indians; who stript him naked, and carried him in that condition to Acapulco, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, which at that time of the year shone with its greatest violence; that afterwards, at Mexico, his treatment was sufficiently severe; so that the whole course of his captivity was a continued instance of the hatred which the Spaniards bear to all those who endeavour to disturb them in the peaceable possession of the coasts of the South Seas. Indeed, Legere's fortune was, upon the whole, extremely singular; as, after the hazards he had run in the commodore's squadron, and the severities he had suffered in his long confinement among the enemy, a more fatal disaster attended him on his return to England; for though, when he arrived in London, some of Mr. Anson's friends interested themselves in relieving him from the poverty to which his captivity had reduced him, yet he did not long enjoy the benefit of their humanity, since he was killed in an insignificant night-brawl, the cause of which could scarcely ever be discovered. When we were necessitated to proceed to Chequetan to recruit our water, the commodore considered that our arrival in that harbour would soon be known at Acapulco: and therefore he hoped, that on the intelligence of our being employed in that part, the galleon might put to sea, especially as Chequetan is so very remote from the course generally steered by the galleons: he therefore ordered the cutter, as has been already noticed, to cruize 24 days off the port of Acapulco, and her commander was directed, on perceiving the galleon under sail, to make the best of his way to the commodore at Chequetan. As the *Centurion* was certainly a much better sailer than the galleon. Mr. Anson, in this case, resolved to have got to sea as soon as possible, and to have pursued the galleon across the Pacific ocean; however the viceroy of Mexico ruined this project, by detaining the galleon in port all the year.

Towards the latter end of April, all things being in readiness for sailing, the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* weighed anchor; and, having gained an offing, the prizes were set on fire, and a canoe fixed to a grapple in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it, well corked, inclosing a letter to Mr. Hughes, directing him to go back immediately to his former station, before Acapulco, where he would find Mr. Anson, who resolved to cruize for him in that station some days. Indeed, it was no small mortification to us, now we were at sea, and the stormy season approaching, that we were detained by the absence of the cutter, and under the necessity of standing towards Acapulco in search of her. As the time of her cruize

Adventure of
Lewis Legere.

had

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had been expired near a fortnight, we suspected that she had been discovered from the shore, and that the governor of Acapulco had thereupon sent out a force to seize her; which as she carried but six hands, was no very difficult enterprise. However, this being only conjecture, the commodore, as he was got clear of the harbour of Chequetan, stood along the coast to the eastward in search of her; and, to prevent her from passing by us in the dark, we brought-to every night, and carried lights, which the cutter could not but perceive.

By the 2d of May we were advanced within three leagues of Acapulco; and, having seen nothing of our boat, we gave her over for lost; which, besides the compassionate concern for our shipmates, and for what it was apprehended they might have suffered was in itself a misfortune, that in our present scarcity of hands we were greatly interested in; since the crew of the cutter were the flower of our people, purposely picked out for this service, as known to be every one of them of tried and approved resolution, and as skilful seamen as ever trod a deck. However, as it was the general belief amongst us, that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the commodore's prudence suggested a project which we hoped would recover them. This was founded on our having many Spanish and Indian prisoners on board, some of them of quality. The commodore, therefore, wrote a letter to the governor of Acapulco, telling him that he would release them all, provided the governor returned the cutter's crew. This letter was dispatched by a Spanish officer, of whose honour we had a high opinion and who was furnished with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of Spaniards, who gave their parole for their return. The Spanish officer, too, besides the commodore's letter, carried with him a joint petition signed by all the rest of the prisoners, beseeching the governor to acquiesce in the terms proposed for their liberty. But while we were thus contriving their release, the centinel called out from the mast-head that he saw a boat under sail at a considerable distance to the south-eastward, which to our unspeakable joy upon her nearer approach, we found was our own cutter, the wan and meagre countenances of whose crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had suffered much greater hardships than could be expected from even the severities of the Spanish prison. They were obliged to be helped into the ship, and were immediately put to bed, when by rest and nourishing diet, with which they were plentifully supplied from the commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour.

And now we learned that they had kept the sea the whole time of their absence, which was above six weeks, and that when they had finished their cruise, and had just began to ply to the westward, in order to join the squadron, a strong adverse current had forced them upwards of 80 leagues to the leeward, where they found so great a surf, that there was no such thing as landing. They passed some days in the most disagreeable situation, without water, having no other means left them to allay their thirst than sucking the blood of the turtles which they caught. At last, giving up all hopes of succour, the heat of the climate likewise augmenting their necessities, and rendering their sufferings insupportable, they abandoned themselves to despair, fully persuaded that they should perish by the most terrible of all deaths; but soon after, a most unexpected incident happily relieved them; for there fell so heavy a rain that, on spreading their sails horizontally, and putting bullets in the centre of them, they caught as much water as filled their casks. Immediately upon this fortunate supply, they stood to the westward in search of the commodore; and being now luckily favoured by a strong current, they joined him in less than 50 hours from that time, after having been absent in the whole full 43 days.

And now having got on board our people, to our intire satisfaction, and the season of the year for sail-

ing to Asia being far advanced, the commodore resolved not to wait for any return from Acapulco, but gave orders to equip two large prize launches, to carry on shore the Spanish and Indian prisoners both from our ship and the Gloucester; and, having given them provisions and all necessaries for Panama, whither they intended to sail, they left us about four in the afternoon, to the amount of about sixty persons; having first (though enemies) observed the custom of seafaring people at parting, and wished us a prosperous voyage.

From the sixth of May, the day we took our departure, we met with little that was remarkable for a month, except that the true trade-wind, which is said never to fail at about 60 or 70 leagues from the shore of Mexico at the farthest, was so far from answering our expectations, that we had nothing but cross winds, rain, thunder, and lightening, till by account we were 600 leagues to the westward of Acapulco, having been above 40 days in getting so far. On the 9th we found the foremast sprung in a dangerous manner, and thereupon fastened and secured it very strongly. A leak that was sprung on the 22d was stopped by the carpenter with very little trouble. On the 11th of June we found a current set to the southward about 24 miles a day, but could not discover whether to the east or west, for want of opportunity to try it. This was, by account, 450 leagues from Acapulco. About this time, abundance of scorbutic symptoms, such as blackness in the skin, hard nodes in the flesh, shortness of breath, and a general lassitude of all the parts, began to prevail almost universally among our people. This, with the great mortality we experienced from this distemper in our Cape Horn passage, added to the time we might still expect to be at sea, formed a melancholy prospect, as we had still 1800 leagues to run to the Ladrões, which the Spaniards call the Marian Islands. These considerations gave us dreadful apprehensions of what this passage might terminate in, and the event shewed that we had but too much reason for them.

[For some days we find nothing remarkable related except the springing and damaging of masts and yards, which were repaired or replaced as expeditiously as possible; but the Gloucester was obliged to have recourse to a jury mast, on which she made sail on the 29th of June.]

We had not only now (continues our author) but for almost our whole passage, abundance of birds of prey, also flying fish, which are their proper food, and vast quantities of skipjacks, albicores, &c. whereof we took a great number, which contributed much to our refreshment after the loss of the tortoises that generally leave all the ships about twenty or thirty leagues off the land. I think this more worthy of notice, because Dampier, Rogers, Cook, and other voyagers, some of whom have been not only once, but several times on this voyage have reported, that they never saw a fish or fowl in this whole run. [Here a very probable cause is assigned for the different accounts of voyagers in this particular, namely, the different seasons of the year, in which they might have arrived in these latitudes. On the 10th day of the month they saw three gannets, birds which are described to resemble what are called Soland geese, in Scotland.]

On the 12th at noon, the longitude by account was 180° 41' to the westward of London, which is just 11' more than half the circumference of the globe, being then 1429 leagues distant from the port of Acapulco. From this time till the 16th we had fresh gales with squalls and rain, the 17th and 18th we had moderate and cloudy, the 19th and 20th fresh gales, with abundance of rain. We made this observation, that with rainy weather, or even slight transient showers, the fish bit more freely, and were caught in greater numbers than with fair weather, which made our fishermen the more attentive at such times. It was likewise remarked that when the Gloucester's people could find an opportunity to fish they had always more success than we; whether their fishermen

The ship's company attacked with the scurvy.

men had more art, or whatever else occasioned it, the fact is true. They had also a better way of disposing of them, when taken; for Captain Mitchell constantly ordered several boys, who were very dextrous at it, to catch fish for the ship's company, especially for the sick, and what was taken was very justly and regularly divided among them; whereas our fishermen were left at liberty to make their advantage of what they took, and to prey upon their suffering shipmates. These took care not to let slip the opportunity; for the least fish you could purchase of them would cost a bottle of brandy (which at this time was worth four, or perhaps six, and sometimes eight shillings, or half a guinea) and you must be very thankful, and acknowledge yourself to be highly obliged into the bargain, or else expect none the next time, and very often fail of it notwithstanding. About this time, our people began to die very fast, and, I believe, five parts out of six of the ship's company that were ill, expected to follow in a short time. Those whose breath was any way affected, dropped off immediately; but those who were attacked first in the more remote parts of the body, languished generally a month or six weeks; the distemper advancing, in the mean time, towards the lungs, by a very sensible and regular approach. As I myself was one of those who were severely afflicted in this latter manner, I shall give such an account of its progress as I found in myself, and which was corroborated by the similar report of my fellow-sufferers.

I was first taken about the beginning of this month with a slight pain on the joint of my left great toe, but having hurt that a little while before, I imagined it to be the effect of that hurt, and minded it the less; but here I must observe once for all, that if ever any part of the body had received a bruise, strain, or contusion, if it was not perfectly cured, the scurvy was sure to attack that part first. In a little time, a large black spot appearing on the part affected, with very intense pains at the bone, gave me to understand my case. I now took physic often, by way of prevention, but to little purpose. Several hard nodes began to rise in my legs, thighs, and arms, and not only many more black spots appeared in the skin, but those spread till my legs and thighs were for the most part, as black as a negro; and this was accompanied with such excessive pains in the joints of the knees, and ancles, as I thought before I experienced them, that human nature could never have supported. It next advanced to the mouth: all my teeth were presently loose, and my gums overcharged with extravasated blood, fell down over my teeth, which occasioned my breath to smell much, yet I believe, without affecting my lungs. But I believe, one week more at sea would have ended me, and less than a month more all the rest. One thing was very remarkable, and likewise universal; which was, that when the distemper had far prevailed, if the afflicted person lay quiet in his hammock he seemed to be perfectly well and hearty; but if he was removed out of it on any necessity, he immediately fainted away; and this was always a sure sign of the party's dissolution.

[This account is the more extraordinary since the lassitude incurred by lying still, generally encourages the scurvy, if it does not bring it on in the first instance. Of this we have been convinced by ocular demonstration, and have experienced the great efficacy of moderate exercise, in preventing the dreadful effects of this distemper. Perhaps it may be affirmed, upon the whole, that the disorder is not thoroughly understood; because the sea scurvy has this in common with that which we contract on shore; namely, that it puts on various appearances according to the situation, climate, time of life and constitution of the patient. In conclusion, our author seems willing to adopt a contrary hypothesis to that generally received; for he is of opinion that rest rather than exercise is good in case of the sea scurvy; but this appears to be only in the last stage of it, when the patient may be incapable of motion.]

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Since our passing Cape Horne (says he) our surgeon, Mr. Henry Ettrick, who was a very good practical surgeon, had been very busy in digesting a theory of scurvy, wherein he enumerated many cases very particularly, having been allowed to open and examine as many bodies as were abundantly sufficient for that purpose. His system was principally grounded on the observations made on a long passage in a very cold climate. He took abundance of pains to prove by many instances, that the tone of the blood was broken by the cold nipping air, and rendered so thin as to be unfit for circulation, or any other of the uses of life, and being thus deprived of force and vigour, stagnation and death must necessarily ensue. From this supposition, he had laid it down as an infallible rule, that food of a glutinous nature, such as fish, bread, and several sorts of grain were alone proper on such voyages. As for liquids, I know not which he pitched on, as the most salubrious on this occasion. But this passage, in a very hot climate, where the symptoms were not only more dreadful, but the mortality much more quick and fatal in proportion to the number of people, put our scheming doctor to a non-plus. All this obliged him at last (though he was still endeavouring to reconcile contradictions) to own that though some of the concurrent circumstances of this disease were plain enough, yet the grand cause was the long continuance at sea, or an entire secret; and that no cure but the shore would ever be effectual.

The commodore, on this great mortality, having by him a quantity of Ward's pills and drops, in order to experience whether they would be of any use, first tried them on himself, and then gave what he had left to the surgeon, to administer to such of the sick people as chose to take them. The surgeon would not recommend them to any person; but several took them, though I know of none that believed they were of any service. They worked most people who took them very violently; after which, as several told me, they would seem to be a little easier though weaker for a day or two, but then they always relapsed, and became worse than before; and this, together with the inefficacy of all that our surgeon could do in the case, sufficiently shewed the vanity of attempting the cure of their distemper at sea. [After a digression tending to inculcate the usefulness of rest to people afflicted with the scurvy, and an observation on contrary winds and bad provisions, the relation proceeds as follows.]

On the 29th in the morning, the Gloucester's fore-cap splitting, her fore-top-mast came by the board, and meeting with the fore-yard, broke it in the flings. As she was hereby rendered incapable of making any sail for some time, we were under a necessity, as soon as the gale sprang up, to take her in tow, and near 20 of the healthiest of our seamen were removed from the duty of our own ship, and were continued for eight or ten days together to assist in repairing her damages, but these things, mortifying as we thought them, were only the commencement of our misfortunes; for scarcely had our people finished their business in the Gloucester before we met with a violent storm from the west, which obliged us to lie to. This storm, which lasted from the 10th to the 13th of August was attended with rain, thunder and lightning, and such a lofty sea as I have seldom seen, and could not have believed in latitudes between the tropics, for such a long duration. Most of the time that we lay to, we drove to the northward. Abundance of our people died daily, and the ship proving very leaky, every person that could stir, (the principal officers not excepted) was obliged to take his turn at the pumps, and all little enough to keep us above water.

On the 13th of August at ten in the morning, the Gloucester made a signal of distress, and being to windward, bore down to us; but we observed she was long in veering, rolled very much, and made bad steerage. About half an hour after noon, her people spoke with us, and told us they were so leaky that

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1741 they must quit their ship; that they had seven feet water in the hold; and that all the men they had capable of stirring, were quite exhausted with pumping, and could work no longer. This was an additional misfortune, and seemed to be without resource; for while the Gloucester's crew were thus enfeebled, our own sick were so much increased, and those who still remained in health, so over-fatigued with labour, that it was impossible for us to lend them any aid. Therefore all that could be done was to send our boat on board for a more particular account of the ship's condition; as it was soon suspected, that the taking her people on board us; and then destroying the Gloucester was the only measure that could be prosecuted in the present emergency, both for the preservation of their lives and for our own. Our boat soon returned with a representation of the melancholy state of the Gloucester, and of her several defects, signed by Captain Mitchell and all his officers; by which it appeared that the ship was decayed in every part; that her crew was greatly reduced; they added that there remained alive no more than 77 men (officers included) 18 boys, and two prisoners; that of the whole number only 16 men, and 11 boys were capable of keeping the deck, and several of these very infirm, and that the water was so deep in the hold, that those who were yet alive were starving, and could neither come at fresh water nor provisions. On account of this representation, which was in no instance exaggerated, the commodore sent immediately an order to Captain Mitchell, to bring his people on board the Centurion, and take out such stores as could most easily be come at, among which he was very desirous of saving two cables, and a sheet anchor. But the ship rolled so much, and the men were so excessively fatigued, that it was with the greatest difficulty the prize-money was secured, the prize goods amounting to many thousand pounds being abandoned) nor could any other provisions be got at, than five casks of flour, (three of which were spoiled by the salt-water), a small quantity of brandy, and some living stock. Even this little business was so languishingly performed, that two days were wasted in the execution, during which time three or four of the sick perished on being removed. As the weather was now calm, and we were uncertain how far distant we might be from Guam, a settlement in possession of the enemy, to whom the wreck of such a ship with guns and ammunition on board would have been a very valuable acquisition, the commodore judged the most effectual way to prevent her falling into their hands was to set her on fire: and, accordingly, as soon as the captain and his officers had quitted her, the combustibles placed for that purpose were lighted, and she continued burning the whole night, and at six the next morning she blew up. Thus perished his majesty's ship the Gloucester; and now it might have been expected, that being freed from the embarrassment in which her frequent disasters had involved us, we should have proceeded on our way much brisker than we had hitherto done. However, we were soon taught that our anxieties were not so to be relieved.

The Gloucester set on fire.

We were at this time in the utmost distress; the ship considerably lumbered with prize goods, and the small room we had left thronged with the sick, whose numbers were now very much increased with those from the Gloucester, the dirt, nauseness, and stench almost intolerable, more people daily disabled with the disease; no sign of land, and but very little wind, and that not fair but variable; very bad provisions and water, and the ship very leaky; and though we discovered the leak to be in her bows on each side the stern, it lay in such a manner that we could not stop it, nay, the attempting it rather made it worse. In this distress we made the best of every spurt of wind.

Nothing farther remarkable happened till Sunday the 22d, when about eight in the evening, we discovered two islands; one bearing west half south, and the other S. W. by W. at the distance of about 10

leagues. We were overjoyed at this sight, and stood toward them with all our sail: but there being little wind, we did not get near them till the next day about noon, when being about three miles off the largest and most promising of them, which opened very hilly and full of trees, we sent on shore one of our lieutenants in the cutter to make discoveries, who returned at nine in the evening, and gave us but a very indifferent account of the shore.

The trees were mostly cocoa-nut trees, of which there were prodigious quantities: they brought about 60 cocoa-nuts on board with them, but they could find no water, nor any good place to anchor in. On this account it was thought fit to stand farther to the southward, for some more proper place. This was a severe disappointment to most of the sick, who, on the sight of land, (or hearing that it was so near) had begun sensibly to revive: but as persons in such circumstances are soon driven to despond, when an aid they depended upon deserts them, so this disappointment destroyed our hopes, and increased our dejection. We feared, that, if we met with more islands in the same run, they might be either as bad, worse, or inhabited by our enemies the Spaniards, who in our weak condition, might easily be able to hinder us from proper refreshments: add to this, how many of us were near to death, and how little we could expect to survive any time in searching for other islands, I know not whether these were the general thoughts of the sick, but I must own they were mine, and made our situation at that time appear ten times worse to me than at any other in the whole course of our voyage; I was indeed very ill, and my illness might possibly occasion every thing to appear in its worst light, yet I was never one of those who were frightened at the apprehension, or even the visible approach of death; it had no unreasonable terrors in any of its prospects to me; and I always could, meet it with resignation: but I believe the healthiest and stoutest at that time, had probably the greatest apprehensions; and I have since heard from many of those, that they expected all to have perished, had we been so little as three weeks longer at sea; and I much question whether they were not right in that expectation.

On the 26th at five in the morning, we saw three other islands, being from S. E. by S. to N. E. the middlemost of the three, which was the largest, due east. The 27th, at three in the afternoon, being got pretty near the shore of the middle island, we sent our cutter and pinnace in-shore for discovery. At four, the pinnace came off, and brought with her an Indian prau, with a Spaniard and four Indians whom they took in her. They likewise told us, that they had in shore a small bark of about 16 tons, and between 20 and 30 more people on the island, all of whom had been sent thither from Guam, to kill cattle and hogs, and make jerked beef and cocoa-nut oil, &c. for the Spanish garrison there; and that there are people constantly sent on that account, who, after some months stay at that place, are relieved by fresh parties for the same purpose. We secured both the bark and prau, together with all the Indians who fell into our hands, to hinder their carrying intelligence of us to the Spaniards at Guam. One of those Indians was a carpenter by trade, and his father was one of the principal builders at Manilla. This young man having been ill used by the governor at Guam, voluntarily entered with us, became one of our carpenter's crew, and proved a very useful handy fellow.

The Spaniard being examined as to the state of the island we were now approaching, the account he gave surpassed even our most sanguine hopes; and, though uninhabited, he said, it wanted none of those accommodations with which the best cultivated countries are furnished. On mustering up our whole force, as we drew near, all the hands we could collect, capable of any kind of duty, even on the most pressing occasions, amounted to not more than 71 men, (officers included). This number, inconsiderable as it may seem, were all of the united crews of the Centurion,

Gloucester, and Trial, that could move without being assisted, notwithstanding when they left England they consisted of near 1000 men.

When we had entered the road, our first business, after furling the sails and securing the ship, was to provide an hospital on shore for the sick: but the officer and seamen who were sent upon this service, returned joyfully, and acquainted us that the Indians on shore had saved them that trouble, and had provided for us better than we could have done for ourselves; for, having erected a number of little cabins for their accommodations during their residence on the island, and one in particular which they made use of by way of storehouse to stow their provisions in, there could be nothing more suitably adapted for the reception of both the sick and the healthy, than these erections. Accordingly we began sending ashore as many of the sick as could possibly be conveyed, among which number I myself was one: I say, as many as possibly could be conveyed, for we were so extremely feeble and helpless, that we were no otherwise to be landed than by being carried in our hammocks, both in and out of the boats, on mens shoulders, in which service both the commodore himself and his officers very humanely assisted; and indeed they were almost the only persons on board capable of performing it, the healthiest seamen being so much enfeebled, that they had but just strength enough left to help themselves. The next day, being the 29th, the remainder of the sick were brought on shore, when 21 men died; but the greatest part of the rest recovered surprisingly. The soil, upon examination, we found to be every where dry and healthy; and being withal somewhat sandy, it was thereby the less disposed to a rank and over-luxuriant vegetation: and hence the meadows and woods were neater and smoother than is usual in hot climates. The valleys and hills were most beautifully diversified by the mutual incroachments of woods and lawns, which skirted each other, and traversed the islands in large tracts. The woods consisted of tall and well-spread trees, some celebrated for their beauty, and some for their fruit: whilst the lawns were generally crowded with herds of cattle, of which it was not uncommon to see thousands feeding in a herd, and being all milk-white, it was no wonder that such an appearance excited our longings, and encreased our impatience, to kill and eat. Add to this, the innumerable swarms of poultry that filled the woods, and, by their frequent crowings, gave us in idea the pleasing apprehension of being in the neighbourhood of farms and villages; and we even fancied, that in the covert of the woods we should find such concealed. The cattle we had sight of were computed at 10,000; and, besides these and the poultry, we likewise found abundance of wild-hogs, which were excellent food, but fierce, and not easily mastered. At first we killed them by shooting; but our ammunition failing, owing to an accident, we at last hunted them down with dogs, several of which joined us on the island, and being trained to the sport by the Indians, readily enough followed us, and afforded good diversion. In their conflicts with the boars, some indeed were killed; but those that came off victorious, were still more eager to engage in every new pursuit.*

This island was no less fortunate to us in its vegetable than in its animal productions, more particularly in abounding in such fruits and plants as were best adapted to the cure of that disease by which we had been so dreadfully debilitated. In the woods cocoa-nuts were to be gathered without number; and, what is remarkable, cabbages grew on the same trees. There were, besides, guavas, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and, what is common to all the tropical islands, bread fruit; in the plains we found water-melons, dandelion, creeping-purslain, mint, scurvy-grass, and sorrel: all which, together with the fresh meats of the place, were such salutary refreshments,

that the sick, who were at death's door when they landed; before they had been a week on shore; put on very different countenances, and with their new complexion received a fresh recruit of spirits. 1741

Amidst such a variety of provisions as the land furnished, it was thought unnecessary to indulge ourselves in those offered us by the sea. From fish, therefore, we wholly refrained: and the rather, as some we caught at our first arrival, surfeited those who ate of them. This, however, was not regretted, as beef, pork, poultry, and wild-fowl, were in such plenty; that except the trouble of bringing them from a considerable distance sometimes; there was no difficulty attending their procurement. It were indeed, an endless task to recount all the excellencies and delicacies we met with in this delightful island; nor is it easy to say which to prefer where every thing is worthy of admiration, the neatness of its lawns, the stateliness, freshness, and fragrance of its woods; the happy inequality of its surface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded. All these conspired to charm the sight, while, at the same time, the excellency of its productions could not fail to gratify the appetite. And these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness of the climate, by the almost constant breezes that prevailed, and by the frequent, gentle showers that seemed to fall just to refresh the earth, and add to its fertility; for these, instead of the long continued rains that in other countries fill the air with noxious vapours, and overflow the earth, with wasteful inundations, seemed just enough to purify the air, and to refresh the soil; which was observable enough by the effects it had in increasing our appetites, and promoting our digestion. This effect was indeed remarkable, since those among our officers who were at all other times spare and temperate eaters, were here in appearance transformed into gluttons; as instead of one reasonable flesh-meal a day, they were scarcely satisfied with three: and yet our digestion so well corresponded to the keenness of our appetites, that we were neither disordered nor even loaded by this uncommon repletion; for after having made a large beef breakfast, it was not long before we began to consider the approach of dinner as a very desirable and somewhat tardy event: The principal inconveniences that attended our residence upon this island arose from the vast number of muskittos and other troublesome insects, by which we were perpetually teased: there was likewise a venomous little insect that, like the sheep-ticks in England, would bury its head in the skin, and if not soon removed, cause an inflammation. Running water there was none in the island, but that defect was supplied by a large lagoon or lake, almost in the centre of it, to which the cattle, in times of drought, generally resorted; but the freshness of their pasture, and the copious dews and gentle showers that often moistened it, rendered that resource almost unnecessary. There were besides springs of excellent water, and, near the surface, wells might every where be dug, whose waters in any other place, would not have been complained of.

But the great danger we had to dread, remains to be told. During four months in the year; that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, when the western monsoons prevail, the winds about the full and change of the moon are variable, and blow with such fury, that the stoutest cables afford no security to ships riding at anchor in the road: and what adds to the danger in the rapidity of the tide, which sets to the S. E. and occasions such a hollow and overgrown sea as is scarcely to be conceived; inasmuch that though we were in a sixty-gun ship, we were under the dreadful apprehension of being pooped by it. During the rest of the year, the weather is constantly settled, and when ships have nothing to fear, if their cables are well armed, which otherwise will soften from the foulness of the ground. From the 19th of August, when our sick were all put on shore, to the 12th of September, when the commodore himself

* The island of Tinian is differently described by Commodore Byron.

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self landed, those that remained on board were chiefly employed in mooring their ship, in shifting their guns, to come at their leaks, and in securing the cables from being galled against the rocky bottom; at the same time an anchor and cable were put on board the Spanish bark, her own being only a heavy log of wood, and a rope made of bafs, and some barrels of powder, which by long keeping were become moist, to be dried and recovered. From the 12th to the 15th, their hands were continually shifting; those who were so well recovered as to be capable of duty, were sent on board, and those who had borne the burden of the labour were relieved and sent on shore.

A violent
tempest drives
the Centurion
from her an-
chor.

The weather began to alter on the 19th, and to threaten a storm. On that day, the next, and the 21st, it blew hard; however, we rode it out, and flattered ourselves that the prudence of our measures had secured us from accidents. On the 22d the hurricane came on, and our only hope of safety seemed to depend on our putting out to sea; but the commodore was on shore, and all communication with the land absolutely cut off. At five in the afternoon, the small bower parted, and the ship sprang off to the best bower. As night approached, the violence of the storm increased; yet, notwithstanding its inexpressible fury, the rapidity of the tide was such as to prevail over it, and to force the vessel before it, as it were, in despite of its utmost rage. It was now that the sea broke round us in a tremendous manner, and a large tumbling swell threatened to ingulph us in its bosom. The long-boat which was moored a-stern, was, on a sudden, thrown so high that it broke the transom of the commodore's galley, and would, doubtless, have risen as high as the tafferil, had it not been for the stroke, which stove her to pieces; yet the poor boat-keeper, though much bruised, was saved almost by miracle.

About eight o'clock the tide slackened, but the wind did not abate; and the best bower cable by which alone we held, parted at eleven. In this extremity, Mr. Saumarez, our first lieutenant, who commanded in the absence of the commodore, ordered guns to be fired, and lights to be shewn, as signals of distress. In a short time after, the night being excessively dark, the storm raging, the thunder roaring, and nothing to be seen but the blue lightning flashing through the rain, we were driven to sea; and by this catastrophe the whole crew, both by sea and land, were reduced to a state of despair; those on shore, concluding that they had now no means left them ever to get home, while those on board, being utterly unable to struggle with such winds and seas, expected each moment to be their last. In this despondent state, while the crew on board were every moment expecting to be dashed against the rocks of Aiguignan, an island about three leagues from Tinian, those on shore were persuaded the ship could not survive the storm, the whole channel between the two islands, appearing from the land like one continued breach; the sea swelling, breaking, and roaring, like mountains over mountains, and forming the most awful and terrifying sight that the mind of man can possibly conceive. Indeed the condition of those driven to sea was truly pitiable: they were in a leaky vessel, with three cables in their hawses, to one of which still hung their yet remaining anchor: they had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in. Their shrouds were loose, their fore-top-mast was unrigged, and they had struck their fore and main yards down before the hurricane came on, so that there was no sail they could set except the mizzen. To add to their misfortunes, they were no sooner at sea than by the labouring of the ship, whole floods of water rushed in at the hawse-holes, ports, and scuppers, which, with the usual leakage, kept the pumps constantly at work. Persuaded that their destruction was inevitable, yet sinking was but their secondary concern, for they judged by the driving of the ship, that they were making towards the land, and in the darkness of the night that they should no otherwise perceive it than by striking upon it. Day-light, however, relieved them from

that uneasy apprehension, by shewing them that the island which they had so much dreaded was at a considerable distance, and that the northern current had proved the means of their preservation. It was not, however, till the expiration of three days, that the turbulent weather which had driven them from Tinian, began to abate; when every man in the ship was so worn out with fatigue, that they found it impossible to man the pumps, and haul the sails at the same time. They had twice attempted to get up the main and fore yards, in which they had as often miscarried, by the breaking of the jeers; and in the last effort, one of their best men perished.

All this time the ship was driving to leeward, and dragging her sheet-anchor, the only one she had, with two cables on end at her bows. This was a circumstance of the greatest consequence, and required a speedy remedy; for though, upon a third exertion of their whole force, they had replaced their yards, they durst not, while the anchor remained in that situation, venture to spread their canvas. Some rest and refreshment became necessary before a work of such labour could be proposed to a feeble and diminished crew, that hardly consisted of 100 men. It was therefore five days after their departure, before they could secure their anchor. Then they set their courses, and, for the first time, stood to the eastward, in hopes of soon regaining the island, and rejoining their commander, and the rest of the company. But in this they were unhappily disappointed; for having run, as they thought, the distance necessary, and being in full expectation of seeing the island, they found themselves bewildered by the irregularity of the currents, and knew not what course to steer, till, after many days uncertainty, they came at last in sight of Guam, from whence, with infinite labour, they directed their course to Tinian, the wind being constantly against them, and the tide variable. This severe employment held till the 11th of October, when, after 19 days absence, they appeared again in the offing, and were reinforced from the shore, to the inexpressible joy of the whole crew.

A few days after the ship was driven off, some of the people on shore cried out, *A sail!* This spread a general joy, they supposing it to be the Centurion returning; but presently another sail was descried, which wholly destroyed the first conjecture, and made it difficult to guess what they were. The commodore, by the help of his glass, saw they were two boats; on which he instantly concluded, that the Centurion was gone to the bottom, and that those were her boats, returning with the remains of her people. This sudden suggestion wrought so powerfully upon him, that, in order to conceal his emotion, he was obliged to retire to his tent, where he spent some bitter moments in the firm persuasion that all his hopes were now at an end, and that, instead of distressing the enemy, he must himself, with his people, fall a prey to their cruelty. He was, however, soon relieved from this mortifying thought, they appearing, on their near approach, to be Indian proas [or praws] directing their course towards the bay with a view, as was supposed, to relieve their countrymen, or take on board their provisions.

On this intelligence, the commodore ordered his people to conceal themselves; but the praws, after advancing within a quarter of a mile of the shore, lay by for the space of a few hours; and, probably observing some change in the appearance of the place, which might raise their suspicion that an enemy lay in ambush, they got again under sail, and steered to the southward.

After this incident, an opinion began generally to prevail that the Centurion would never more appear at this island; and that she was either lost, or forced upon the coast of China, from whence, in her crazy condition, it would be impossible for her ever to return. Though the commodore did not apparently give into this opinion, yet he was not without his fears; and to provide against the worst, he proposed cutting

Engraved for
*Moore's Voyages
and Travels.*



*The Engagement of the
CENTURION and ACAPULCO,
off Cape Espiritu Santo, in which
the latter was taken.*

cutting afunder the Indian bark which they took, on their first arrival, and lengthening her in such a manner as to render her capable of taking on board all who were then upon the island, and follow the ship, if peradventure she should be driven to Mocao. After some hesitation, owing to the difficulty attending the execution, they were prevailed upon to engage in the work, and the commodore by his example encouraged their diligence; for, being always at work by day-break himself, it was thought a disgrace to be idle when their chief was employed. It fortunately happened, that the carpenters both of the Gloucester and the Trial were on shore, and that they had brought for safety their chest of tools with them. The smith too, was on shore with his forge, but his bellows was still in the ship. This defect occasioned some delay; but was soon supplied by the ingenuity of his ship-mates, one or other of them never being at a loss for expedients on such occasions. They limed a fresh hide for leather; the carpenters shaped out a wooden frame, and a gun barrel served for a nozel; the smith being now in readiness to prepare the iron work, some were employed in cutting down trees, and sawing them into planks, whilst the main body were busied in digging out a draw-dock to receive the bark, and laying of ways to heave her up and down. All, in short, were variously employed; and the work went on successfully for 16 days; in which time the bark was sawn afunder, and her two parts were separated, and placed at the proper distance from each other; and, the materials being all in readiness before hand, they proceeded with no small dispatch in the enlargement, insomuch that they fixed on the 5th of November as the day when they should be ready to depart. The alacrity with which the business was carried on, left no room for reflexion among the common sailors, though their superiors were not without their fears. They had no sea provisions, except the jerked beef, which the Indians had prepared, and abandoned when they fled, and they had a run of 600 leagues before they could presume upon a supply. They had no bread, and the bread fruit on this island could not be preserved at sea; they wanted salt; and, what was still a more necessary article in their present situation, they wanted ammunition for their defence, in case of an attack from an enemy; for, upon the strictest search, no more than 90 charges of powder could be collected, which was short of one round a-piece for each of the company. They were in an unknown sea, and wanted instruments to direct their course; in short, though the common men had no other thought than how they should get on board, the officers foresaw a thousand difficulties, which were almost insurmountable to human apprehension, but which they carefully concealed, that the main business might not be retarded. But, in the midst of these gloomy apprehensions, which, the nearer the time of their departure approached, still became the more serious, and when all hopes of seeing the Centurion at Tinian had subsided, one of the Gloucester's men, being upon a hill at a distance, looking out for cattle, perceived, something like a ship in the clouds, which, on steady observing it, seemed to move slowly towards the land, it was not long before he was sensible of its approach, and persuaded himself it was the Centurion. The man with extasy ran towards the landing-place, crying to his comrades, *The ship! The ship!* This being heard by the nearest, was echoed from mouth to mouth, till it reached the spot where the commodore was at work, who, on hearing the joyful news, threw down his axe, and joined in the general transport. In a few hours, the Centurion appeared in the offing, and a boat with 18 men was sent off to reinforce her, and to carry fresh meat, fruits and refreshments, for the crew. In the afternoon of the 11th of October, she happily cast anchor; the commodore went instantly on board, and the joy and congratulation on that occasion were equally sincere and mutual.

The labour of the artificers was now at an end, and another kind of employment succeeded, which was that of laying in water for the voyage. Now also

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hunting, shooting, and every device that could be contrived to catch live cattle, hogs, and poultry, for stores, took place; while, at the same time, the commodore and officers amused themselves with traversing the island, and examining more minutely its several parts. In one of these excursions, being on a rising ground, they observed, in a valley beneath them, the appearance of a small thicket, which, by attending to it, seemed to have a progressive motion, as indeed it had, but was no other than a parcel of cocoa-bushes trailed upon the ground by persons concealed beneath them. From this uncommon circumstance, it was immediately concluded, that the Indians, whose boat they had surprised upon their first arrival, must be the persons who were dragging the bushes, and that it could not be far to the place of their concealment. They therefore kept their eye upon them, and traced them to their cell; but, to their surprise, when they entered it, they found it abandoned, though all things were ready prepared for dinner, and stood smoking hot on a table of turf. The officers, having in vain endeavoured to track them returned, and, with an appetite increased by the keenness of the pursuit, sat down to eat that meal which the poor hungry savages had abandoned. It consisted of salted spear-ribs, and bread fruit; all which they found ready dressed, and in quantity as much as they all could eat.

On the third day, after the second arrival of the ship, the commodore being on board, a sudden gust of wind arose, and again brought home our anchor, and drove us out to sea. Our chief officers were now all on board; and only about 70 of our men, with a midshipman or two to command them, were employed on shore in filling water and catching cattle. Of these about 30 came off to us in a cutter, and the eighteen-oared barge was sent for the rest: but they not being in readiness, and the ship quickly driving out of sight, it was no longer in their power to join us. However, as the weather soon proved favourable, and we were now stronger and healthier than when we met with our first disaster, in about five days we regained the road, and anchored safe in our former station. On our return we found the bark restored to her old dimensions, and the parts brought together, and in good forwardness to be completed; for the few remaining people, despairing of the return of the ship, had determined to follow her to her destined port. We now laboured indefatigably to get in our water, in order to sail, in which service two of our men, employed in the well, unfortunately perished; for the sides of the well being loose earth, by the carelessness of those above, in not properly attending the filling, the bank gave way by the weight of a heavy cask, and both that and the bank fell in upon them together. Some other misfortunes happened through haste in rafting the casks to the ship, which yet, notwithstanding, were such as are generally accounted trifling on board a man of war. Our watering went on so successfully, that by the 20th of October it was completed; and on that day leave was given for a man from each mess to go on shore and gather as many oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits of the island as should be sufficient for us all, while at sea. This being accomplished, and the Spanish bark set on fire, the men returned on board, and the boats were hoisted in. On the 21st we set sail, and the wind being fair, and the weather moderate, nothing remarkable happened till we arrived on the coast of China, except that while we were passing by the rocks of Vale Rete, near the south end of the Island Formosa, we were alarmed by a cry of fire on the fore-castle, which brought the whole crew together in the utmost confusion, so that it was difficult for some time to reduce them to order; but, as soon as discipline took place, and a proper examination could be made, it was found to proceed from the furnace, where the bricks, being over-heated, had begun to communicate the fire to the wood-work, which, had it not been timely discovered, might have been of the most dreadful consequence;

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quence; but, as it fell out, it was extinguished with the greatest facility, and the brick-work so secured, that no accident of the like kind could happen again.

From the island of Formosa we directed our course so as to fall in with the coast of China, to the eastward of Pedro Blanco; as that rock is generally esteemed the best directions for ships bound to Mocoa; and, on the 6th of November we fell in with it, and were presently surrounded by an incredible number of fishing boats, which covered the surface of the sea as far as the eye could reach. Nor was this swarm of fishing vessels peculiar to that place, for, as we ran on to the westward, we found them as abundant on every other part of the coast. From among these we had no sort of doubt of procuring a pilot to Mocoa; but, when we thought ourselves near it, though we tempted them with shewing them bags of Spanish dollars, for which, it is said, a Chinese would sell his father, yet not one of them would venture to come on-board us, nor give us the least intelligence; neither did our ship, the like of which so armed and filled, probably, had never before appeared upon their coasts, seem to excite in them any curiosity. They continued their fishing with the same apparent indifference as if any trading ship had been passing by; and, when we made them signals, they disregarded them as much, though they certainly understood them, as if we had been in sport. The next day, however, about two in the afternoon, as we were standing to the westward, within two leagues of the shore, still surrounded as before, we observed that a boat a-head of us waved a red flag and blew a horn. This we apprehended was a signal for us, and accordingly hoisted out our cutter, and sent to know the meaning of it; when we presently discovered the mistake, and that it was only the usual notice to leave off fishing, which the whole fleet instantly obeyed. Being thus disappointed, we kept on our cruise till we came to a groupe of islands, round the westernmost of which we were directed to pass, and then to haul up. While we were thus employed, a Chinese pilot came on board, and, in broken Portuguese, undertook to pilot us into harbour for 30 dollars; and on the 12th of November, anchored us safe in Mocoa road, where the first thing we did was to salute the fort, and to send to the Portuguese governor, to advise with his excellency in what manner to behave, to avoid giving offence to the Chinese. The difficulty the commodore principally apprehended, related to the port charges usually paid by the ships in the river Canton, from which charges men of war are exempted in every port of Europe, and which the commodore was determined not to be forced to pay in this.

In the evening the boat returned with two officers, who delivered it as the governor's opinion, that, if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would most certainly be expected; and, therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would send a pilot to conduct the ship into another harbour, called the Typa, where it was probable the port charges would never be demanded. To this proposal our commander agreed; the pilot was sent and the ship safely moored.

Next day the commodore paid a visit, in person, to the governor, to solicit a supply of provisions, and of naval stores to refit the ship. The governor very frankly acquainted Mr. Anson, that he durst not openly furnish either the one or the other: for that he himself never received provisions for his garrison but from day to day, by permission from the Chinese government, nor any thing else but what his present necessities required. However, he assured the commodore in a friendly manner, that he would give him all the assistance in his power. On this declaration, the commander resolved to go to Canton himself, to procure a licence from the viceroy to purchase a supply, and his attendants to carry them into port. But just as they were ready to embark, the Hoppo refused to grant them a permit; nor would he, for all the

interest the commodore could make, withdraw the prohibition, till he was threatened to be compelled to it by force. This operated when fair means had failed; the next day a permit was sent on board; and the commodore proceeded to the English factory, to consult with the principal officers there, about the precautions that were to be used, lest the factory there should suffer by violent measures, which he was solicitous to avoid. They advised him to transact the matter with the Chinese merchants, who, at first, undertook to accomplish it; but after trifling with him for more than a month, they declared they durst not interfere in it. They then undertook to procure him provisions clandestinely, but that would not suffice. On his return, he found the ship so much out of repair that she could not proceed without being hove down. The next day, therefore, he wrote a letter to the viceroy, acquainting him, that he was commodore of a squadron of his Britannic Majesty's ships of war, that had been cruising in the South Seas against the Spaniards, who were at war with his nation; that his ship was leaky; that his people were in want of provisions; that he had put into Mocoa, a friendly port for a supply; but that, being a stranger to the customs of the country, he had been unable to succeed; and therefore he requested he might be permitted to employ workmen to repair his ships, and that he might be supplied with provisions at the accustomed rates at which the articles which he stood in need of were generally sold.

Another difficulty was now started as to the delivery of this letter, the Hoppo at first refusing to intermeddle with it; but on the commodore's expressing some repentment, and threatening to convey it to Canton, by his own messengers, he at length undertook not only to deliver it, but to procure an answer; accordingly, though the letter was only dated on the 17th of December, on the 19th a mandarine of the first rank, together with two others of an inferior class, and their attendants, having in their retinue 18 half galleys, decorated with streamers, and furnished with bands of music, came to a grapple a-head of the Centurion, whence the mandarine sent in to acquaint the commodore, that he came by order of the viceroy to examine the condition of the ship, and to report the same as it should appear to him upon a just survey. On this message, preparations were instantly made to receive him; in particular, a hundred of the most lightly men on board, uniformly dressed in the regimentals of the marines, were drawn up under arms on the main deck, against his arrival. When he entered the ship, he was saluted by the drums and military music, and conducted by some of the principal officers to the quarter-deck, where he was received in state by the commodore, and then introduced to the great cabin; then he explained his commission, and deputed the persons he had brought with him to take the survey. The mandarine appeared to be a person of superior abilities, and endowed with a frankness and honesty not usually to be met with among the ordinary ranks of Chinese officers, and being an eye-witness of the dangerous state of the leaks, and of the necessity there was for a thorough repair, he expressed his entire acquiescence in the report that had been given, and promised to lay the same immediately before the council upon his return. He was exceedingly curious in inspecting the ship, in examining her guns, and posing her great shot. He expressed his astonishment at her strength and magnitude; and the commodore, to increase his wonder, and shew his own power, let him know how easy it would be for him to destroy the whole navigable force of China, and lay the city of Canton in ruins; but, nevertheless, he assured him, that not the least violence should be offered, provided his wants were supplied upon reasonable terms.

At the same time the commodore complained of the behaviour of the officer at Mocoa, who had prohibited the country people from selling provisions to his company, though they had paid for what they purchased

in sterling silver. The mandarine heard the complaint without emotion, but said it should be remedied for the future. After the business was over, dinner was ordered, and the commodore apologized for the meanness of the fare, from the difficulty he had to procure better; but the two inferior mandarines, who were the only persons of the retinue permitted to sit at table with them, shewed no dislike to any thing set before them, except the beef, to which they have the same aversion as the Jews have to pork, from a prejudice derived from their ancestors; of which the commodore was not apprized, nor were they offended at its being set before them. They were indeed, very awkward in the use of knives and forks, and it was found necessary to introduce their own servants to carve for them before they could make an end of their dinner. But if they were deficient in their manner of eating, they were no novices in putting about the glass; for, there was not an officer at table that durst engage with them. Seeing they were fond of Frontinac, and that they presently emptied four or five bottles without any effect, the commodore ordered a bottle of citron water to be brought up, which on tasting, they liked, and, hethen excusing himself, on account of an illness from which he had not yet recovered, they clapped a ruddy faced officer on the shoulder, and desired him to pledge them, saying, by their interpreter, they were sure he could not plead illness for declining his glass. When the bottle was out, they all rose from the table, without appearing to be in the least disordered; and after the usual ceremonies, departed very well pleased with their entertainment.

The commodore now eagerly expected the licence which he had requested; but it was several days before it passed the necessary forms, chiefly owing to the intrigues of a Frenchman, who having the advantage of speaking the language fluently, was at no loss in traversing the measures of the friendly mandarine; yet a repetition of the threats already referred to, produced the desired effect.

The licence was received on the 6th of January, and the carpenters set to work, and the prohibition being previously taken off, provisions were every day brought to the ship in plenty. However, it was the beginning of April before the repairs could be completed; and the Chinese began to be very uneasy at the commodore's long stay. They had frequently sent messengers to him to hasten his departure; not knowing or believing that he was no less in earnest to be gone than they were desirous to be freed from his long stay. At last, on the third of April, two mandarines came on board from Mocao, with a peremptory command, addressed to the commodore, requiring him to depart; to which he made answer in a determined tone, That he should go when he thought proper, and not when they presumed to command him. After this rebuke, however, all communication was forbidden, and no more provisions were suffered to go on board; and so strictly were those injunctions carried into execution, that, from thenceforward, nothing could be purchased at any rate whatsoever.

On the 6th the Centurion weighed, and warped to the southward, and by the 15th she was safe in Mocao road. Long before this, some time in the month of November, Captain Saunders, commander of the Trial prize, had taken passage on board a Swedish ship, with dispatches from the commodore for government. And about the middle of December, Captain Mitchell, Col. Crockerode, Mr. Taswel, with his nephew, Mr. Charles Herriot, and the Rev. Mr. Walter, embarked on board the company's ships, on their return home. About this time we received the first news of the arrival at Rio Janeiro of the Severn and Pearl, the two ships of our squadron, that parted from us at Cape Horne. The former had been remarkable for the extraordinary sickness which had been more fatal on board her than any other vessel in the whole squadron; insomuch that though her hands

were twice recruited from the Centurion, during her voyage to the streights of Le Maire, yet when she parted company she wanted hands to navigate her in a storm, which was the reason of her return. It was from the knowledge of this uncommon mortality that prevailed among the crew, that the commodore concluded the Severn to be lost. The news, therefore, of hers and the Pearl's safety was received with the greater pleasure, as we had long entertained an opinion that both of them had perished. But, to proceed.—From the 1st to the 15th of April, we had stormy weather, with heavy rains, and such amazing and terrifying claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, as nothing of the kind I had ever seen, bore any proportion to. This was upon the breaking up of the easterly monsoon, when such storms are usual in the country, and sometimes are accompanied with dreadful gusts of wind, which they call tuffoons, of the effects of which the Chinese relate wonderful stories.

While we were warping out of the harbour, the commodore went on shore to Mocao, to take leave of the Portuguese governor, who, had behaved in a very friendly manner to us; at his coming from the fort he was saluted with 15 guns.

During our stay, we had entered about 20 fresh hands, being chiefly Lascars, Persians, and Dutchmen, so that our whole complement, when we sailed, amounted to 224 men and boys, among whom were some of almost all nations, languages, and religions.

Being now at sea, we were for some time in a state of uncertainty what course the commodore intended to steer. He gave out at Mocao, that he was bound for Batavia, and from thence to England; but his real design was very different. The project which the commodore had resolved upon in his mind was to cruise for the annual ship from Acapulco to Manilla; and, not discouraged by his former disasters, he resolved again to risque the dangers of the Pacific Ocean, and to take his station off Cape Spirito Santo, on the island of Jamal, being the first land the Acapulco ships make in approaching the Philippines. When we were thus got out to sea, it was no longer necessary to conceal his project, he therefore summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and in a short, but spirited speech, informed them of his design, which was received by them with signs of highest approbation. Such a confidence of success had diffused itself through all the ship's company, that the commodore, who had taken some Chinese sheep to sea with him for his own provision, enquiring one day of his butcher, Why he had lately seen no mutton at his table? the man replied, That there were but two sheep left, and these, with his honour's leave, he would reserve for the entertainment of the general of the galleons.

When the Centurion left the port of Mocao, she stood some days to the westward, and on the first of May, passed the Island of Formosa. Steering to the southward, on the 4th in the evening they came in sight of the Bashee Islands, which they suspected to be wrong laid down by Dampier, and, from observation found them 25 leagues too far to the westward. On the 20th of May they came in sight of Spirito Santo.

As it was known that there were centinels placed upon the cape to make signals to the Acapulco ships,* the commodore tacked, and ordered the top-gallant-sails to be taken in, to prevent a discovery; and this being the station in which he proposed to cruise, he fixed the limits between the latitude of 12° 50' north, and 13° 5' the Cape itself lying in 12° 4' north, and four degrees east longitude from Pstel Tobago Xima. It was now the ship from Manilla was every hour expected; for she seldom fails of making land in the month of June, and sometimes sooner, and it was the last day of May New Style, when the commodore took his station.

* There were two expected, because none had been permitted to sail the preceding year.

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[After a month of tedious expectation in which hopes and fears alternately reigned in the breasts of our adventurers, on the 20th of June, Mr. Charles Proby a midshipman, discovered a sail from the mast-head; on which it was immediately concluded that this must be one of the galleons, and accordingly they stood towards her. They could see her from the deck at half an hour past seven in the morning, when she fired a gun to leeward, which the English thought had been a signal to her consort, but which they afterwards found was intended as a signal for her own people to prepare for engaging.]

They meet
with the Aca-
pulco ship.

The commodore was surprised to see the vessel steadily pursue her course, and was now in no fear of losing her, as, at noon, he could fetch her wake. Her consort not appearing, it was concluded that they had parted company, and it now became visible that the Spaniard did not intend to fly, but to fight. Every preparation had been previously made on board the *Centurion*, and all hands properly instructed; so that every man on board repaired to his post with as much regularity and unconcern as if preparing for a review. Thirty of the best marksmen lined the tops; two men placed themselves at each gun, to load it, and gangs of ten men each, were appointed to go from gun to gun, to run them out, and fire them as soon as they were loaded. Thus a constant running fire was kept up, and no interval allowed for the enemy to stand to their guns in safety, as is common when whole broad-sides are discharged at once.

At one in the afternoon, the galleon hauled up her fore-sail, and brought to, under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at her top-gallant mast-head. About the same time the *Centurion* hoisted her broad pendant and colours; and seeing the enemy clearing the decks of their cattle and lumber, gave orders to fire the chase guns, to disturb them in their employment. The galleon returned the fire with her stern chase guns, one of which carried away one of our fore-shrouds, which could not have been done by an ordinary ball. The English setting their sprit-sail fore and aft for boarding, the Spaniards, out of a bravado did the same. Soon after the *Centurion* shot abreast of the enemy, within pistol shot; and now the engagement became hot and fierce. For the first half hour, the *Centurion* over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow, while by the wideness of her ports, she could traverse almost all her guns upon the enemy, but, in return, the galleon could only bring a part of her's to bear.

[In the midst of the action, the mats with which the galleon had stuffed her netting, took fire, blazing up nearly as high as the mizzen-top. This accident threw the Spaniards into the utmost terror, and also alarmed the commodore, he fearing lest the galleon should be burnt, and that he himself might suffer by being closely grappled by her. Happily, however, both these dangers were averted; and the fire was extinguished by cutting away the netting, and letting the whole tumble into the sea.]

All this time the commodore kept his first advantageous position, firing with great regularity and briskness; while, at the same time the galleon's decks lay open to our top-men, who having, with their first volley, driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havoc with their small arms, &c. killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared upon the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the general of the galleon himself. Thus the action continued for more than half an hour: after which the *Centurion* lost the superiority of her situation, and came close along-side of the galleon, when the enemy continued their fire with great activity for near an hour longer: yet, even in this situation, the commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of the dead and wounded became so considerable, that they began to fall into great confusion, especially as the general, who was the life of the action, was no longer able to exert himself. The disorder was

so great, that their officers were seen running about to prevent the desertion of the men from their posts; but all their endeavours were in vain; for, after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they yielded up the contest; and, the galleon's colours being singed off the ensign-staff at the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at the main-top-gallant-mast-head; but even this office would have been at the peril of the man's life, had not the commodore, observing what he was about, given express orders to leave off firing.

The commodore, when the action was ended, resolved to make the best of his way with his prize to the river Canton, being, in the mean time, fully employed in securing his prisoners, and in removing the treasure from on board the galleon into the *Centurion*. His first business was to commission the ship, and put her under the command of proper officers: Lieutenant Saumarez was appointed Captain, and was immediately ordered on board to take possession of his charge.

But, just as the galleon had struck, the officer who commanded between decks came up, seemingly to congratulate the commodore on his conquest; but at the same time privately whispered to him, that the *Centurion* was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. It seems one of the lads, called powder monkeys, being heedless, a cartridge that he was carrying blew up in his hands; this fired another, and that three of the lower-deck guns on the off side of the ship, which being happily loaded and laid down for service, and the ports hauled up to vent the smoke, they did not occasion the least mischief; however, the cartridges and guns together raised such a smother, that it was at first doubtful whether it proceeded from the explosion, or from a part of the ship being on fire; in fact, upon examination, it was found to proceed from both: for part of a cartridge having fallen between the planks of the ceiling, close aft by the scuttle of the chaplain's cabin, not only a considerable smoke issued out, but a very sensible heat, and, had it not been immediately extinguished, the consequence would have been dreadful: to be brief, a few pails of water seasonably applied, did more than all the water of the ocean could have effected after an hour's delay.

This alarm being thus happily subsided, we drafted out 50 of our people (of whom myself was one) to board and man the prize. I heard we killed them 60 men, and wounded as many more, and expected to have seen the horrid spectacles of mangled limbs, dead carcases, and decks covered with blood: but no such spectacles appeared, a party having been properly stationed, during the time of action, to wash away the blood, and to throw the dead over-board. We found, however, many desperately wounded, and among them the general, who had received a musket ball in his breast, and was, or pretended to be so ill, that it was judged unsafe to remove him from his cabin: but all the other officers, together with the passengers of note, were sent on board the *Centurion*. Among the latter was an old gentleman, governor of Guam, who was going to Manilla to renew his commission, and who had scarcely mounted the *Centurion's* side before he was received with open arms by Mr. Crooden, captain of marines, who, 36 years before, at the battle of Almanza, had been his prisoner, and honourably used by him. These two renewed their old acquaintance, and Captain Crooden had a long-wished for opportunity of returning the favour he had formerly received, and which he gratefully remembered.

The ship, which upon examination, was found to contain to the value of more than a million and a half of dollars, was called the *Nuestra Señora de Cabadonga*, Don Jeronimo de Montero, commander, by nation a Portuguese, and accounted the most intrepid officer employed in the Spanish mercantile service: and, indeed, in my opinion, he was more brave than prudent; for, surely, no wise man, intrusted with such a cargo,

six leagues to the windward of a man of war, purposely stationed to intercept him, would have borne down upon his enemy, and braved him to his teeth, when, with the advantage of the wind, he might have got safe to port, from whence he was not more than 10 or 12 leagues distant, and where he might then have set his pursuer at defiance.

His galleon was indeed larger than the man of war, was pierced for 64 guns, but had only 36 mounted, most of them 12 pounders and 17 of them brass: she had, besides, 28 patararoes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, carrying each a 4lb. ball; and, before the engagement, she mustered 640 men capable of bearing arms, officers and passengers included: she was, besides, well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two-inch rope laced over her wattle, and fortified with half-pikes placed in the manner of chevaux de frize; but, notwithstanding all her defences, she had 64 men killed, and 84 wounded, whilst the *Centurion* had only two men killed, and a lieutenant and 16 men wounded, all of whom recovered, one man only excepted.

And now the commodore learned from some of the prisoners, that the other ship, which had been kept in the port of Acapulco the year before, instead of returning in company with this, as was expected, had sailed earlier in the season than usual, and was probably got into Manilla before the *Centurion* set sail from Mocao; so that, notwithstanding our present success, we had reason to regret the loss of time occasioned by the delays of the Chinese, which prevented our taking two rich prizes instead of one, though to say the truth, it would not have been an easy task to dispose of the prisoners, which, even as it fell out, was a matter that gave the commodore no small disquietude; for they were above double the number of our people; and some of them observed, when they were brought abroad, how slenderly we were manned; and the general himself could not help expressing his indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. It was therefore necessary for our own preservation to prevent their rising; and that could not be securely effected without exercising a degree of severity which in any other circumstances could not have been justified on the principles of humanity; for there was no method practicable but that of stowing the men in the holds of the two ships; and as for the officers, 17 in number, they were confined in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a guard of six men, first depriving them of their arms, and then keeping a strict watch on all their motions. Indeed, the sufferings of the common men, such of them, in particular, who were not employed in navigating the ship, were much to be pitied; for, the weather being extremely hot, the stench of the hold was loathsome beyond conception, and their allowance of water but just sufficient to keep them alive, being only a pint a day, for each man. It was next to a miracle that not a man of them died, during their confinement, except five of the wounded, who expired the very night they were brought aboard the *Centurion*. Thus circumstanced, the motives of humanity, as well as interest, strongly urged the commodore to hasten his return to China; and the prize being much damaged, both in her hull and rigging, it was found necessary to take her in tow for a quicker dispatch.

On the 21st of June it blew a storm, which continued till the 25th when the sea ran mountains high; in this storm the *Centurion* lost her long-boat, and the prize a launch.

On the 2d of July we passed between the Bashee Islands, though the rippling of the sea seemed to indicate breakers or rocky ground; but, the wind bearing so far to the northward as to render it difficult to weather them, we risked the danger to shorten the voyage. On the 8th of July we made the coast of China, and on the 11th came to an anchor off the city Mocao; from thence we proceeded to the river

of Canton, where we met with the usual obstructions from the custom-house officers, and where the commodore was again obliged, as it were, resolutely to force his way to his intended station. The officers who came to take the dimensions of his ships, in the usual manner, seemed astonished when he talked of being exempted from the accustomed rates, and gave him to understand, that the emperor's duty must be paid by every ship that came into his ports; and the pilot had private instructions not to carry the ships through the Bocca Tygris, or narrow pass that forms the entrance into the river Canton, till security was given for the accustomed charges.

And here it may be necessary just to mention that this pass, not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth is defended by two forts on the opposite sides; but these the commodore disregarding, and being determined to enter the river without delay, as the stormy season was approaching, caused the pilot to be brought before him, and, in a determined tone, threatened to hang him to the yard arm, if he did not instantly take charge of the ship, and carry her safe, without striking ground, through the Bocca Tygris into the open river. The poor pilot performed his office, but did not escape punishment for what he could not help. He was instantly seized, on being released from the *Centurion*, committed to prison, and rigorously disciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get access to the commodore afterwards, to supplicate a recompence, who, ever ready to reward the sufferers in his service, gave him such a sum as more than contented him for his whipping. Nor was the poor pilot the only sufferer, for the governors of the forts, were both displaced for not preventing what it was in vain for them to attempt to oppose, and for not doing what all the council must know was impossible to be done.

On the 16th the commodore sent his second lieutenant to Canton, with a letter to the viceroy, assigning his reason for putting into that port, demanding a licence for purchasing provisions and stores, and intimating an intention of waiting upon his excellency in person to make his acknowledgements. The lieutenant was civilly received, and promised an answer the next day. In the mean time, the principal officers of the prize desired permission to go to Canton on their parole, which was readily granted; these no sooner arrived, than they were called before a magistracy and examined; when they generously and frankly acknowledged, that they fell into the hands of the commodore by the chance of war, and though they were prisoners, they were notwithstanding at liberty to treat for their release; they said farther, that tho' it was not the custom among European nations to put prisoners to death; yet that the laws of war authorised much severer treatment than they had hitherto met with from their conquerors. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who, till then, though they had reviewed the commodore's naval force, had yet suspected his morals, and had considered him rather as a lawless free-booter, than as one commissioned by the state for the revenge of public injuries.

On the 20th of July, three mandarines with their retinue came on board, and brought the viceroy's permit for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to carry the ship up the river as high as the second bar; and, at the same time, they delivered a message from the viceroy, in answer to that part of the commodore's letter which related to visiting his excellency, the substance of which message was, That the viceroy wished the commodore to defer his visit till the hot season was over; but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to receive him. This the commodore looked upon as a finesse, knowing an express was sent up to the emperor's court at Pekin; whence the real motive for putting off the visit seemed to be to gain time to receive the emperor's instructions concerning the ceremony to be observed at his reception. The mandarines, having dispatched this part of their commission, next entered upon the business

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The commodore refuses to pay customs.

business of the port charges; whereupon the commodore at once cut them short, by telling them that as he did not come to trade, he was not to be treated upon the same footing with trading ships; that his Britannic Majesty's ships never paid customs in the ports of Europe, nor ever would be subject to pecuniary imposts in any other port whatever. Finding nothing to be gained on this head, they told the commodore, that they had still another matter in charge, and that was the release of the prisoners taken on board the galleon, for that the emperor would never permit the subjects of princes with whom he was in alliance, to be held in bondage in his dominions, nor could the viceroy answer it to his sovereign, if he suffered it; and that therefore his excellency hoped that the commodore would give immediate orders for their release. Though nothing could be more agreeable to the commodore, who wanted much to be rid of the incumbrance, than this requisition, yet to enhance the favour, he at first raised difficulties, but at length suffered himself to be prevailed upon by their intreaties, and concluded, by assuring them, that, to shew his readiness to oblige, he would deliver up the prisoners whenever the viceroy would order boats to fetch them. Matters being thus adjusted, the mandarines departed; and, in a few days, two Chinese junks were sent from Canton to carry them to Mocoa, under the direction of one Captain Fial, commander of a Spanish merchant-man, to whose ship we gave chase in our passage from the Bashee Islands to Mocoa, but lost sight of her in the night.

To this gentleman the general of the galleon, and all his officers, except one who accompanied us to England, were delivered up. And now I have occasion to mention the general, I cannot help relating an affair which gave us on board the prize a great deal of concern, and sufficiently shewed the meanness of his spirit, and his beggarly craft. I have already taken notice of his being wounded in the engagement, and of his being indulged with the use of his own cabin till he was fit to be removed. The commodore, over and above this indulgence, sent him a surgeon from his own ship, upon a complaint that the Spanish surgeon on board the galleon was quite ignorant in his profession; but at the same time he sent an officer to demand his commission. Pretending to this officer that he was unable to move, he referred him to a small box in the locker of his private cabin, in which, he said, it was, and likewise a sword-belt set with diamonds of great value, his own property: but, upon search, neither the commission nor belt could be found, and, as some of our people had been rummaging both that and the other parts of the ship, he protested, that, if they could not be there found, they must have been taken away and concealed. Under colour of this concealment, though he never produced his commission, he all along received the most humane and gentlemanlike treatment, that the most worthy officer could desire or expect, and such was continued till his departure, when neither his chests, of which he had two very large ones, nor any of his trunks or cases were suffered to be searched, but every thing that he claimed as his personal effects were delivered to him with the greatest care and punctuality; though, as I was afterwards informed, he had many valuable ventures concealed, which ought to have been delivered up as prize to the captors; but, that was never examined into, he carried them off with the rest, and, it was supposed, was not the least among the gainers by the capture of his ship. He persisted, however, to the last, in the loss of his commission and belt, and, though there were none on board on whom he could charge the theft, yet the commodore sufficiently expressed his displeasure against the whole crew, by the prohibition he laid upon us, as soon as the prize came to an anchor in the river, by which all communication was cut off between us and the country people, and no boat suffered to come near us but our own, by which severe order we were entirely debarred from purchasing

our own provisions and necessaries from the Chinese, which the people in the Centurion were at full liberty to do, neither could we employ the Chinese tradesmen to supply us with apparel, of which we stood greatly in need, though in that too the Centurion's people were indulged; and all this for no other reason, ever assigned than that the commodore was determined the secreter should have no opportunity of disposing of them without being discovered. Had this precaution been taken as it ought, for the satisfaction of those suffering under the severity of the censure; and had the effects of the Spanish general been properly inspected, the secreter would have been publicly exposed; for when we afterwards fell down to Mocoa with the ships, where we sold the prize, I was myself told by an Irish priest that the general had both his commission and his belt, that he made no secret of the matter at Mocoa, and that he had offered the jewels (made up only by way of blind) among the merchants for sale.

During our stay in the river Canton, our people were employed in repairing the Centurion, overhauling her sails and rigging; also in ventilating her decks and quarters below, and in paying and decorating her hull; insomuch that when she came to sail, she had more the appearance of a ship newly fitted out, than of one that had been a three years voyage round the globe. While these things were doing in the Centurion, we on board the prize were busied in rummaging for treasure, till about the latter end of August, when we made a full end of our search, and found, upon account of the captors, 1,278,546 dollars in specie, and 1,324 of wrought plate and virgin silver. The jewels found were not then valued. While the inferior officers and seamen were thus employed, the commodore had a still more important business in hand. He knew it was impossible for us to proceed to Europe, without an ample supply of provisions and other sea stores; and though we were furnished with a daily allowance, yet no order had been obtained for victualling us for our intended voyage. Application had indeed been made, and terms agreed upon with the contractors to furnish whatever was necessary; and they had the viceroy's permission for the delivery; but when, about the middle of September the proper officer was sent to inquire in what forwardness these things were, he found that the baker had not begun to bake the bread, nor the butcher to kill the oxen; nor was the least step taken to comply with any one article of the agreement. We could no otherwise account for this faithless procedure of the Chinese, than by supposing they meant to starve us into a compliance with their accustomed demands for port charges, with which the commodore was determined never to acquiesce. Indeed it was suspected that the contractors themselves had some interest in promoting the delay, though it was not easy to penetrate the views by which they were influenced, as it may with truth be asserted, that in artifice, falsehood, and attachment to all kinds of lucre, the Chinese, as a nation, are not to be paralleled by any other people under the sun. It were endless to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds, which were practised on the commodore and his people by this interested race. The method of buying provisions in China being by weight, the tricks made use of to make them heavy, were almost incredible. At one time a number of fowls and ducks being brought for the ship's store, the greatest part of them presently died, which spread a general alarm on board, for fear they should have died of poison; but, on examination, it was discovered that they had crammed them with small stones and gravel, to increase their weight. The hogs too bought of the Chinese ready killed were found to have water injected into the carcases for the same purpose; and when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was found that salt had been given them to increase their thirst, and methods used to suppress their urine, and that the tortured animals had been sold in that inflated state.—Mr. Walter adds, That as the Chinese never

never scruple to eat these animals that die of themselves, they contrived by their secret practices when the commodore put to sea, that part of his live stock should die in a short time after it was put on board. In order, therefore to make a second profit of the dead carcases, which they expected would be thrown overboard, they followed in boats, to pick up the carrion; and accordingly two thirds of the hogs dying, before the ship was out of sight, their labour could not be in vain.

The treachery of the contractors being now discovered, the commodore determined to renew his former requisition for an audience with the viceroy. With this view, he notified his intentions to the proper mandarine, and desired he would fix the time with the viceroy when he would be pleased to receive him; at the same time giving him to understand that, on the first of October he intended to proceed in his boat to Canton. The mandarine returned for answer, That he would make the viceroy acquainted with his intentions.

As it was apprehended that the payment of the customary duties would be demanded at this interview, the commodore took the necessary precautions to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the success of their pretensions by having him in their power at Canton, and therefore gave the command of the Centurion to his first lieutenant, Mr. Brett, (now Sir Piercy) with orders if he should be detained, to lie at the mouth of the river, and to suffer no boat or ship to pass or repass till he was released. This being known to the Chinese, they were now more embarrassed than ever in their deliberations. On the morning of the first of October the boat's crew, to the number of 18, whom the commodore intended to take with him, appeared in their uniform, consisting of scarlet jackets and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver, having also silver badges on their jackets and caps. Just at this time Mr. Anson's linguist came to him from the mandarine, to tell him that a letter had been received from the viceroy, desiring the commodore to defer his intended purpose for two or three days, the men were ordered to be undressed; and the preparations were all laid aside. But, in the afternoon of the same day, another linguist came on board, seemingly in a great panic, to inform him that the viceroy had expected him up that day; that the council had been assembled, and the troops put under arms to receive him; and also that the viceroy, highly incensed at the disappointment, had sent the commodore's linguist to prison, supposing him to be the sole cause of this contempt. This plausible tale gave the commodore great uneasiness, at that time, not suspecting any opposition: and though it afterwards appeared to be all a farce, yet the falsehood was so well supported by the artifices of the Chinese merchants, that the commodore read a letter three days afterwards signed by all the supercargoes of the English ships then at the place, expressing their anxiety about what had happened, and intimating their fears that some insult would be offered to his boat, if he attempted to come to Canton before the viceroy was fully satisfied of the mistake. To this letter the commodore replied, That he did not believe there had been a mistake, but was persuaded it was a forgery of the Chinese; to prevent his visiting the viceroy, and that therefore he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chinese would not dare to offer him any insult, as well knowing he should neither want the power nor inclination to make them a proper return. Accordingly, on the day appointed, the commodore continuing firm to his resolutions, all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships came on board the Centurion, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he set out in his barge the same day, attended by his own boats, and by those of the trading vessels, which, on this occasion, were sent to augment his retinue. As he passed by Wampoo, where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them except the French; and in the even-

ing he arrived safe at Canton. The Chinese merchants, who affected to appear very much pleased that he met with no opposition in his way, pretended that the viceroy was then fully employed in preparing his dispatches for Peking, that there was no getting admittance to him, but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court, as soon as he was at leisure, to notify the commodore's arrival, and endeavour to fix the time of audience. Though Mr. Anson knew this to be a falsehood, yet he suffered himself to be persuaded by the European supercargoes not to appear to doubt it, provided the Chinese merchants would undertake that his bread should be baked, and all his stores in readiness within forty days; after which time if the least article was forgotten, he would force his way to the viceroy, and prefer his complaint.

During the interval; while the contractors were endeavouring in earnest to fulfil the terms of the agreement on their part, (which however they insisted should be paid for in advance on his) a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton, which, on the first alarm being spread, might easily have been extinguished by pulling down some of the adjoining sheds; which the commodore with his officers and crew observing, were about instantly to carry into execution; but they were told that whatever they pulled down they must build up again at their own expence, and that none but a mandarine must presume to direct upon such occasions. On receiving this admonition, the commodore dispatched his people to the English factory, to assist his countrymen there in securing their effects, as it was easy to conclude no distance was safe from fire where the common people contented themselves with gazing at it, and now and then holding up an idol by way of extinguishing it. At length a mandarine came out of the city with four or five hundred firemen, who made some feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses, but by this time the fire extended itself, and had spread among the merchants warehouses, where the Chinese firemen had neither spirit nor skill to encounter it; so that it was feared the whole city would have been laid in ashes. In this emergency the viceroy vouchsafed to make his appearance; and a message was sent to the commodore requesting his assistance. Accordingly he hastened a second time with about forty of his men to the place where the fire raged with the greatest violence; and they, in the sight of the whole city, performed such daring, and to the people who beheld them such astonishing feats, that they looked upon their guests as salamanders, and cried out that they could live in the fire. In reality, it was no uncommon thing to see some of the boldest and most active among the English, tumble on the roofs, amidst the ruins of the houses which their own efforts had brought down under them. And thus, by their agility, the fire was very soon subdued, to the astonishment of the Chinese, who were spectators of the wonders which they performed. The Swedish was the only factory that suffered on this occasion, though an account widely different was afterwards given in the Paris Gazette.

This signal assistance gained the English commander much respect. He was the next day waited on by the principal inhabitants with presents, and thanks; and, soon after, a message came from the viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for the day of audience. Being highly pleased with this last intimation, Mr. Anson, instantly gave orders for the necessary preparations, and engaged Mr. Flint, a gentleman belonging to the English factory, for his interpreter, who having been trained up from his infancy among the Chinese, spoke their language fluently, and who was not afraid to deliver with boldness what the commodore gave him in charge, a part which the Chinese interpreters would not have dared to perform with equal fidelity.

On the day appointed, the commodore and his retinue set out; and, as he entered the outer gates of the city he was met by a guard of 200 soldiers, that conducted him to the great parade before the emperor's palace,

A fire at Canton extinguished by the English.

1743

The commodore has an audience of the viceroy.

palace, in which the viceroy then resided, where a body of troops to the number of 10,000 were drawn up under arms, who made a fine appearance, being all new clothed for this ceremony. Through the middle of these the commodore marched with his retinue to the hall of audience, where he found the viceroy seated under a canopy, in the emperor's chair of state, with all his council of mandarines attending. He was seated the third in order from the viceroy, the chiefs of the law and treasury being the only persons placed above. Mr. Anson then addressing the viceroy, by his interpreter, complained of the delays which he had met with, enumerating the insincerity of those whom he had employed, the various impositions of the officers of the customs; the grievances of the British subjects; and, finally, mentioned the loss sustained by the Hallingfield Indiaman, which had arrived there dismasted but a few days before the fire happened, by which the crew had been great sufferers, and the captain in particular, who had lost a chest of treasure, of the value of 4500 tael. To the latter article, the commodore received for answer, That in settling the emperor's customs with that ship, the Captain should be considered. To the other complaints the commodore received no answer. Having now gone through the several articles which he had in charge from the company, he next entered upon his own affairs, and particularly concerning the licence to ship off his provisions and stores, which he said were all ready, and the season for sailing now set in. The viceroy replied to this, That the licence should be immediately issued, and that every thing should be ordered on board the following day. The business being now at an end the viceroy continued the conversation for some time on difference and curiosity; and, after observing that the Centurion had been long on the coast, he concluded with acknowledgments for the services which the commodore had rendered the Chinese, by the activity of his people at the late fire, and with wishing him a good voyage to Great Britain.

Thus happily concluded this long expected audience; and, in pursuance of the viceroy's promises, the provisions were begun to be shipped the very next day. And now all the preparations for putting to sea were pursued with so much expedition, that by the 5th, the Centurion and the prize were ready to unmoor; on the 10th, they passed through the Bocca Tygris into the open road, and, on the 12th anchored before the town of Mocoa. While they lay there, the Portuguese merchants entered into treaty with the commodore for the purchase of the prize, for which they would give no more than 6000 dollars, though worth double that sum: but the impatience of Mr. Anson to be gone, that he might himself be the messenger of his own good fortune, and thereby prevent the enterprises of the enemy to intercept him, prevailed upon him to conclude the bargain; and she being delivered on the 15th of December, and the money received in the afternoon of the same day, he hoisted sail, and took his departure for his native country.

On the 3d of January he came to an anchor at Prince's Island, in the streights of Sunda, and, on the 8th weighed, and continued his course. From this time till the 23d, we had foul and stormy weather; and the wind blowing against us, we were driven pretty near the coast of New Holland; and had it continued blowing in the same direction for 48 hours longer, we should have found it difficult to have cleared the coast; but on the 21st the wind abated, and the weather became moderate. On the 24th the trade-wind set in, and then we proceeded on our passage with the greatest alacrity. On the 24th of February, at half after four in the morning, I discovered a comet to the eastward, near the horizon, being, as I judged, lately emerged from the sun's rays. Its tail was at this time about ten degrees in length; but in less than a fortnight, it increased, and extended itself to near 40 degrees. Its head appeared very large and bright; and, on a nice inspection, I

have perceived it when the sun has been about half its diameter above the horizon. The next time I observed its distance from the planet Venus, to be 26° 50' following the order of the planets; but not having instruments fit for taking altitudes without a very obvious sensible horizon, I was prevented from making more satisfactory observations. From this time till the 6th of March, we had pleasant weather with few exceptions, but on that and the three following days, being near the Cape of Good Hope, we had some boisterous storms; yet, when we arrived at Table-Bay, on the 11th, the Dutch knew not that any such had happened. We found riding here two English East-Indiamen, the Salisbury and Warwick, each of which saluted us with thirteen guns, and we returned eleven. We also found five Dutch ships, one of which as admiral, having a flag at his main top-mast head, saluted us with nine guns, and we returned seven. At eleven at night we parted our best bower cable and hawser, both of which were very rotten, and the next day moored again with others purchased from the Dutch. Here the commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, and during his stay entered 40 new men. Having completed the taking in of our water and provisions on the third of May, we weighed anchor. On the 19th we passed within sight of St. Helena, which however, we did not visit; and, on the 26th we caught on board a snake that measured six feet two inches in length, which our surgeon on examination, pronounced to be perfectly harmless; this serpent was supposed to have been brought on board with our wood, at Prince's Island, in the streights of Sunda. Being before the wind on the 30th, with a fine breeze and a gentle rain, a violent and sudden squall took us a-head, which threw all the sails a-back, carried away our fore top-sail yard, split the fore-sail, fore top-sail, and fore top-gallant sail, as also the mizzen and mizzen top-sail. During this squall, the ship lay down very much, and we were in the utmost danger of our masts coming by the board; but, providentially, we escaped without farther damage.

On the 9th of June, it being a thick fog, on a sudden, we saw a ship close by us, fired a shot and brought her to. She proved to be an English ship from Amsterdam, bound for North America, with Palatine emigrants; after having given us the first notice of a war, she proceeded on her voyage.

We came into soundings on the 10th, and on the 11th, at half past eleven in the morning, discovered three sail, one of which we spoke with, at one in the afternoon, which proved to be a Dutch vessel from Dublin: at the same time, the second being pretty near us, shewed Dutch colours. The third, which had been in chase of these two the whole day, perceiving that we designed to speak with her, stood from us with all the sail she could crowd. We gave her chase for about three hours, when, finding we did not gain upon her, we resumed our former course. On the 12th, in the morning, the fog clearing up, we perceived the Lizard Point; but that the signal perils which had so often threatened us, and from whence we had more than once been providentially delivered, might be discoverable to the last, as we were afterwards told, there was a French fleet of considerable force cruising in the chops of the channel, through the middle of which we had sailed this night unperceived. On the 13th, between Portland and the Isle of Wight we saw a ship towing another which was disabled in her masts. The former proved to be the Salamander privateer, the latter, a French prize, which she had taken. We anchored on the 14th, at eleven in the morning, at the back of the Isle of Wight, and in the evening weighed, and again anchored at Spithead, after having been three years and nine months absent from England.

Thus ended Mr. Anson's voyage, the chief success of which was the taking of the Manilla ship, and which, however well conducted by the commodore, by no means answered the ends for which it was at first proposed.

With

1766

With regard to the Wager sloop, which we have already mentioned as having been separated from the squadron, we have the following account: Captain Cheap, who commanded the vessel, knowing the importance of the charge which he had in trust, without which no enterprize of importance on shore could be undertaken, was extremely solicitous to reach Baldivia, the last place of rendezvous and the first to be attacked, before the squadron should have finished the cruise, that no blame might rest upon him if the attack of the city should be rendered improper to be carried into execution. But while he was exerting himself to keep clear of the land, in making the Island del Socorro, he had the misfortune to dislocate his shoulder, and thereby to disable himself from prosecuting with vigour the design that he had in view. The ship being little better than a wreck; the officers quite exhausted, the weather cold, and stormy, the crew in a miserable desponding condition, and the currents bearing strongly in shore; all these circumstances concurring, so intangled the ship with the land, that all the efforts of her feeble crew could not prevent her from running upon a sunken rock, where she grounded, between two small islands not a musquet shot from the shore. She continued entire in this situation so long that all who were on board might have reached the land in safety, and stored themselves with provisions, and every necessary for their present subsistence, and future escape; but the moment the ship struck, all subordination ceased; one part of the crew got possession of the liquors, intoxicated themselves, and grew frantic in their cups; another part began to furnish themselves with arms, and to make themselves masters of the money and things of most value, on board; while the captain and some of the principal officers endeavoured, in vain, to maintain their authority, and to preserve a proper discipline, in order to effect the deliverance of as many as possible from the common danger, in which all were involved. But the mutinous disposition that prevailed rendered ineffectual every effort for their preservation. Those who remained in possession of the ship and her stores pointed the cannon, and fired at those who had gained the land. The latter party, on the other hand, grew riotous for want of provisions; but what completed the scene of confusion was, that a midshipman, named Cozens, who had busied himself in opposition to all good government, was, by the captain shot dead upon the spot. [The occasion of this action is variously related; but according to the best accounts, the captain considering the situation of affairs could not be justly blamed for his severity.] However that might be, the consequence of Cozens's death was the abolition of every shadow of remaining order. The idea of subserviency ceased, and all thought of nothing but shifting for themselves, as opportunity offered, or circumstances would admit.*] Of about 130 persons that reached the shore, 30 died upon the place. About 80 others, having converted the long boat into a schooner, sailed to the southward attended by the cutter. These being distressed for provisions, in doubling Cape Horne, on their return, and having lost the cutter in a storm, suffered innumerable hardships in their course to the coast of Brasil, where only 30 of the crew arrived to give an account of the miserable fate of their companions, several of whom had died of hunger, others desired to be set on shore, and some beginning to be mutinous, they landed and deserted. Of 19 that were left behind on Wager Island, with the Captain, 16 embarked on board the barge and yawl, and attempted to escape to the northward; of these, one was drowned in the yawl, and four were left on a desert part of the coast, where most probably they perished. The eleven remaining after a fruitless attempt to weather Cape

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Tresmontes were forced to return to Wager Island, from whence they had first set out; where meeting with a Chiloan Indian, who could speak a little Spanish, they agreed with him to pilot them to Chiloe; but after coasting along for four days, the captain and his officers being on shore, five in number, the other six persuaded the Indian to put to sea without them; by which perfidy the remaining six were reduced to the sad necessity of travelling near 600 miles, sometimes by land, and sometimes by water; till at length, after a variety of misfortunes and hardships, four of them, viz. Captain Cheap, the Hon. Mr. Byron, [wholately went round the world, and whose voyage the reader will find related in the following sheets.] Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Campbell arrived at Chiloe, and were there treated very humanely by the Spaniards. From thence they were sent first to Valparaiso, and afterwards to St. Iago, the capital of Chiloe, where they remained above a twelvemonth. On advice of a cartel being established, Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton were allowed to return to Europe; and Mr. Campbell, who, in the mean time, had changed his religion, embarked for Spain. However, as he did not there meet with such encouragement as he expected, he returned soon after to his native country, where he published an account of his adventures.

In order to fulfil our other promise we shall now present the reader with an account of what befel the squadron of the Spanish admiral Pizarro, which stood a very good chance of defeating the intention with which Mr. Anson's was fitted out, but from a number of concurring circumstances, failed in the attempt, experiencing nothing but a variety of misfortunes and disappointments.

This squadron consisted of the following ships: The Asia, of 66 guns and 700 men, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, as admiral; the Guipuscoa, of 64 guns and 700 men; the Hermione, of 54 guns and 500 men; the Esperanza, of 40 guns and 450 men; the Estevan, of 40 guns and 350 men; and a patache of 20 guns and 120 men. And, besides this complement they had on board an old Spanish regiment of foot, intended to reinforce their garrisons in the South Seas, and to counterbalance the land forces which they well knew were intended to be sent out with commodore Anson.

The Spanish admiral having gained the latitude of Madeira, cruised for some time to the eastward of that island, till, seeing nothing of the English fleet, he determined to pursue his instructions, and hold on his course to the South Seas. Had he cruised to the westward, the two fleets must have met, and had they engaged, it is most probable, that which ever way fortune had inclined, the commodore would not have been in a proper condition to prosecute his intended voyage.

But matters fell out otherwise and Pizarro, disappointed in his expectations, stood for the Brazilian coast, quitting his station off the Madeiras in the beginning of November, and arrived at the river Plata on the 5th of January following, when, coming to an anchor in the bay of Maldando, he immediately sent for a supply to Buenos Ayres. It was here that by means of the Portuguese governor of St. Catherine's, he received intelligence of the arrival of the commodore at that port, and of the condition he was then in. Pizarro, however, made no other use of this information than endeavouring to be beforehand with Mr. Anson, in doubling the Cape, intending, if he could first enter the South Seas, effectually to alarm the coast, and so far strengthen the forts as to render vain all the projected attacks of the English in those parts, and entirely to deprive them of the means of procuring what was necessary for their subsistence. His

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precautions

* It is not a little remarkable that the place where the Wager struck, was so near that where the Annepink found shelter, as has been already related, that the Wager's people were even

within hearing of the Anne's morning and evening guns, and yet never thought of following the sound, or examining from what vessel it proceeded.

1744

precautions, however, proved ineffectual; the commodore, had put to sea four days before him, and in some part of the passage round the cape, the fleets were so near each other, that the Pearl being separated from the rest of the English fleet, by a storm, was near being decoyed by Admiral Pizarro, as has already been related. At that tempestuous season it was with the utmost difficulty, and not without the promise of great rewards that the Spanish sailors were prevailed on to attempt their passage round Cape Horne. By the latter end of February, however, they had run the length of the cape, and when turning to the westward, a storm arose wherein the Guipuscoa, Hermione, and Esperanza lost sight of the admiral; and, on the 6th of March, the Guipuscoa was separated from the other two. The storm increasing on the 7th of March, drove the squadron, in spite of all their efforts, to the eastward, and at last forced them to Brasil. The Asia sheltered herself in the river Plata, and was joined by the Esperanza, and Estevan, about the middle of May. As to the Hermione it was supposed that she had foundered at sea; and the Guipuscoa was run on shore and sunk on the Brazilian coast. The patache had been condemned before they quitted Brasil the first time, and her crew distributed among the other ships; so that only three vessels now remained of the six which had set out on this expedition, and these three were in a most wretched situation. For though the Spaniards had not experienced such dreadful effects from the scurvy, yet they were reduced to the greatest distress by famine, inasmuch that they caught rats for food, which sold at four dollars apiece.*

About this time a conspiracy broke out among the soldiers on board the Asia, to murder the admiral and the ship's crew for the sake of getting all the provisions into their own possession. But a dying man confessing this matter to his priest, the father pursued proper methods to defeat the bloody purposes of the conspirators. However, though they were delivered from this danger their distresses multiplied. They were perpetually attacked by enemies which it was most difficult to vanquish: hunger, thirst, disease and fatigue, increased upon them daily; the ships grew more and more leaky; and the men could not stand at the pumps. The marks of dispondency were visible in every countenance, and nothing was to be heard but complaints from every quarter. In effect the Asia was near sinking, when at last she arrived at Monte Vedio in a most wretched condition, having lost near half her crew in the course of her voyage. When the Estevan anchored in the bay of Barragon, she had also lost the like number of her people; and the Esperanza, which brought 450 seamen from Spain, as has been already noticed, had only 58 alive that reached the shore, and of the whole regiment of soldiers there were only 60 surviving.

All kinds of necessaries, naval stores, masts, rigging, and money, the grand means of purchasing every thing, being equally wanted by the Spanish admiral, he dispatched an express over land by an Indian to St. Iago in Chili, from whence it was to be forwarded to the viceroy of Peru. The messenger charged with this dispatch, though it was then the depth of winter when the Cordilleras are generally supposed to be impassable, on account of the snow, was only 13 days in travelling from Buenos Ayres to St. Iago, which are 300 Spanish leagues distant from each other. Admiral Pizarro's requisition of the viceroy was to send him 200,000 dollars; at the same time an advice boat was sent to Rio Janeiro, with a letter of credit to purchase what was necessary of the Portuguese. Neither of these dispatches succeeded as the admiral wished. Instead of 200,000 dollars, he received but half that sum from the viceroy, and the Portuguese, instead of furnishing him with masts and

yards, sent him only some pitch, tar, and cordage. And to complete the series of his disappointments in those parts, a carpenter whom he had intrusted with a considerable sum of money, sending him to Paraguay to cut masts, instead of obeying his orders, intirely deserted the service, and married and settled in the country. This circumstance obliged him to shift the masts of the Esperanza into the Asia, and to fit up the Estevan with what spare masts and yards they could collect, and with these two ships, as it was now summer, once more attempt doubling Cape Horne. But nothing but ill success attended all their designs. This being accomplished, the Estevan ran on a shoal and beat off her rudder in coming down the river Plata, and the Asia proceeded alone with moderate weather; but when she came to the height of Cape Horne, and was tacking to change her course to the westward, by some mismanagement in wearing ship, she rolled away her masts and was forced back a second time to the river Plata, when Pizarro undertook to cross the continent, which design he accomplished. In the mean time Don Mindinuetta, commander of the Guipuscoa, which had been wrecked on the Brazilian coast, with those of his crew that had escaped, arrived at the place of general rendezvous; and finding the Estevan without masts, made a second application to the Portuguese, and succeeded so well as to repair her, and carry her round the Cape. Arriving in the South Seas, he met Pizarro, who claimed the command of the Esperanza, which Mindinuetta disputed, and an enmity arose between those commanders which the viceroy in vain attempted to reconcile, each being equally obstinate in asserting his claim. They both returned over land in the year 1755 to the coast of Brasil, where they found the Asia in a shattered condition. They resolved, however, to bring this ship to Europe, and having fitted her up as well as circumstances would permit, they manned her partly with Spaniards, partly with Portuguese; together with some English prisoners and some Indians whom they had forced into the service.

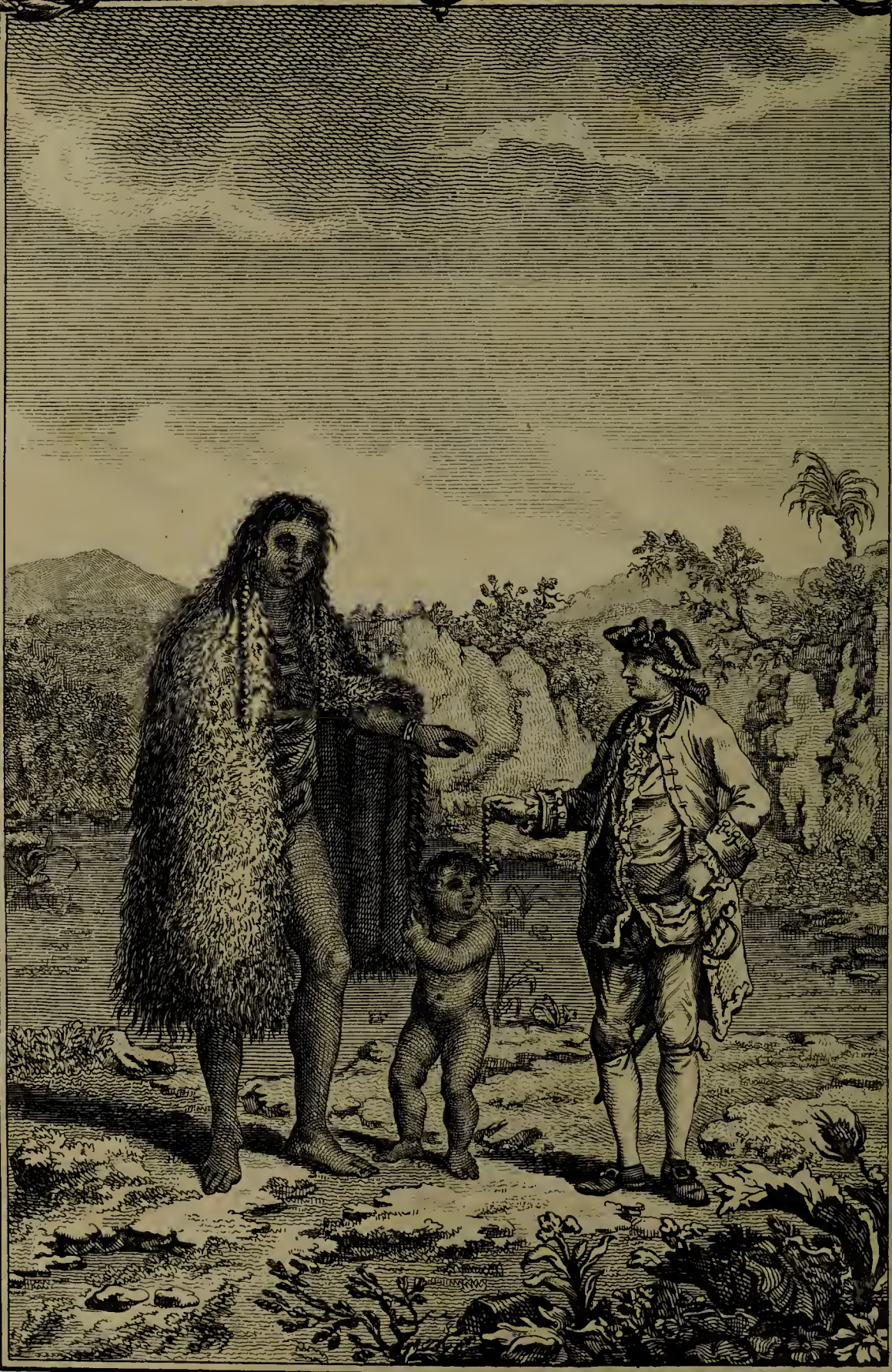
Thus equipped, in the beginning of November they put to sea. But they had not long pursued their course, before the Indians, who were eleven in number, formed a conspiracy against the Spaniards, in which they doubted not but the Portuguese and Indians, who were treated with a degree of insolence would join them. They had not, however, concerted measures properly for their purposes, and therefore the weight of the undertaking rested upon them alone.

About nine o'clock one evening, their chief, whose name was Orellana, with all his companions, came upon the quarter-deck, and drew near the great cabin; which the boatswain observing reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this the Indian who had laid his plan with wisdom, as far as the insufficiency of his numbers would allow, spoke to his countrymen in his own language, on which four of them drawing off, as if in obedience to the boatswain, two took possession of each gang-way; while their chief and the rest seemed to be quitting the quarter-deck with a slow pace; but as soon as Orellana saw his orders were executed, he placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and set up the war cry of his country. Immediately the Indians fell upon the Spaniards, and laid near forty of them at their feet, twenty of whom were killed on the spot, and the rest disabled.

When this tumult began, many of the officers escaped into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricadoed the door; whilst some of the rest, endeavoured to escape along the gang-ways to the fore-castle, where the Indians placed for that purpose stabbed the greater part as they attempted to pass by: others threw themselves into the waste in order to lie concealed among the cattle; but the greater number of the fugitives escaped up the main shrouds, to save themselves in the tops or the rigging; and though the fore-castle watch had not been attacked, yet finding their communication with the quarter-deck cut off they

* It is said that a Spanish sailor concealed his brother's death for several days and nights lying in the same hammock with the corpse for the sake of receiving the dead man's allowance.

Engraved for
*Moore's Voyages
and Travels.*



*A Patagonian Woman
(and Boy in Company with)
COMMODORE BYRON.*

Eason delin.

White sculp.

they had recourse to the same expedient of sheltering themselves in the rigging.

Had the Indians been joined by the English and Portuguese, as they expected, the command of the Spaniards here would have ended; but as no such event took place, they could not improve the advantage which they had gained by pursuing the enemy any farther. The latter, in consequence gained time to recover from their confusion; and Pizarro and his officers half-opened the cabin door. Orellana instantly attempted to force it, but being shot dead by Mindinuetta, the Indians seeing him fall, leaped into the sea, testifying their resolution by their death, and

leaving their enemies to proceed on their voyage, who held on their course for Spain, where they arrived in the beginning of the year 1746.

Thus ended an expedition in which Spain lost about 3000 of her best sailors, and a whole regiment of veteran soldiers, four ships of war and a patache, the Asia alone returning to Europe, as the Estevan was found unable to redouble Cape Horne. The Spaniards were entirely unfortunate, and if we except the treasure taken in the Acapulco ship, it will appear that the English rather distressed the enemy than really benefited themselves by Commodore Anson's enterprize.

1746

THE VOYAGE OF COMMODORE BYRON

ROUND THE WORLD.

IN the year 1764, government having formed a design of prosecuting the discoveries in the South Seas, the Honourable Mr. Byron was pitched upon to conduct an expedition planned for that purpose. Two vessels being fitted out for that purpose, this gentleman was nominated to command the Dolphin ship of war in quality of commodore, attended by the Tamar frigate, Captain Mouat commander.

These vessels sailed from the Downs on the first of June, 1764. Before they had cleared the channel, the Dolphin ran a-ground, on which account she was brought into Plymouth dock; but on examination, it appearing that she had received no injury, she was in readiness to pursue her voyage by the 3d of July, when the commodore gave the signal for sailing.

Shaping their course for Madeira, they arrived at the island, and anchored in the bay of Fonchiale on the 30th, the governor of which saluted the English with 11 guns, and the salute was returned by the commodore. From hence they set sail on the 19th; on the 21st they came in sight of Palma, one of the Canary Islands* and on the 30th they anchored in the bay of Port Praya. As soon as they had taken in water, and such other things as they stood in need of, they quitted the port with all possible expedition, being apprehensive that otherwise they might encounter the tornadoes and hurricanes which generally rage here from the month of August till about the middle of the winter season. They came to an anchor in the road of Rio de Janeiro on the coast of Brasil, when the commodore visited the governor, who received him in state; putting the guard under arms before the palace; 15 guns were fired in honour of the British flag, and his excellency afterwards returned the visit, and was received by the commodore in a suitable manner on board the Dolphin. Lodgings were here provided on shore for a great many of the Tamar's people who were sick; as to those on board the Dolphin, the fresh meat and greens which they used plentifully, kept them in a more healthy situation. However, while the ships lay in this harbour, the Portuguese found means to decoy away nine of the Dolphin's, and five of the Tamar's people, the latter were recovered, but the commodore lost his men, whom probably they intoxicated with liquor, and afterwards sent up the country, there to remain till the English vessels departed.

On the 16th of October, the commodore weighed anchor, and on the 22d he informed the ship's company that they were not bound to the East-Indies, as

at first they had supposed, but on a voyage of discovery, their good behaviour in the course of which, would be rewarded by order of the lords of the Admiralty, with double pay, and other emoluments. This speech was received with marks of the highest satisfaction, and the crew promised obedience to the commodore, and expressed their willingness to do all in their power for the service and honour of their country.

A violent storm arose on the 29th, in the course of which they were obliged to throw four of their guns overboard; it continued all night, but subsided on the morning of the 30th, they made sail, and being arrived at 35° 30' south lat. found the weather extremely cold, though it was then the latter end of October, which answers to our April, in the northern climates, inasmuch that the sailors were now sorry that they had parted with their old cloaths †; but as sufficient precautions had been taken, they were soon relieved by being furnished with cloathing which had been taken on board by the commodore, in order to accommodate his men in case of necessity on so long a voyage.

On the 2d of November Mr. Byron delivered the officers their commissions after the customary oath had been taken. The ship was now surrounded with vast flocks of birds, and perceiving the water discoloured, they stood in for the land on the 11th of this month, and at the depth of 45 fathoms they found ground. The next day they imagined they saw land a-head of them, but it proved to be what they call a fog bank and suddenly vanished ‡. These deceptions are frequently occasioned by ridges of clouds, and sometimes in the higher latitudes by an extraordinary quality of the air, to be accounted for only by the doctrine of refraction, of which we shall have occasion to say more in the course of this work.

It is remarkable that this false appearance was succeeded on the 13th by a violent hurricane. In the afternoon the sky grew black to windward, and a noise was heard, which resembled the beating of the sea upon a shallow beach. The birds were observed flying from the point whence the storm proceeded, and shrieking through the apprehension of its approach. It was not possible to make the necessary preparations before it reached the Dolphin and laid her on her side. The first lieutenant was struck down by the main sheet, had some of his teeth knocked out, and was otherwise bruised. The Tamar, though not so suddenly taken by the storm, as being to leeward had yet her main-sail split, and considering the violence of

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* At this time their water having become foul, they purified it by forcing a stream of air through it, by means of a ventilating tube, which had the proper effect.

† Several of the ship's crew had purchased fowls, &c. in exchange for their old shirts and jackets. As to fish, they found they had little chance of catching any whilst at sea, for none of the finny tribe would come near the ship because she was sheathed

with copper.

‡ Among other remarkable deceptions, a master of a vessel not many years ago made oath that he had seen an island with trees growing on it, between Newfoundland and the western coast of Ireland: some ships were sent in search of it, but it proved to be a delusion.

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of the hurricane, it was wonderful that no more damage was done. The wind continued all night, but abated in the morning when the sea was found to be covered with a small red fish, numbers of which were caught by the ship's company.

Steering for Cape Blanco, they got sight of it on the 17th and were two days endeavouring to gain Port Desire. They stood into a bay to the southward of the cape, but could find no port. On the 20th they saw Penguin Island, and as they understood Port Desire, to be a few leagues to the north-west of it, they sent their boat in search of it, which succeeded to their wish, and they entered the harbour on the 21st, the commodore in his boat, attended by two other boats proceeded to sound the bay. In these seas there were thousands of seals and penguins observed near the ship.

The country appeared to Mr. Byron on his landing, like one continued down, without either shrub or tree to adorn it. They saw here four beasts near 13 hands high, in shape like a deer, answering the description of the animals called Guanicoes. Proceeding higher up the harbour, they went to an island abounding with seals, above 50 of which they killed, and found some of them nearly as large as our English oxen. Among a variety of birds that they killed, there was one that had a head resembling that of an eagle with a large comb on it, and a white ruff like a tippet round its neck. The feathers on its back were of a shining black, its legs were large and strong, with talons like those of an eagle; the wings being extended measured twelve feet from one extremity to the other. The Tamar sailed into the harbour on the 21st with the rising of the tide; but the Dolphin, waiting for a wind ran a-ground. She remained in that situation all night and the next day in stormy weather. They saw the track of a tyger, and several other beasts on the 23d. On the 24th both ships were at length moored in the harbour where at spring tides the water rises no less than 27 feet. The same day the commodore went on shore, and shot a hare, weighing 26 pounds, and saw several others which appeared to be as large as fawns. Landing again on the 25th, he found the barrel of an old musquet with the king's broad arrow on it, and an oar of a singular form. The former of these crumbled to dust on being touched. They had probably been left there by Sir John Narborough, when he was in those parts. Here they saw some remains of fires, but discovered no inhabitants. They shot several wild ducks, and a hare which ran two miles before it dropped, with the ball in its body, the flesh of which creature was of an excellent flavour, and as white as snow. Another party killed a fawn and two guanicoes, and found some of the latter animals in these parts to weigh full 300 weight. Here were found the skull and bones of a man which were brought on board the vessel. They also caught a young guanicoe, which was very beautiful, and grew tame on board, but died in a short time afterwards.

They discovered two springs of tolerable water on 27th, and a ton of it was brought on board the next day. When the commodore next went on shore he saw such a number of birds take flight, as darkened the sky, nor could the men walk without treading on eggs, a great many of which they chose to eat, though there were frequently young birds in them. Some of the crew being sent on shore for water, on the 30th, two of them discovered a tyger lying on the ground; the animal taking no notice of them, they threw stones at him, but could by no means provoke him. He remained on the spot till their companions, who were a little behind them came up, and then he walked away at his leisure. They found the country near this bay to abound with geese, ducks, widgeon, and sea pies, besides several other birds, the names of which were unknown to them.

The ships got under sail on the 5th of November, with fair and pleasant weather, and a favourable gale. Thus they held on their course for Pepy's Island,

which is laid down in 47° of south lat. The weather being clear, the ships spread themselves in such a manner that they could command a prospect of 20 leagues between them; but after searching for this island in vain, till the 11th, the commodore concluded that there was no such place, and stood in for the main, in order to take in wood and water. Having thus changed his course, large whales were observed to swim frequently about the ship, and birds in great numbers flew round them. A great hurricane succeeded, on the 15th before which the vessels might have ran more safely than beat up against it, but their want of water and wood made them chuse the latter, and endeavour to weather it, which they did till eight o'clock the next morning, when it abated.

They saw land on the 18th, which, like that near Port Desire, was of the downy kind without trees. Here they observed white porpoises, with black spots, pursuing the fish in the sea, which appeared in great numbers in these latitudes.

On the 20th they ran close in shore to Cape Virgin, and having observed a smoke on the shore, and a great many guanicoes feeding in the valley, they came to an anchor. The next day they sailed again, and at length, anchored about two miles from the shore, near the place where they had seen the smoke the preceding day. Here the commodore observed a number of men on horseback, riding to and fro, opposite the ship, and waving something white, which he conceived to be intended as an invitation for him to land; and as he was anxious to know what people these were, he went in one boat with a party of men well armed; the first lieutenant following with a separate party in another. When they came near the shore, they saw a great number of people, horse and foot, to the number as was supposed of 500, who were drawn up on a stony point of land which ran far into the sea. Though the commodore did not observe that they had any weapons, yet he made signs that they should retreat a little, which they very readily did, and kept shouting very loudly while the crew were landing; which was no sooner effected than they were mustered on the beach, with their officers at their head. Mr. Byron then advanced alone; but the Indians retreated; on which he made signs that one of them should come forward. This was complied with, and the person who advanced, appeared to be a chief, and was very near seven feet in height. Round one of his eyes was a circle of black paint, and one of white round the other: the rest of his face was painted with various colours, and he had the skin of a beast with the hair turned inwards, thrown over his shoulders. The commodore and the Indian having paid their compliments to each other in language mutually unintelligible to the person to whom it was addressed, they walked together towards the main body of the natives, few of whom were shorter than the abovementioned standard, and the women large in proportion. Mr. Byron made signs for them to sit on the ground, which they did, chaunting in a most serious and melancholy tone. The eyes of any one face were never painted with the same colours, some being white and red, some black and red, and some black and white; their teeth were white and even. They were all dressed much alike, except that some wore a kind of boots, with a spur of peaked wood fastened to each heel. The commodore having prevailed on some of them that were still galloping about to alight, and sit down with the rest, distributed some white and yellow beads among them, which they very gladly accepted. He then took a piece of ribband, and putting the end of it into the hands of the first Indian, he continued it to the next, and so on, as they sat, to the end of the ribband. He then cut with a pair of scissors between every two of them, tying each man's share round his head, which they did not attempt to remove. It was remarked, that though the presents were insufficient to supply them all, not one passed forward from the station assigned him, nor seemed to envy the superior good fortune of his neighbour.

Among

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Among these gigantic people, one woman who was of the largest size, and most disagreeably painted, had her hair adorned with beads of blue glass, hanging, in two divisions, down before her shoulders, and she had bracelets of pale gold, or brass on her arms; but there was no learning how she obtained this finery. One of the men shewed Mr. Byron the bowl of a tobacco pipe, made of red earth, and made signs that he wanted some tobacco, none of which they had among them.

On this the commodore beckoned to the seamen, who still remained drawn up on the beach, three or four of them instantly running forward, the Indians were alarmed, and rising up in an instant, were preparing to retire, as it was supposed, to fetch their arms. Mr. Byron, therefore, ran and stopped the sailors, directing one of them only to come forward, when he had got all the tobacco he could muster among them. This restored peace, and all the Indians resumed their places except an old man, who sang a long song to Mr. Byron, at nearly the conclusion of which Mr. Cumming, the first lieutenant, brought the tobacco. This gentleman, though six feet two inches high, was himself astonished at the diminutive figure he cut among the strangers, who were broad and muscular, in proportion to their height. The commodore having distributed the tobacco, they made signs to him to ride to their huts; but he intimated that he must return to the ship; on which they sat down again, apparently much concerned. Their horses, though not large, were active and much under command, their saddles were like an English pad, and the bridle was formed of a thong of leather, with the bit made of wood; they had no stirrups, and both men and women rode astride. When the commodore left them, they kept their seats, not one offering to follow him.

On the 21st of December, they began sailing up the strait of Maghellan, with a view to take in a proper stock of wood and water, as the finding Falkland's Island was yet a matter of uncertainty. They remarked a single Indian on this shore, who waved his hand to them till he lost sight of the ship; they likewise saw several guanicoes on the hills. On the evening of the 22d, six Indians came on the beach hallooing, and making signs that they wished an acquaintance with the crew; but, as the seamen were fatigued, the commodore would not send off a boat to them. On the 25th they saw a point of land near St. George's Island, to which they gave the name of *Porpoise Point*.

Having anchored at ten at night, the commodore went the next morning in quest of wood and water, plenty of which they found on the point above-mentioned. A fine level country lies over the point, the soil of which appeared to be very luxuriant, producing innumerable flowers of several kinds, the smell of which was extremely fragrant; there was also a plenty of good grass, among which grew pease that were then in blossom. They saw hundreds of painted geese, (so called from their beauty) which were feeding among this variety of sweets; they likewise found an abundance of plants, and wild celery in great quantities. Many Indian wigwams were seen situated in the woods near streams of water; these had been lately occupied, as the fires appeared but just burnt out. In a walk of twelve miles they saw no place proper for a boat to land, the sea breaking high on the shore. Mr. Byron returned in the evening, and found that some of the men had been shooting geese, teal, and snipes, while others had employed themselves, with equal success in fishing; these employments, indeed, became necessary, as the men could have eaten thrice their allowance, owing to the keen air of the country. On the 26th they steered for Port Famine, and came to an anchor, close to the shore, the next day at noon. In this place they found drift-wood enough to have supplied a thousand vessels. The commodore went four miles up the river, but could proceed no farther, the trees which had fallen

across the stream impeding the boat's way; one of the stumps of them having made a hole in her bottom, she was immediately filled with water: but they made shift to get her on shore, and stopped the leak, so as to return in her to the mouth of the river. The banks of this stream were furnished with the noblest trees, sufficient in number to supply masts for the whole navy of Great Britain. Some of these were so large, that four men joined hand in hand could not enclose them; and among the rest, the pepper tree was found. These woods abounded in parrots, and other beautiful birds. The quantity of fish that was daily taken was equal to the supply of both the crews, and the commodore shot as many geese and ducks as furnished several tables besides his own.

While the ships lay at anchor here, Mr. Byron and a party went on shore; but, being caught in a violent rain, they stopped where some Indians had left a fire, the wood of which was yet warm and kindling a fire to dry their cloaths another fire was instantly made on Terra del Fuego, the opposite shore, which they imagined to be a signal, on a supposition that they were Indians. The hills were craggy, of an amazing height, and wholly covered with snow; but the plains were adorned with flowers equal in fragrance and beauty to those in the gardens in England.

The commodore having ordered a tent to be erected on the borders of a wood and joining to a rivulet, three of the sailors were there stationed to wash linen, and they lay in the tent. One evening, soon after they had retired to rest, they were awakened by the deep and hollow roarings of some wild beasts, which came nearer them every moment. Terrified with apprehension, they made and kept up a blazing fire, round which the beasts walked at a small distance till the dawn of the morning, when they retired.

Near where the ships rode at anchor was a hill cleared of wood, which they imagined to have been a Spanish settlement. Both ships having taken in sufficient wood and water by the 4th of January, 1765, they sailed at four o'clock in the morning, in quest of Falkland's Islands; but the wind dying away, they were obliged to come to an anchor the day following.

On Sunday the 6th, they again made sail, and the commodore, who had been 24 hours on deck, retired to rest; but he was soon awakened by the vessel's beating on a bank. Happily at this instant, it was a perfect calm, so that the rising of the tide soon carried the ship safe off again. On the 8th the officer of the watch discovered that the head of the mast was sprung, which they supposed to have happened in a violent gale some time before; but effectual methods were immediately taken to repair the damage.

They saw land on the 12th, which was taken for De Wert's Islands, and at the same time other land to the south, which was judged to be what is called New Islands in the charts. This land consists chiefly of mountainous and barren rocks, on which was a great number of birds. Seals abound here, and large whales were seen sporting round the ship. On the 14th they saw a flat island, covered with tufts of grass as large as bushes; and on the following day the commodore sent a boat from each ship, to examine an opening that had the appearance of an harbour; which being discovered, they stood in for it in the afternoon, and found it excellent beyond their most sanguine hopes. Soon after this they entered another harbour to which Mr. Byron gave the name of Port Egmont, from the title of the nobleman at that time, the first lord of the Admiralty. This harbour is represented to be one of the finest in the world, and large enough to contain the whole navy of England, in full security: there is plenty of fresh water in every part of it, and geese, ducks, snipes, and other edible birds abound in such numbers, that the sailors were tired with eating them. The geese were generally knocked down with stones, so that it was no unusual thing to bring off 60 or 70 of these birds, without the necessity of shooting a single one; seals and penguins abound here; sea lions of a prodigious size were found

1765

on the coast: and there are plenty of muscles, clams, and limpets. The woods produce sorrel and wild celery in great abundance.

The commodore was once unexpectedly attacked by a sea-lion, and extricated himself from the impending danger with great difficulty. They had many battles with this animal, the killing of one of which was frequently an hour's work for six men; one of them almost tore to pieces Mr. Byron's mastiff dog, by a single bite. The master having been sent to sound the coast, four very fierce animals ran after the boat's crew, till they were up to their bellies in water, so that they were obliged to put off from the shore, as they had no fire-arms in the boat. The next day, on the opposite shore, Mr. Byron and his company saw a sea-lion of an enormous size, and the crew, being well armed, instantly engaged him. While they were thus employed, one of the other animals posted towards them, but a ball being lodged in his body, he was instantly dispatched. Five of these beasts were killed this day, in their attempts to seize the men, whom they always pursued the moment they got sight of them. They were of a mixed shape, between a wolf and a fox, most like the latter, but of the size of the former: they burrowed in the ground like a fox, feeding on seals and penguins, and are very numerous on the coast. The sailors, in order to be rid of such disagreeable companions, set fire to the grass, which burnt so rapidly, that the country was all in a blaze for some days, and these animals were seen running to seek shelter from its fury.

While they lay in this harbour the crew breakfasted on portable soup and wild celery, thickened with oatmeal, which made a very nutritive mess. The soil of the land was a light clay, under a black mould. The commodore thought this was the same place which, in Cowley's voyage, is called Pepy's Island; but he took possession of the harbour, and all the adjacent islands, by the name of *Falkland's Islands*, for George the III^d. King of Great Britain. To the honour of the surgeon of the Tamar frigate, during his stay there, he made a fence of turf near the watering place, round a tract of land, which he planted with vegetables, for the use of those who might hereafter touch at this port.

On Sunday, July the 27th, they left Port Egmont, and the same day they saw a remarkable head-land, which was named *Cape Tamar*; soon after which they passed a rock, which Mr. Byron called the *Eddystone*, and then sailed between that and a head-land, to which he gave the name of *Cape Dolphin*. The distance from Cape Tamar to Cape Dolphin, is about eight leagues, and, from its appearance, was called *Carlisle Sound*, though it is since known to be the northern entrance of the strait between the two principal islands. The land seen during this day was all downs, having neither trees nor bushes, but large tufts of grass in various places.

Having anchored during the night, they sailed again the next day, when the commodore gave the name of *Berkeley's Sound* to a deep sound between the islands. About four miles to the southward of the south point of this sound the sea breaks very high, on some rocks that appear above water. The coast now wore a dangerous aspect, rocks and breakers being at a considerable distance from the shore, and in all directions; and the country appeared barren and desolate. The sea rising high, the commodore sailed to the northward, to prevent being driven on the lee shore. He imagined the whole circumference of Falkland's Islands to be little less than 700 miles.

At eight in the evening they stood to the westward, and held their course till the 6th of February, when they saw, and stood in for, Port Desire, at the mouth of which they came to an anchor, and had the pleasure of seeing the Florida, a store-ship which they expected from England. On Thursday the master of the store-ship went on board the Dolphin, and informed the commodore of the extreme bad condition of his ship, on which it was resolved to attempt

unloading her in the harbour, though a place very ill calculated for the purpose. They therefore entered the harbour, but the night proving very tempestuous, the Tamar and the Florida both made signals of distress; having been driven from their moorings up the harbour. On this and the following night they were both near driving on shore; and as the store-ship was in constant danger of being lost, Mr. Byron sent hands on board to assist in repairing her, and resolved to take her into the Straights of Maghellan before he unloaded her. In this harbour the rudder of the Dolphin was likewise repaired, there being no timber proper for making her a new one.

On the 13th, the Florida put to sea, with orders to steer directly for Port Famine; and the next day she was followed by the Dolphin and Tamar. The three following days they saw a strange vessel following them, which shaped her course, and sailed fast or slow, exactly as they did, a circumstance that caused much speculation. The commodore being obliged to wait for the Florida, which was far a-stern, imagined the stranger would speak with him, and therefore made the necessary disposition to give her a proper reception. When he came to an anchor the stranger did the same, four miles to windward of him; but in the morning she was seen three leagues to the leeward. She now got under way, and approached the Dolphin: on which the commodore got out eight guns, which were all that could be come at to one side of the ship, as she lay at anchor. Neither party hoisted any colours; but about this time the store-ship running a-ground, the strange vessel hoisted French colours, and sent two boats with an anchor, to assist her. The commodore now sent a boat from each of his ships to the assistance of the Florida with positive orders not to let the French boats board her, but to acknowledge, in a proper manner, the offer of assistance. These orders were obeyed, and the store-ship was got off.

They weighed anchor at six in the evening, and anchored again at eleven: at which time the French vessel did the same, but in a situation that shewed her ignorance of the channel they were in.

On the 19th they again sailed; and as the French vessel steered after them, Mr. Byron thought they came from Falkland's Islands, where there was then a French settlement, to take in wood, or that they were on a survey of the Straights of Maghellan, in which they were now sailing. On the 20th they reached Port Famine, when the Dolphin and Tamar having taken as much provision out of the store-ship as they could find room for, the master received orders to sail for England as soon as possible; it being determined to navigate the other ships through the strait.

On the 28th they passed the French ship, which was in a small cove, and near her a large quantity of wood; which the commodore had no doubt was intended for their new settlement. On Mr. Byron's return to England this appeared to be the fact; and that the ship was commanded by Mons. Bougainville, and called the Eagle.

That part of the account of their passage through the Straights of Maghellan, which consists chiefly of the names of places, and descriptions of soundings, bearings and distances, we have purposely omitted, but have preserved all that can contribute to the entertainment or improvement of the reader.

The mountains on both sides of the strait are covered with snow from top to bottom, are steep and craggy, and of a most desolate appearance. On the first of March two or three canoes of Indians followed the ship, one of which went on board. This canoe was of bark, and wretchedly made: it contained some men, women, and a boy, who had a bow and arrows, which they exchanged for beads and other trinkets, the bow-string was made of the gut of some beast dried, and the arrows were formed of a reed, pointed with a green stone. These people had no other garment than a seal-skin thrown over their shoulders, and they made on the whole, a most wretched appearance. When the ship came to an anchor, several

ral of the Indians went on board, and gladly accepted some ribbands, beads, and other trifling matters, with which the commodore presented them. These people subsist chiefly on muscles and berries, some of the latter of which they gave Mr. Byron, when he returned their visit on shore.

Having escaped the dreadful effects of a storm on the 3d of March, boats were repeatedly sent out till the 6th, in search of a proper place to anchor in; and at length the Dolphin was moored in a little bay opposite Cape Quod; and the Tamar, which could not work up so far, about six miles to the eastward of it. This part of the strait being only four miles over, its appearance is dreary and desolate beyond imagination, owing to the prodigious mountains on each side of it, which rise above the clouds; and are covered with perpetual snow. On the 8th they met with a large number of shell fish; and on this day the commodore went up a deep lagoon under a rock, at the head of which was a fine fall of water, and on the east side of it were several small coves, calculated for the secure reception of ships of the greatest burden.

On the 12th an officer was sent in a boat, in search of an harbour; and in two days he returned with an account that there were five bays between the ship and Cape Upright, in any one of which they might anchor securely. While this officer was absent, he met with some Indians, who made him a present of a dog, and one of the women having a sucking child, offered to give it him. At this time winter commenced with all its severity, and the hills were soon covered with snow. The cold became so intense, that the seamen, whose clothes were continually wet, suffered severely: to fortify them against this inclemency of weather, the commodore gave a warm jacket of the woollen stuff, called fear-nought, to the crews of both ships, officers included.

On the 16th, perceiving they lost ground on every tack, they came to an anchor; but finding the ground to be rocky, they weighed again, and every man on board was on deck the rest of the day, and the whole night, during which time the rain poured down on them in unremitting torrents. Notwithstanding this incessant labour, they found, in the morning, that they had been only losing way, owing to the rapidity of the current. They were now glad to anchor in the very bay they had left two days before. As it continued to rain and blow violently for ten days longer, the commodore sent a boat to sound the bay on the north shore; but no anchorage could be found. On the 20th, the vessel was driven from her moorings; but by heaving up the bower anchor, and carrying out another they soon restored her to her situation: After labouring all day on the 21st, they had gained only two miles on the current, when they came to an anchor, but the sea running high, they sailed the day following; and the current now running to the westward, they made great way, and in the evening, anchored in a commodious bay, where the Tamar had arrived before them. It was remarkable that notwithstanding the late severity of the weather, added to their incessant labour, the crew retained both health and spirits.

On the 23d they again set sail, and in a few hours had sight of the South sea, which rolled a prodigious swell on them. On the 25th two boats which had been sent in search of anchoring places, returned with an account that they had found two, but neither of them very eligible; they, however, made sail the next morning, and at four in the afternoon found themselves within a mile of the south shore, which the thickness of the weather prevented their seeing sooner; but as there was no place to anchor in, they stood for the opposite shore. Between six and seven the Tamar was ordered under the stern of the Dolphin, and then directed to keep a-head of her during the night to show lights, and as often as she varied her tack to fire a gun. At seven in the evening the weather cleared for a minute; so that they had sight of the north-shore, bearing west by north, on which they

instantly tacked about. The wind now blew a perfect hurricane; the rain descended in torrents, and some of the sails were torn in pieces. During this tempestuous night, in which the sea was continually breaking over them; the ships parted company, and were encompassed with rocks and breakers over them, however, they happily weathered the storm, and at seven in the morning both ships came to an anchor. They had now been twice within four leagues of Tuesday's Bay, at the western mouth of the strait, and twice driven ten or twelve leagues back again by storms; so dangerous is the navigation of this strait at an improper season of the year. On the 28th the Tamar narrowly escaped being dashed to pieces against the rocks, by the parting of the cable of her best bower anchor. The Dolphin weighed anchor the next morning, and got under sail, which she had no sooner done than signals of distress were made on board the Tamar, the anchor of which could not be purchased. The Dolphin, therefore stood again into the bay, and sent her assistance, after which they both anchored for the night; a night the most dreadful they had ever yet known. The winds were so violent as to raise up the sea, and carry it higher than the heads of the masts! a dreadful sea rolled over them and broke against the shore; with a noise as loud as thunder. Happily they did not part their cables, or they must have been dashed in pieces against the rocks. On the following day, April the first, it was almost a perfect calm; but in the evening it rained much, and the wind blew violently; they therefore remained in their station till the 4th, when the cutter, which had been sent in search of a proper anchoring-place, returned with an account of having found one to the westward of the north shore. The officer who commanded the cutter had met with a party of Indians, whose canoe was of a construction not before observed, being composed of planks sewed together. These Indians had no covering but a piece of seal-skin thrown over their shoulders. Their food, which was of the most indelicate kind, was eaten raw: One of them tore a piece of stinking whale's blubber with his teeth, and then gave it his companions, who followed his example. One of these Indians observing a sailor asleep, cut of a part of his jacket with a sharp flint.

The ships coming to an anchor in the bay which had been discovered, proposing to take in wood and water; while they remained here, several of the natives made a fire opposite the ship in which signals were made for them to come on board; but they would not. The commodore went on shore and gave them some trifles that pleased them highly: he likewise divided some biscuit amongst them, and was surprised to remark, that if a bit of it fell to the ground not one of them would stoop to pick it up without his permission. Some of the sailors being at this time cutting grass for a few sheep which the commodore had on board, the Indians instantly ran to their assistance, and tearing up the grass in large quantities, soon filled the boat. On Mr. Byron's return, they followed in their canoe till they came near the ship, at which they gazed with the most profound astonishment. Four of them were at length prevailed on to go on board; and the commodore, with a view to their diversion, directed one of the midshipmen to play on the violin, while some of the seamen danced. The poor Indians were extravagantly delighted; and one of them, to testify his gratitude, took his canoe, and fetching some red paint, rubbed it all over the face of the musician, nor could the commodore, but with the utmost difficulty, escape the like compliment. When they had been diverted for some hours, it was hinted to them, that they should go on shore, which they at length did, though with evident reluctance.

On the 7th the commodore sailed from the bay, and on the 8th again encountered very bad weather, as it rained and snowed, while the wind blew a hurricane. On the 9th they passed some dangerous rocks, which Narborough called the Judges, and on which the surf beats with prodigious violence. This day, contrary

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trary to expectation, a steady gale at south-west, carried them at the rate of nine miles an hour, so that by eight in the evening they were 20 leagues from the coast on which they encountered so many perils.

[Mr. Byron recommends it to future navigators, to be at the eastern entrance of the strait of Maghellan in December, in which case he thinks even a fleet of ships might navigate it safely in three weeks. He observes that the facility with which wood and water are to be obtained, the vast plenty of vegetables on the coast, and the abundance of fish which may be almost every where procured are advantages highly in favour of this passage. It is remarkable, that in seven weeks and two days, the time they were in passing it, not a single man was sick of the scurvy, or of any other disorders.]

On the 26th they sailed westward bearing away for the island of Masafuero, which they were within seven leagues of the same evening. The next day they bore away for the north of the island, and then lay by for the boats, which had been sent to sound the eastern side, but could not land on account of the violence of the surf. The boat returning, brought a number of fine fish, caught with the hook and line; and the officer reporting, that he had found a bank where they might anchor, opposite to which was a plenty of fresh water, they made sail for it, on which they landed at seven on Sunday morning. The boats were now sent out for wood and water, their crews having put on cork jackets, to assist them in swimming and prevent their being bruised against the rocks. In these seas, were a great number of very large sharks, which were frequently very near the swimmers, but they providentially escaped them. One of these voracious fish seized a large seal close to one of the watering boats, and devoured it in an instant, and the commodore saw another do the same, close to the stern of the ship. The island abounds in goats, many of which were killed and sent on board, and they were deemed equal in flavour to the finest venison. One of these goats had his right ear slit, so as to make it evident that some person had caught him, given him that mark of distinction, and let him go again. Various sorts of excellent fish were now so plentiful that they could catch sufficient to supply the whole crew two days, in a few hours, with a hook and line only.

The gunner and one of the seamen, who were with others, on shore for water, were left behind all night, being afraid to venture in the boat, as the sea ran high. The commodore being informed of this circumstance, sent them word, that as blowing weather might be expected, the ship might be driven from her moorings, in the night, in which case they would infallibly be left behind. This message being delivered, the gunner swam to the boat; but the sailor saying, he had rather die a natural death than be drowned, refused to make the attempt, and taking a melancholy farewell of his companions, resolved to abide his fate; when, just as the boat was going to put off, a midshipman took the end of a rope in his hand, and swam on shore, where he remonstrated with the poor tar on the foolish resolution he had taken, till having an opportunity of throwing the rope in which was a running knot round his body, he called to the boat's crew, who instantly dragged their companion on board; but he had swallowed so much water that he appeared to be dead. They recovered him, however, by holding up his heels, and on the day following he was perfectly well. The commodore now made a promotion among the officers, he appointed Captain Mouat, commander of the Dolphin, under him, making Mr. Cumming, the first lieutenant of the Tamar, and advancing some other inferior officers.

They sailed on the 30th of April, steering in various directions till the 10th of May, on which, and the day following, they saw several dolphins and bonettas round the ship, and observed a few birds which had a short beak; all their bodies being white, except the back and upper part of the wings. They saw likewise several grampuses the next day, and more

of the birds just mentioned; from whence they concluded, that they were approaching the land.

Two remarkable birds, as large as geese, with white bodies and black legs, and which flew very high, were observed on the 16th, which confirmed them in their conjecture, that they had passed some main land, or islands. On the 22d they saw several tropical birds, and caught two bonettas; and on the 26th two large birds, the beak and neck of which were white, and all the rest was black: there flew about the ship on the 28th two other birds, one black and white and the other brown and white, and would have settled on the yards, but they were intimidated by the working of the ship. For several days after they saw a great number of birds, and on the 7th of June discovered land.

After this they steered for a small island, the appearance of which was remarkably pleasant. It was surrounded by a beach of white sand, and crowned with lofty trees, whose shade was far extended, and formed most beautiful groves, unincumbered with underwood, adorned with a most delightful verdure.

It was not long before some of the natives made their appearance, armed with long spears. These kindled large fires, which were answered by other fires that were made on a neighbouring island. At this time a boat being sent to look out for an anchoring place, returned without success. It was mortifying in the mean time for the sailors (such of them as were not confined to their hammocks by the scurvy) to view from the decks those delicacies which it was out of their power to reach. Among the rest, they saw cocoa-nuts, tempting them in vain, whose milk is reckoned of sovereign use in scorbutic cases; and, beheld the shells of turtles strewn along the shore. All this while the natives keeping a-breast of the ship, danced, shouted, and shook their spears, after which they fell backwards as if they were dead, which was interpreted into a threat of destruction to such as should venture to land upon their coasts. These savages also fixed two spears in the sand, at the top of which some things were seen waving in the air, before which they kneeled, and appeared to be in prayer to their idols, possibly with the idea of thereby averting the dreaded invasion. In the mean time, the commodore thought proper to sail round the island, and again sent out boats to sound. On this, the natives raised a terrible outcry, pointing to their spears and posing large stones in their hands. In return for all this the sailors made all possible signs of friendship, throwing bread and other things on shore, none of which the natives chose to take, but retreated to the woods, dragging their canoes with them. They afterwards ran into the water, with an apparent intention of hauling the boats on shore, on which the sailors, irritated by their behaviour, would have fired on them, but that they were hindered by their officer. The crews of the boats having once more reported, that they could find no landing place, the commodore proceeded to the other island and brought to at the distance of a quarter of a league from the shore, the next morning.

They now saw several other islands covered with cocoa-trees, and there again the natives ran to the beach, armed with clubs and spears, using threatening gestures. The commodore fired a cannon shot over their heads, on which they returned to the woods. The boats having been again sent out, returned with an account, that no landing place could be found, on which Mr. Byron named this paradise in appearance, the Island of Disappointment. The natives were short, and well made, very quick runners, and their complexion that of the deep copper. Having sailed on the 8th of June, they discovered an island on the following day which laid low, and were covered with various kinds of trees, among which was the cocoa nut. The island was surrounded with a rock of red coral. The inhabitants on the coast, having made large fires (as was supposed to alarm the more inland natives) they ran

ran along the shore in multitudes, armed like those of the Island of Disappointment. The vessels now brought to, at a small inlet, opening into a lake of salt water, which appeared more than two leagues wide. There was a little town, under the shade of a grove of cocoa-nut trees. The ships advancing to the mouth of the inlet, some hundreds of the natives, headed by a kind of an officer, who carried a pole, on which was fastened a piece of mat; ranged themselves, up to their waists in water, making a hideous noise, till they were joined by a number of large canoes, which came down the lake. Two boats were now out in search of soundings, and the crews of them making every possible sign of friendship, some of the canoes drew towards them, not with a peaceable intention, but with a view to haul the boats on shore; several of the natives, leaping from the rocks, swam towards the English and one of them sprang into the Tamar's boat, snatched up a seaman's jacket, and instantly dived from the boat to the shore, another of them laid violent hands on a hat, but lost his prize through his ignorance, as he pulled it downwards, instead of lifting it from the head of the wearer. They now sailed westward, and soon discovered another island, distant four leagues. The natives pursued them in two large double canoes, in each of which were about 30 armed men. The boats were a considerable way to leeward of the ships, and were chased by the canoes; on which the commodore making a signal, the boats turned towards the Indians, who instantly pulled down their sails, and rowed, away with great rapidity; driving through the violent surf on the shore, and were followed by the boats, when, being apprehensive of an invasion of the country, they armed themselves with stones and clubs; on which, the boat's crew fired, and killed two or three of them, one of whom died as he was throwing a stone at the English after three balls had gone through his body. This fellow dropping close to the boat, his body was brought to the ship; but the Indians carried off the rest of their companions. The boats carried the two canoes with them, as the trophies of their victory. These vessels consisted of planks sewed together, with a strip of tortoise-shell fixed over each seam; they had sharp bottoms, and were very narrow, and two of them were fastened along side each other by two timbers, which left a space of full six feet between the canoes, and had a sail, made of matting, passed from one vessel to the other, being fixed to a mast which was hoisted in each of them. When they sailed, several men sat on the timbers which lay from boat to boat, their cordage appeared to be formed of the outward covering of the cocoa-nut, and was exquisitely well made.

As no refreshments could be obtained, owing to the violence of the surf, the commodore returned to his former station at the inlet, and again sent the boats in search of an anchoring place. A number of the Indians were on the spot where he had left them, and were preparing some large canoes, probably to attack the boats; on which a shot was fired over their heads, when they instantly ran away and secreted themselves. The boats returned in the evening; with a few cocoa-nuts; and in the morning were sent out again, with all the invalids, who were able to go on board them. The commodore went on shore this day, and saw many Indian huts, which were covered with the branches of the cocoa-nut tree; they were mean buildings, but finely situated among groves of lofty trees. The men went naked; but some women were seen, who wore a kind of cloth from the waist to their knees. The shore abounded with coral and shells of large pearl oysters; and it seemed probable a valuable pearl fishery might be established here. There were many dogs in the huts, which kept barking continually till the English went on board.

The next day the seamen found, in one of the huts, the carved head of a rudder; which had evidently belonged to a Dutch long-boat; they likewise found a piece of brass, one of iron, and some iron tools; but by whom these things were left, was wholly unknown

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to them: The Burial-places of the natives were under high trees, near their houses: and their tombs consisted of flat stones laid on perpendicular side-stones; like those in some of our church yards. On the branches which shaded these repositories hung baskets of reeds, containing the heads and bones of turtle and other fish, and several boxes filled with human bones, were found near the graves. The flies on this island were extremely troublesome, but no venomous creatures were seen. Parrots and other birds were very plentiful, and our voyagers saw some beautiful doves, so tame as to follow them into the huts of the Indians. The water here was good, and the surface of the ground was almost covered with scurvy grass. This part of the island is situated in 14° 29' south lat. and 148° 50' west long. On Wednesday, June the 12th they sailed to another island, and as they coasted along it, the natives, armed like those of the other islands, kept even with the ship for some leagues. They frequently plunged into the sea, or fell into the sand, that the surf might break over them, to cool and refresh themselves. The boats being near the beach, the crew made signs that they were in want of water, on which the natives pointed farther along the shore, where, when the boats arrived, they saw a number of houses, whither they were followed by the Indians, many more of whom joined them at this place. The boats having got close in shore, and the ships lying at a small distance, a venerable old man, with a white beard, advanced from the houses to the beach, attended by a young fellow. Having made a signal for the other Indians to retire, he came forward to the edge of the water, pressing his beard to his breast with one hand, and holding a branch of a tree in the other. He made a kind of musical oration, during which the people in the boat threw some trifling presents, which he would neither take up, nor permit his attendant to touch, till he had finished his harangue, when he walked into the water and throwing the branch to the boat's crew, he retired, and picked up their presents. Most of the natives having complied with a sign made them to lay down their arms, one of the midshipmen swam on shore; on which they flocked round him, admiring his clothes: as his waistcoat pleased them most, he gave it to them, which he had no sooner done, than one of them untied his cravat and ran away with it. He now thought it time to retreat to his boat, whither several of the natives swam after him: some bringing each a cocoa-nut, and others fresh water in the shell. The boat's crew had taken with them some shells of pearl oysters in order to learn of the natives how to procure to some pearls; but they could not possibly make them comprehend their meaning. This island is situated in 14° 41' south latitude. and 149° 15' west long. and both these the commodore called *King George's Islands*, in respect to his sovereign. In a lake belonging to the last island, two or three very large vessels were seen, one of which had two masts, with proper cordage. The boats having returned on board, they sailed westward the same day; and the next afternoon descried another island, towards which they immediately steered, and found that it was well inhabited, and had a fine appearance of verdure; but a violent surf broke all along the coast. It lay in 15° south lat. and 151° 53' west long. and received the name of the *Prince of Wales's Island*.

They now sailed northward, and from the vast flocks of birds they had repeatedly seen, which always winged their way to the south, on the approach of evening; and from the islands being so well peopled, the commodore concluded that there was a chain of them leading to a continent, the discovery of which he would certainly have attempted, but the crews of both ships were so unhealthy, as to render it impossible to succeed.

On Monday, June the 17th, the voyagers concluded that land was near, from the multitude of birds which flocked about the ship: but they saw no land till the 21st, when it was discovered at eight leagues distance, hav-

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King George's Islands.

Prince of Wales's Island.

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ing the appearance of three islands, with rocks between them. They abounded with inhabitants, whose dwellings lined the coast; and the beauty and fertility of the soil, seemed to excell that of any place they had seen: but the rocks and breakers with which it was surrounded, was an insuperable bar to any attempt at landing.

On the night of the 21st all hands were on deck; it rained hard, and the wind blew violently. Soon after nine o'clock the Tamar fired again, and the crew of the Dolphin imagined they saw breakers to leeward, which however proved to be only the reflection of the setting moon on the rising surges.

Duke of
York's Island.

On the 24th they discovered another island, which was named the *Duke of York's Island*. A terrible sea broke round the coast, but the place itself had a pleasing appearance. The boats landed with some difficulty, and brought off a great quantity of cocoa-nuts, which furnished great relief to the sick. Thousands of sea fowls were found sitting on their nests in high trees, and were so tame as to be easily knocked down, and there were large numbers of land crabs on the ground. This island has a large lake in the middle of it, but they found no inhabitants.

On the 29th the commodore sailed northward, with a view to cross the equinoctial line, and then steered for the Ladrões. On the 2d of July they discovered a low flat island, abounding with the cocoa-nut, and other trees, and affording a most agreeable prospect. A great number of the natives were seen on the beach, many of whom, in above sixty canoes, [or praws] sailed, and formed a circle round the ship, which having surveyed for a considerable time, one of the Indians jumped out of his boat, swam to the vessel, ran up its sides in a moment, sat down on the deck, and began laughing most violently: he then ran about the ship, pilfering whatever he could lay his hands on, all which things were taken from him as fast as stolen. This man having as many antic tricks as a monkey, was dressed in a jacket and trowsers, and afforded exquisite diversion. He devoured some biscuits with great eagerness, and after having played many antics in his new dress, resolved at last to carry it off, which he effected by jumping over the ship's side, and swimming to his companions. After this, several others swam to the ship, and getting up to the gun-room ports, shewed their disposition to theft by seizing on some petty prize, and then making their way through the sea, easily escaped with their booty.

These Indians are described as being of a light copper coloured complexion, well made and tall; their hair which is long and black, being either tied in three knots or hanging in a large bunch behind, as fancy leads the wearer. They had their ears bored, which bore the strongest marks of their having worn heavy ornaments in them, some of them being drawn down almost as low as their shoulders. As to their ornaments in general, they appeared to be shells strung together and worn round the neck, the wrist, and waist: in other respects they were naked. A string of human teeth was the decoration which one of the chiefs chose for his waist; and some of them carried spears that for the length of three feet were stuck with sharks teeth which were as sharp as any pointed instrument of steel. When some cocoa-nuts were shewn them by the English, and signs made that more were wanted, they endeavoured to steal what they saw without giving the necessary directions. To this place the officers gave the name of Byron's Island, in honour of their commander. It is laid down in $1^{\circ} 18'$ of south latitude, and $173^{\circ} 56'$ of east longitude. From hence they sailed on the 3d of July; and on the 21st the crew were again ill of the scurvy, having consumed all the cocoa-nuts which might have remedied this disorder. The extreme heat of the weather also occasioned several of the crew to be visited with the flux, which added to their distresses.

On the 22d the commodore sailed for the island of Tinian, and, within six days, they saw the three islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aiguignan, between two

and three degrees distant from each other. About noon, on the 31st, they anchored at the south-west end of Tinian, where Commodore Anson had before anchored with the Centurion. Though the water was 144 feet deep here, yet they found it so clear that they could see the ground at the bottom.

Mr. Byron going on shore, saw many huts which had been left there by the Spaniards the year before; and, having pitched upon a proper spot whereon to erect tents for the sick, he and his company went in search of those beautiful lawns and meads of which the reader has had so luxuriant a description in the voyage of Commodore Anson. In this attempt they worked their way through thick woods, and underwent much difficulty for which they were ill rewarded when they came to the place where they expected to view these enchanting scenes. They found the lawns covered with reeds, in which their legs, being often intangled, were cut as with whip-cord. In some places these reeds grew higher than a man's head, and in none less than half the height. They were covered with flies which, when they opened their mouths, frequently got down their throats. Having killed a bull, which was all their achievement in this fruitless expedition, they then retired much dissatisfied to the tents, which had been set up while they were absent, and a party was sent afterwards to fetch away their prize. The preceding day the invalids had been brought on shore, and on the first of August they began to clear the well, which Mr. Byron supposes to be the same where Mr. Anson's people had watered, but he says the water is brackish and full of worms. At one time while they lay here, so violent a west wind arose that the vessels were forced to put to sea, for fear of being driven on the rocks and dashed to pieces.

They had brought on shore the armourer's forge to repair the iron-work of the ships; and the commodore remained in his tent having been violently attacked by the scurvy. Though the crew in general recovered from this disorder, yet many fell sick of fevers, two of whom died, being the first they had lost since they had left England. The rains were continual and violent, and the heat excessive. They were constantly tormented with insects;* flies by day, and muskittos by night, were their constant, troublesome companions. Scorpions, the reptile called Centipeds and black ants were also found here in abundance. Some of the crew were sent out to kill cattle. When they had been absent two days and nights killing a bullock, they had near eight miles to drag it to the beach, and when it arrived it was generally fly-blown and stunk. In the mean time this toil contributed to add to the number of those afflicted with fevers, and so continued to heighten the inconveniences they suffered in this part of the world. The wild hogs furnished their chief supply of fresh provisions; they killed some of these that weighed near 200 pounds. Their greatest convenience arose from a method found out by a negro for ensnaring these creatures, by which means they had fresh meat in the vessels as well as on shore, a number of them being sent on board alive. As to poultry, the ship's company could kill a sufficiency of them, but, in less than an hour after they had killed them, their flesh turned green, and swarmed with maggots: However, at length finding a spot where there was plenty of cattle, and contriving to bake bread every day for the sick, they got a tolerable supply of provisions to relieve them.

The island of Saypan is described as larger and more pleasant than that of Tinian. It is generally covered with trees, and abounds with the animals called Guanoes. There was reason to believe that the Spaniards carried on a pearl fishery there at certain periods; large heaps of the pearl oyster shells were seen, as well as other marks of some Europeans having lately been in those parts.

* It is related that the thermometer generally stood at 36 being only 9 degrees less than the heat of the blood at the human heart.

The sick being tolerably well recovered, the commodore weighed anchor and sailed from Tinian on the 30th of September, steering to the northward. On the 18th of the next month several land birds that seemed much fatigued flew near the vessel, and one of them rested on the bows, about as large as a goose, its beak, which was of an extraordinary length and thickness, was black, as also were its legs; the other parts of the body were white.

They came to an anchor off the island of Timoan, on the 5th of November, where Mr. Byron landed the next day. The inhabitants proved to be Malays, many of whom when they saw the boat approaching the shore, came down to the beach, having each a spear in one hand and a long knife in the other, and a dagger by his side. However, the boat's crew landed and exchanged a few handkerchiefs for a dozen of fowls a kid and a goat. These Malays were well made but small of stature, and of a copper complexion. On their heads they wore turbans, and had pieces of cloth fastened with silver clasps round their waists; only one old man among them was habited nearly in the manner of the Persians. As to their houses they are built according to the custom which we have already noticed on posts about eight feet from the ground, are composed of slit bamboo and very neatly contrived. The cocoa-nut and cabbage trees are to be found here in abundance, and there are also some free grounds upon the island. An animal was brought on board alive, while the ships lay here at anchor, that had legs like those of a deer, with a body like a hare, which proved to be very fine eating. The crews caught large quantities of fish in the harbour, from whence they sailed on the 7th of the month. Mr. Byron having anchored in the harbour of Pulo Toupoa, nothing happened worth notice till the 14th, when he saw a sloop at anchor in the same harbour. The vessel hoisted Dutch colours, and he sent an officer on board her, who was received with great politeness, tea being immediately ordered for him and his attendants, but he could not make them understand him, the crew consisting entirely of Malays. This vessel, was made of slit bamboo, which had on each quarter a piece of timber that served to steer her instead of a rudder.

The commodore sailed the following day, and held his course till the 19th when he spoke with an English snow, bound from Bencoolen to Malacca and Bengal, in the East-India Company's service. At this time their biscuit was filled with worms and rotten, and their beef and pork were stinking. The master of the snow being apprised of this circumstance, sent Mr. Byron two gallons of arrack, a turtle, twelve fowls, and a sheep, which is supposed to have been half his stock, and for which he refused to accept the slightest return. They dropped their anchor this day in the road of Sumatra; and on the 27th came to an anchor in that of Batavia. Having anchored nearer the town on the following day, they fired eleven guns, which were returned; and an English ship from Bombay fired thirteen guns in honour of the commodore. The Dutch commodore sent his boat on board the Dolphin, under the command of his cockswain, who made but a shabby appearance; he put several questions

to Mr. Byron respecting his voyage and destination, and took a book from his pocket to write down his answers, which Mr. Byron considering as an indignity, desired him instantly to leave the ship, and thus ended his visit.

Mr. Byron visiting the Dutch commodore at his country house was received with great politeness, and told that he might take a house in any part of the city, or be lodged at the hotel. Any inhabitant of Batavia permitting a stranger to sleep, though but for a single night in his house, incurs a penalty of 500 dollars, the hotel being the only licensed lodging house, the governor appoints the keeper of it, who at this time was a Frenchman. This hotel is the most superb building in the city, having more of the air of a palace than an inn. All the streets of Batavia which are well disposed, have canals running through them, and resemble the cities of Holland.

The inhabitants are a motley herd of Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, Persians, Moors, Malays, Javanese, &c. and their numbers are amazingly great, the Chinese live in a kind of separate towns, without the city walls, and deal very largely, having annually ten or twelve vessels laden from China. The roads, for several miles round the city, are very wide, and have a canal, shaded with trees, running by them; which is broad enough for the navigators of large vessels. Adjoining to this canal are the country houses and gardens of the citizens. The ships remained in this harbour till the 10th of December, when they sailed, being saluted with eleven guns from the fort, and thirteen by the Dutch commodore, during their run from hence to Prince's Island, in the strait of Sunda, they were so abundantly supplied with turtle, by boats from Java shore, that the common sailors subsisted wholly on that fish.

At Prince's Island they staid till the 19th, when they sailed for the cape of Good Hope. On the 10th of February, they saw a great smoke arising from a sandy beach, which they supposed to have been made by the Hottentots. On the 13th they came to anchor, and the next morning the governor sent his coach and six for the commodore, and received him with great politeness, offering him the accommodations of the company's house in the garden, and the use of his coach. The cape is a fine country, situated in a healthy climate, and abounding with various kinds of refreshments. In a paddock, adjoining the Company's garden, which is extremely elegant, ostriches, and other curious birds and animals are constantly kept. The commodore frequently gave his men permission to go on shore, and they as constantly returned intoxicated with the Cape wine. They sailed on the 7th of March, and on the 25th crossed the equinoctial line.

At this time an accident happening to the rudder of the Tamar, and it being impossible to make a perfect repair of it at sea, the captain was ordered to bear for Antigua, in consequence of which, they parted company on the first of April; and the Dolphin, without meeting with any other material occurrence, came to an anchor in the Downs, on the 9th of May, 1766, after having circumnavigated the globe in about 22 months.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN WALLIS, ROUND THE WORLD.

THE command of his Majesty's ship the Dolphin, being given to Samuel Wallis, Esq; which vessel was destined for a voyage round the world, he fell down the river on the 26th of July, and on the 16th of August came to an anchor off Plymouth sound. Three days afterwards he received sailing orders, with directions to take also the Prince Frederic and the

Swallow under his command. On the 22d, the vessels sailed, and on the 7th of September came to an anchor in the road of Madeira.

They sailed from thence on the 12th, after having taken in beef, wine, and onions, as sea stores. On the 16th as they were sailing off the Island of Palma, at the rate of eight miles an hour, the wind suddenly died

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died away; so that the vessel lay quite still. On the 20th they caught several bonettas, out of a great number which surrounded the ship; and this day they saw some herons flying to the eastward. The swallow, which was a bad sailer, parted from the other vessels; in the night between the 21st and 22d; but she joined company again on the 24th at the distance of about six leagues from the isle of May. On the same day three vessels came to an anchor at Port Praya, in that island. The next morning they got leave from the commanding officer at the fort to get water and other necessaries. As this was the sickly season, and the small-pox was very fatal in those parts, every man who had not had that distemper was detained on board by the captain. Great quantities of fish were caught here, and some wild purflain was found, which proved very refreshing.

Having procured cattle and water, they sailed from hence on the 28th, and in the night saw the burning mountain of Terra del Fuego. Captain Wallis now ordered every man to be furnished with a hook and line, in order that he might supply himself with fish, and likewise to prevent infection, he ordered that no fish should be kept above 24 hours. The butter and cheese being all expended, they began to serve the crew on the 20th with oil, and orders were given for the remainder of the voyage, that once a fortnight they should be served with mustard and vinegar. On the 22d they judged that they were not at a great distance from land, from the sight of a great number of birds. Two days after this, orders were given for serving the men with brandy and the wine was reserved for such as were sick among them.

The Prince Frederic sprang a leak on the 27th, and at the same time her crew were so sickly, through the fatigue of pumping and the badness of their provisions, that Lieutenant Brine, her commander, was apprehensive he could not keep company much longer unless he could have some assistance given him. The carpenter and six sailors were sent on board, but the captain was unable to supply her with better provisions; and as the carpenter found he could do little towards stopping the leak in the store-ship, the Dolphin and Swallow completed their provisions from her, and put empty oil jars, staves, and iron hoops on board her.

Arriving at the 30th degree of south latitude on the 12th of November, though it is then the summer season in these climates, the men found the weather so cold that they were obliged to put on their thick jackets. A meteor was observed on the 18th of this month about nine at night, which flew from the north-east to the south-west, leaving such a train of light as equalled the brightness of mid-day. Three or four days afterwards they saw, besides whales, seals, snipes, plovers, and other birds, the tokens of land, which they discovered on the 8th of December, and on the 9th a sort of red shrimps surrounded the ship, which discoloured the sea about them.

Being near Cape Virgin on the 16th, they saw several men riding on the shore, by whose signs it was understood that they wished them to land. When the vessels came to an anchor, it was observed that the natives shouted aloud, and keeping up large fires, remained opposite the ship all night. The captain, with a boat's crew from each ship, went on shore in the morning, and having made signs to the Indians to sit down, distributed among them, combs, buttons, knives, and various toys, and pleased the women much by giving them some ribbands. Afterwards he took some pains to make them understand that he would give them some bill-hooks and hatchets, which he shewed them, in exchange for guanicoes and ostriches, but they were either ignorant of his meaning, or did not chuse to understand him.

With regard to the size of these people, according to the most exact account, the tallest among them were about six feet seven inches in height, several others were an inch or two shorter; but from five feet ten inches, to six feet and upwards seemed to be the standard,

which by the most moderate calculation is three inches at least above that of our country; and as to a man of six feet seven, the reader need not be told that he is looked on as a giant amongst us. These people were muscular and well made, but their hands and feet were remarked to be small in proportion to their bodies. Their dress was the skin of the guanicoe, with the hairy side turned inwards; and some of them wore a sort of square piece of cloth wove from the hair of that animal, a hole being cut to admit the head; and the garment thus made, reached to the knees. They had besides a sort of buskin that reached from the middle of the leg to the instep, and was also conveyed under the heel; but the rest of the foot was bare. Their hair, which was very long and coarse, was tied back with a piece of cotton, and their complexion was of the dark copper colour. Their horses, on which both men and women rode astride, were about 14 hands high, and their dogs appeared to be of the Spanish kind. Some of the men had wooden spurs, and several of them had their arms painted; the faces of others were variously marked, and some were seen that had their eyes inclosed with a painted circle. Two round stones inclosed with leather, formed their arms, one being held in the hand, the other was swung round the head for some time, and then discharged from a string of eight feet in length, with great violence as from a sling. By this cord they also caught guanicoes and ostriches, throwing it in such a manner as to hamper the legs of their prey*. The people were found here to be great talkers, and frequently using the word *Ca-pi-ta-ne*, they were spoken to in Portuguese, Spanish, French and Dutch, of neither of which languages they appeared to have any idea: But it was remarked that they learned to pronounce English words readily enough, and particularly used the sentence, "Englishmen come on shore," with great facility.

As they seemed desirous of going on board, the captain took eight of them into the boats, on which they instantly began singing for joy; but when they came into the ship, they expressed no kind of surprise at the novelties they beheld, till a looking glass being shewn them, they acted many antic gestures before it, occasionally walking to and from it, talking earnestly and laughing immoderately. They would drink nothing but water, but they eagerly ate every article of the ship's provisions. They were highly pleased with the turkeys, guinea-hens, hogs, and sheep on board; and one of them making signs that he should be glad of some clothes, the captain gave him a pair of shoes and buckles, and presented each of the rest with a little bag, in which were new sixpences and half-pence, with a ribband passed through a hole in them, to hang round their necks; there were also in it a looking-glass, a comb, some beads, a knife, a pair of scissars, some twine, and a few slips of cloth: some tobacco being offered them, they smoked a few minutes, but did not seem to like it. On the marines being exercised before them, they were terrified at the firing of the muskets, and one of them falling down shut his eyes, and lay without motion, which was supposed to intimate that he knew the destructive nature of those weapons. It was with difficulty that they were at length prevailed on to go on shore; one of them in particular would not leave the ship till he had sung a long kind of prayer, and petitioned to stay till evening, by pointing to the sun, and then moving his hand round to the westward. They began to sing as soon as they were in the boat, and did not cease till they had reached the shore; where many of their companions pressed eagerly to be taken on board, and were highly affronted at being refused that favour.

They turned into the Straights of Maghellan this day with the tide of flood, and the same day saw many people on horseback hunting the guanicoes, which

* Captain Wallis's people observed some of the natives devouring the paunch of an ostrich raw, after having turned the inside outwards, and shaken off some of the filth.

ran up the country with prodigious swiftness. The natives lighted fires opposite the ships, and in the morning about 400 of them were observed in a valley with their horses feeding near them. This being the spot where Mr. Byron saw the Patagonians, some officers were sent towards the shore, but with orders not to land, as the ships were too far off to give them assistance. As they drew near the shore, many of the natives flocked towards them, among whom were women and children, and some of the same men they had seen the preceding day: those waded towards the boat, frequently calling out, "Englishmen come on shore;" and were with difficulty kept from coming on board, when they found the crews would not land. Some bread, tobacco, and toys, were distributed, but no provisions could be obtained in exchange for these articles. The tide was so violent on the 23d, that the ships were driven three several ways; but in the evening they were safely anchored. On Christmas-day they procured a quantity of celery from Elizabeth's Island, which being boiled with portable-soup and wheat, the crews breakfasted on it for several days. Upon this island were found many huts, and two dogs were seen; but the Indians had quitted their abodes for the present. They observed many mountains, which, though it was then the midst of summer, were in a great degree covered with snow.

They anchored in the bay of Port Famine on the 26th, and the sick were sent on shore, where a tent was erected for their reception, as was another for the accommodation of the sail-makers, and those who landed to get wood; the empty water-casks were landed on the 28th, and on the same day great quantities of fish were caught, among which were smelts. On their arrival here, many of the people were very ill of the scurvy; but by the plentiful use of vegetables, and bathing in the sea, in a short time they recovered. And now all hands were employed in repairing and storing the ships, and thousands of young trees were carefully taken up with the mould about them, to be carried to Falkland's Islands, which produce no timber. The master of the *Dolphin*, who had been in search of anchoring places, returned on the 17th of January with an account, that he found such as were proper for the purpose, and the *Prince Frederick* sailed for Falkland's Islands the same day.

They came to an anchor on the 17th, half a mile from the shore, opposite a current of fresh water, that falls rapidly from the mountains. But having discovered a more convenient anchoring place, and at the same time better adapted for procuring wood and water, they sailed again the next day, and came to an anchor in the bay of Cape Gallant on the 23d. Here they caught wild ducks in such numbers as to afford them very seasonable relief. The master of the *Swallow* climbed one of the high mountains, with the hope of getting a view of the South Sea; but being disappointed in his expectations, he erected a pyramid, and having written the ship's name, and the date of the year, he left the same, with a shilling within the structure.

They saw an animal on the 24th, that was as swift as a deer, and had a cloven foot; but in other respects was like an ass. The country here has a most forbidding aspect. The lower part of the vast mountains on both sides the strait are covered with trees, a space of which is occupied by withered shrubs; higher up are fragments of broken rocks and heaps of snow, and the tops are intirely naked and desolate. On the 28th they saw a great smoke on the southern shore, and another on Prince Rupert's Island; some people being sent on shore the next morning for water, they had no sooner landed, than several of the natives came off in three canoes, and having advanced towards the sailors, made signs of friendship, which being answered to their wish, they shouted aloud, and the English shouted in return. When the Indians came up, they were eating the flesh of seals raw, and were covered with the skins, which stunk intolerably. They had bows, arrows, and javelins, the two last

of which were pointed with flint. The tallest of these people did not measure more than five feet six inches; and they were of a deep copper complexion.

Three of the natives who were taken on board the *Dolphin*, ate whatever food was given them, but, like the Patagonians, would drink only water, they were likewise highly diverted with a looking-glass, in which they at first looked with great surprise, till, having become more familiar with it, they smiled at the novelty, and when they observed the figure in the glass smiled also, they burst into most immoderate fits of laughter at its effects. The captain going on shore with them, presented some trinkets to their wives and children, and received some of their arms, and pieces of mundic, of the kind found in the Cornish tin mines, in return. These Indians went off in canoes that had seal-skin sails.

On the 3d of February the ships sailed, and came to an anchor in York Road on the same day. Capt. Wallis went on shore the next morning with a party, near Bachelor's river, where he saw some Indian huts, and several dogs which ran away the moment they were observed; they likewise saw ostriches, and collected various kinds of fish and some vegetables of the country. There is a cataract near this river, the noise of which is tremendous, the water falling more than 400 yards, partly over a very steep descent, and partly in a perpendicular line. Having sailed on the 14th, they came to an anchor again the same day in York Road, after having lost ground by the contrary winds, and were driven with such violence the next morning by the current, as to be in continual expectation of being dashed against the rocks, from which they were frequently not half the length of the ship; but they were providentially preserved, and came to an anchor in Butler's Bay, which was so called from the name of one of the mates, by whom it was first discovered. Keeping their station here till the 20th, they were then encountered by a most violent storm, attended with hail and rain, which increased till the evening, the sea breaking over the fore-castle upon the quarter-deck: yet, as the cables did not part, they were again wonderfully preserved. Here they remained eight days, taking in wood and water, and repairing the little damage the ship had sustained in the storm. In the mean time they caught fish, among which were muscles near six inches long, and procured plenty of vegetables. The mountains in this neighbourhood had the most rugged and desolate appearance. Their heads seemed to be lost in the clouds; and some of them on the southern shore, produced not a single blade of grass, while the valleys, equally barren, and almost covered with snow, had a very melancholy appearance. They set sail again on the first of March, and anchored on the same day in a bay which was called *Lion's Cove*, from whence they sailed on Monday. The five following days they had such tempestuous weather, that they had no prospect before them, but that of immediate destruction: and the crew on board the *Dolphin* were so prepossessed that the *Swallow* could not ride out the storm, that they fancied they saw some of her hands coming towards them over the rocks. During a fortnight that they remained at this place, they were at two-thirds allowance, brandy excepted, which was found highly useful to keep up their spirits. Both the vessels were safely anchored in a place called Swallow Harbour, on the 15th, from whence they sailed the next morning; and on the following day the *Swallow*, being driven among breakers, made a signal of distress; but a breeze from the shore happily released her.

The waves ran high that day, and there was so thick a fog, that they narrowly escaped ship-wreck among a number of small islands: the weather however clearing up a little in the afternoon, they came to an anchor in a bay under Cape Upright. Two canoes having on board several Indians, on the 19th came along-side the *Dolphin*, who had with them a great quantity of seal's flesh, blubber, and penguins, which they ate without any kind of dressing. A

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sailor having caught a fish bigger than a herring, gave it to one of them, who killed it by a bite near the gills, and instantly devoured it. They would not drink any liquor but water, they eagerly ate provisions of any kind, boiled, roasted, raw, salt or fresh. Though the weather was very cold, these savages had no covering but a seal-skin, and even that they did not wear when they were rowing. They had all sore eyes, probably occasioned by the smoke of their fires, and they live in such a nasty way that they smell quite rank. They had a kind of javelin pointed with bone, which they use in striking fish. The captain gave them a few baubles, with which they departed extremely well pleased. One night 22 of the sailors staying on an island, 30 of the natives hurried to their boats, and began to make free with its contents. The sailors had just time to hinder their intended depredations, at which the savages appeared to be much enraged, and betook themselves to their poles and javelins; but some small presents made them by the men, pacified them on this occasion. It proving a fine day on the 30th, the crew employed themselves in drying the sails. The next day some Indians coming on board, proved to be the same people whom they had seen on shore before.

Some of the natives, on the first of April, sold them several of the birds called race-horses, and the day following eight of the Indians brought six of their children on board, to whom the Captain gave necklaces and bracelets. The Indians here appeared to be remarkably tender of their children, and delicate in regard to their women. A boat having been ordered on shore in order to procure wood and water, some of the natives had come on board, and others were in canoes along-side of the ship. The latter kept their eyes fixed upon the boat, and when she put off, called loudly to their companions, who directly handed down the children, and jumped into the canoes which had followed the boat with the greatest expedition, all the time crying out as if they were in the utmost distress. When the boat came near the land, some women appeared among the rocks to whom the Indians called in like manner, on which they all ran away. The crew, however, remarking their jealous fear, lay on their oars in order to convince them, that they intended no injury. The Indians, however, drew their canoes on shore, and hastily followed the women.

The men now began to be troubled with fluxes, on which account, at the request of the surgeon, it was ordered, that no more muscles (which had hitherto been found in plenty) should be brought on board. The two vessels sailed in company on the 10th of this month, and, on the 11th they lost sight of each other, nor did they meet again during the whole course of the voyage. The Dolphin cleared the streights this day, after having encountered innumerable difficulties and dangers on her passage through them, for the space of three calendar months and 25 days.*

Among the observations of our author, he takes particular notice of the Spanish town built with a view to command the Maghellanic Streights. As the reader has had an account already of the wretched fate of the colony left there in 1581, we shall only take notice that most of them were starved to death, and this uncomfortable place received the appellation of Port Famine, which it retains to this day. Cape Holland Bay, and the adjacent country where fish were caught in great plenty, produced also cranberries and wild celery; but no birds were to be found thereon. At Cape Gallant Bay they found wood, water, vegetables, and fish as well as at Elizabeth's Bay, and York Road. At Butler's Bay were procured rock-fish, muscles, wild fowl, &c. Lion Cove, and Goodluck Bay, were found to produce nothing but wood and water. At Swallow harbour, where the mountains were the most desolate

that ever could be imagined they procured muscles and rock fish, and wild fowl and fish were taken, while they were at anchor in Upright Bay.

Holding a westward course on Sunday the 12th of April, a number of gannets, pintadoes, and other birds were seen flying about the ship, the upper works of which being open, and the clothes and bedding always wet, in a few days the sailors were attacked with colds and fevers. The sick were brought on deck, on the 27th of this month, which proved a fine day; and they were nourished with salop and portable soup in which wheat was boiled; but the violent winds soon visiting them again, the bedding was wet through as before; and the ship being in danger of losing her masts, it was thought necessary to alter their course. From this time till the 14th of May, nothing material happened. On that day something like high land appeared, and a number of brown birds were seen, but steering for the quarter where they expected to fall in with it, they found themselves disappointed; though the signs were sometimes renewed. In short, it was not till the 6th of June that land was really discovered to the W. N. W. This proved to be a low island, at five or six leagues distance, which was at length discovered from the deck, to the great joy of the ship's company.

When they came within five miles of this island another was discovered. To the first of these islands a boat was sent, under the command of the second lieutenant, the crew being properly provided with arms. On their approaching the shore, two canoes were seen to put off to the other island. The crews however landed, gathered some cocoa-nuts and a quantity of scurvy-grass, and then returned to the ships, bringing with them some fish-hooks made of oyster shells, that had belonged to the natives. In this excursion they saw three huts, supported on posts, and open all round, but thatched with cocoa and palm leaves, ingeniously wrought together. As no anchorage was to be found, and the whole island was encompassed with rocks and breakers, the captain resolved to steer for the other island, giving the name of Whitsun Island to this, because it was discovered on the eve of Whitsunday. Having approached the other island, about 50 of the natives, armed with pikes, and some having fire-brands in their hands, were observed running on the coast. Two boats were sent out manned and armed, and the lieutenant was instructed to steer to that part of the shore where the people had been seen; to avoid offending them, and to endeavour to procure water and fruit in exchange for such commodities as he took with him. When the boat came near the shore, the natives put themselves in a position as if they would defend it with their pikes; but the crew making signs of friendship, and exposing their trinkets, some of the Indians walked into the water; to whom it was hinted, that some cocoa-nuts and water would be acceptable; which was no sooner done, than they fetched a small quantity of each, which they ventured to bring to the boats, and received some nails and other trifles in exchange. While they were dealing, one of the Indians stole a silk handkerchief with its contents, but the thief could by no means be discovered. The boats were again dispatched the next morning, with orders to land, if they could do it without offence to the natives. As they approached the shore, they observed seven large canoes, each with two masts, lying ready for the Indians to embark in them; these having made signs to the crew to proceed farther, and this being done, the Indians embarked and sailed westward, being joined by two canoes, at another part of the island. These latter, two of which were lashed together, appeared to be 30 feet in length, four in breadth, and three in depth. The people had long black hair hanging over their shoulders, were of a dark complexion, and of a middle size, and dressed in a kind of matting

Whitsun Island.

* It is to be observed here, as in the former voyage, that we have not so exactly copied the writer's account of all the bearings, distances, &c. in the course of the vessels through these

streights, but have only selected what we thought might be most entertaining or instructive to the reader.

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matting made fast round the middle; and it was remarked that the women were beautiful, and the men justly proportioned.

The lieutenant being again sent on shore, the captain commanded him to take possession of the island in the king's name, and to call it *Queen Charlotte's Island*. The boats returned loaded with cocoa-nuts and scurvy-grass after having found two wells of excellent water. Provisions for a week were now allotted for a mate and twenty men, who were left on shore to fill water; the sick were landed for the benefit of the air; and a number of hands were appointed to climb the cocoa-trees and gather the nuts, which, in their situation, were very desirable. The water was brought on board on the 10th, but the cocoa-nuts, and vegetables, which the cutter was bringing off, were lost by the rolling of the waves, that almost filled her with water. Afterwards they made an island where were found several tools, resembling adzes, awls, and chisels, which were formed of shells and stones. The dead bodies were not buried, but left under a kind of canopy, to decay above ground.

The ship sailed again this day, after taking possession of the islands for the king; in testimony of which they left a flag flying, and carved his majesty's name on a piece of wood, and on the bark of several trees. They left shillings, sixpences, halfpence, bottles, nails, hatchets, and other things for the use of the natives. It was remarkable, that on this island they found the very people who had fled from *Queen Charlotte's Island*, with several others, in the whole near 100. It lies in $19^{\circ} 20'$ south lat. and $138^{\circ} 30'$ west long. and received the name of *Egmont Island*.

On the 11th they observed about sixteen persons on an island which was called *Gloucester Island*; but as it was surrounded with rocks and breakers, they did not attempt to land. This day they likewise discovered another, which was called *Cumberland Island*; and, on the day following, a third, which received the name of *Prince William Henry's Island*.

On the 17th they again discovered land, and at ten at night saw a light, which convinced them that it was inhabited, and remarked, that there was a plenty of cocoa-trees, a certain proof that there was no want of water. An officer was sent on shore the day following, with instructions to exchange some toys for such things as the island produced. He saw a great number of the people, but could find no place where the ship might anchor. Some of the natives, who had white sticks in their hands, appeared to have an authority over the rest. While the lieutenant was trafficking with them, an Indian diving into the water, seized the grappling of the boat, while his companions on shore laid hold of the rope by which she was fastened, and attempted to draw her into the surf, but their endeavours were frustrated by the firing of a musquet, on which they all let go their hold. These Indians were dressed in a kind of cloth, a piece of which was brought to the ship. It was concluded from the number of the people seen, and their having some large double canoes on the shore, that there were larger islands at no great distance: the captain, therefore, having named this place *Osnaburgh Island*, made sail and soon discovering high-land, came to an anchor, because the weather was very foggy.

The next morning early they saw land, distant four or five leagues; but, after having sailed towards it some time, thought it prudent again to anchor, on account of the thickness of the fog; but it no sooner cleared away, than they found the ship encompassed by a number of canoes, in which were many hundreds of people. Having approached the ship, they beheld it with wonder, and talked with great earnestness. Some baubles were now shewn them, and signs were made for them to come on board, on which they rowed the canoes towards each other, and a general consultation took place; at the conclusion of which they all surrounded the ship with an appearance of friendship, and one of them delivered an oration, at the conclusion of which he threw into the sea the branch

of a plantain-tree, which he had held in his hand. This being done, a young Indian, of more apparent courage than the rest, ventured on board the ship. The captain would have given him some baubles, but he refused the acceptance of them till those in the canoes came along-side, and, having held a consultation, threw on board several branches of the plantain-tree. Others now ventured on board; but it was remarked, that they all got into the ship at some improper part, not one of them, even by accident, finding the right place of ascent.

A goat belonging to the ship, having run his horns against the back of one of the Indians, he looked round with surprize, and seeing the animal ready to renew the attack he sprang over the ship's side, and was instantly followed by all his countrymen. Their terror, however, soon subsided, and they returned to the ship; and the sheep, hogs, and poultry being shewn them, they intimated that they possessed the two latter species.

The captain then gave them nails and other trifles and made signs that he wanted hogs, fowls, and fruit; but they could not comprehend him. They were detected in several attempts to take away any thing they could lay hold of; but one of them, at length jumped overboard with a laced hat which he had snatched from one of the officers.

The inner parts of the island abounds in hills, clothed with timber trees, above them are high peaks, from which large rivers descend to the sea; the houses, when seen at a distance, resemble barns, having no shelter but a roof; the land towards the sea is level, and produces the cocoa-nut, with a variety of other fruits, and the face of the whole country is picturesque beyond description. They now sailed along the shore, while the canoes, which could not keep pace with them, made towards the land. In the afternoon the ship brought to, and the boats being sent to sound a bay that promised good anchorage, the Indian canoes flocked round them. The captain, apprehensive that their designs were hostile, made a signal for the boats to return to the ship, and fired a gun over the heads of the Indians. Though they were frightened at the report, they attempted to prevent the return of the cutter; but she easily out-sailed them. This being observed by some canoes in a different station, they intercepted her, and wounded some of her people with stones, which occasioned the firing a musquet, and some shot were lodged in the shoulder of the man who began the attack; which the Indians observing, they all made off with the utmost precipitation. The boats having reached the ship preparations were made for sailing, but a large canoe making towards her at a great rate, it was resolved to wait the event of her arrival; on which an Indian, making a speech, threw a plantain branch on board, and the captain returned the compliment of peace, by giving them a branch, which had been left on board by the other Indians; some toys being likewise given them, they departed very well satisfied. They now sailed, and the next morning were off a peak of land which was almost covered with the natives and their houses. On the 21st the ship anchored, and several canoes came along-side of her, bringing a large quantity of fruit, with fowls and hogs, for which they received nails and toys in exchange.

The boats having been sent to sound along the coast, were followed by large double canoes, three of which ran at the cutter, staved in her quarter, and otherwise damaged her, the Indians at the same time, armed with clubs, endeavouring to board her; the crew now fired, and wounded one man dangerously, and killing another, they both fell into the sea, whither their companions dived after them, and got them into the canoe. They now tried if they could stand or sit, but as one was quite dead, they laid him at the bottom of the canoe, and the wounded man was supported in a sitting posture. The ships boats now kept on their way, while some of the canoes went on shore, and others returned to the ship to renew their

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their merchandise. While the boats continued out in several soundings, the natives swam off to them with water and fruit. The women were particularly urgent for the sailors to land, and, putting off all their cloaths, gave hints, of the most indelicate nature, how acceptable their company would be. The boats being sent on shore with some small casks to get water, the Indians filled two of them, and kept all the rest for their trouble. When the boats came off the shore was crowded with thousands of men, women, and children.

During this time, several canoes remained alongside the ship, but the captain would not permit a single Indian to go on board, as there was no guarding against their artful dispositions.

On the 22d, the natives brought hogs, poultry and fruit to the ship, which they bartered for knives and other things, so that the whole crew was supplied with meat for two days, by means of this traffic. The boats having been this day sent for water, every inducement was used by the inhabitants to persuade them to land, and the behaviour of the women was still more lascivious than before. Having procured a small quantity of water, the boats put off: on which the women shouted aloud, pelted them with apples and bananas, and shewed every mark of contempt and detestation.

They made sail the following day, with intention to anchor off the watering-place, but, the man at the mast-head discovering a bay a few miles to the leeward, they immediately stood for it. The boats, which were a-head, making a signal for an anchorage, they prepared to bring to; but when the ship had almost reached the place, she suddenly struck, and her head remained immovable, fixed on a coral rock; in which situation she remained near an hour, when she was happily relieved by a breeze from the shore. During the whole time that she was in danger of being wrecked, she was encompassed by hundreds of Indians in their canoes; but not one of them attempted to board her.

The vessel was now piloted round a reef, into an harbour, where she moored. The master was then sent to sound the bay, and found safe anchorage in every part of it. In the mean time some small canoes brought provisions on board; but as the shore was crowded with large canoes, filled with men, the captain loaded and primed his guns, supplied his boats with musqueteers, and kept a number of men under arms.

The ship sailed up the harbour on the 24th and many canoes followed them, bringing provisions, which were exchanged for nails, knives, &c. A number of very large canoes advanced in the evening, laden with stores, on which the captain ordered the strictest watch to be kept. At length some canoes came off; which had on board a number of women, who being brought almost under the ship, began to practise those arts of indelicacy already mentioned. During this singular exhibition the large canoes came round the ship, some of the Indians playing on a kind of a flute, others singing, and the rest blowing a sort of shells. Soon after a large canoe advanced, in which was an awning; and on the top of it sat one of the natives, holding some yellow and red feathers in his hands. The captain having consented to his coming alongside, he delivered the feathers, and while a present was preparing for him, he put back from the ship, and threw the branch of a cocoa-tree in the air. This was, doubtless, the signal for an onset, for there was an instant shout from all the canoes, which, approaching the ship, poured volleys of stones into every part of her. On this two guns, loaded with small shot, were fired, and the people on guard discharged their musquets. The number of Indians round the ship were full 2000, and though they were at first disconcerted, they soon recovered their spirits, and renewed the attack. Thousands of the Indians were now observed on shore, embarking as fast as the canoes could bring them off: orders were therefore given for

firing the cannon, some of which were brought to bear upon the shore. This firing put a stop to all hostilities, on the part of the Indians, for a small time; but the scattered canoes soon got together again, and, having hoisted white streamers, advanced, and threw stones of two pounds weight from slings, by which a number of the seamen were wounded. At this time several canoes approached the bow of the ship, from whence no shot had been yet discharged. In one of these was an Indian, who appeared to have an authority over the rest, a gun was therefore levelled at his canoe, the shot of which split it in two pieces. This put an end to the contest, the canoes rowed off with the utmost speed, and the people on shore ran and concealed themselves behind the hills.

After this, the captain sailed for his intended anchoring place, and moored his ship within a little distance of a fine river. Some of his people who had been sent to survey the shore, returned the next morning with an account that they had found good fresh water (produced from the river abovementioned) but that there was not a canoe to be seen. A lieutenant was sent the same day with all the boats, well manned and armed, and a number of marines, having orders to land his men under cover of the ship and boats. This being accordingly effected, he turned a piece of turf, and having hoisted a broad pendant upon a staff, took possession of the isle for his Britannic majesty, naming it *King George the Third's Island*. Some rum being then mixed with the river-water, the king's health was drank by every person present. During the performance of this ceremony, two old men were seen on the opposite side of the river, who put themselves in a supplicating posture, and appeared to be much terrified. On this, the English made signs to them to cross the river. One of them obeying the signal came over, and crawled on his hands and knees towards the lieutenant, who shewed him some stones that had been thrown at the vessel, but took pains at the same time, to intimate, that no injury should be done to the Indians, if they were not the aggressors. He then caused some hatchets to be produced, giving the Indian to understand that his people would be glad to exchange them for various kinds of provisions. Some trifles were also given to this old man, who expressed his gratitude by his gestures, and by dancing round the flag-staff, but when they saw the pendant shaken by the wind, they ran back, with signs of fear and surprise. When they had recovered themselves from their fright, they brought two hogs which they laid down, and began dancing round the pendant as before. The hogs were afterwards put into a canoe, which the old Indian rowed towards the ship; and when he came along-side of her, pronounced a serious oration, in the course of which he delivered a number of plantain leaves, (one at a time, somewhat in the manner of the North Americans closing their periods with belts of wampum.) After this he rowed back again, refusing at that time to accept of any presents.

The noise of drums and other instruments was heard this night, and the next morning it was observed that the pendant was taken away, and the natives had quitted the coast. While the casks were filling with water, the old Indian already mentioned, crossed the river, and brought the English some fowls and fruits. At this time the captain was ill, but though he was confined to the vessel, he had remarked from thence by the help of glasses what was doing on shore. In the course of his observations, he perceived many of the natives creeping behind the bushes, towards the watering-place, at the same time that vast numbers advanced through the woods, and a large party came down the hill in view; all tending to the same quarter. Two divisions of canoes were besides seen making round the opposite sides of the bay. As the lieutenant had likewise observed the threatened danger, he got his people on board the boats; previous to which he had sent the old Indian to intimate to his countrymen that the crew wanted nothing but water, and to prevail on them to keep at a proper distance,

King George
the Third's
Island.

tance whilst it was filling; but so far was this from having the proper effect, that the islanders made a prize of the casks; and those at some distance from the watering-place, went forward with all expedition, in order to keep pace with the canoes, which rowed along very swiftly. At the same time a number of women and children took their station on a hill, which commanded a prospect of the shipping. The canoes drawing near that part of the bay where the vessel was at anchor, took in many from the shore who were laden with bags filled with stones: Then they rowed towards the ship, on which orders were given to fire on the first party that approached in the canoes, which being done, the Indians made off frightened and astonished. Captain Wallis being now resolved that this action should put an end to all disputes, incensed at the behaviour of the natives, commanded his people to fire first into the wood, and afterwards towards the hill, whither the islanders had retreated; when finding at what a distance the guns could reach them, they dispersed and disappeared.

After this, the boats were sent out, a strong guard being appointed to attend the carpenters, who, according to orders, destroyed all the Indian canoes which could be met with. At length a small party of the natives came to the beach, stuck up some small branches of trees, as if for tokens, and then retreated to the woods; however they came again, and brought some hogs and dogs with their legs tied, which they left on the shore, together with a quantity of such cloth as they wore, all which they made signs to the sailors to take away. On this, a boat was dispatched which conveyed the hogs on board, but left behind the other articles; hatchets and nails were also deposited on the beach in return for these presents, but the Indians would by no means accept them till the cloth was taken away.

A party being employed in filling water on the 27th of this month, the old Indian was seen on the opposite side of the river. After having delivered an oration in his manner, he came over, when the officer referred him to the bags and stones which had been brought down, and used his endeavours to convince him that the English in the late action had acted only from motives of self-defence. The old man, however seemed to think his countrymen much aggrieved, and with great openness intimated his opinion. However at last he suffered himself to be reconciled, shook hands with the lieutenant, and accepted some presents from him. It was then hinted to him that it would be best for the people of the island to appear only in small parties for the future, with which terms, the Indian appeared satisfied, and an advantageous traffic was afterwards established with the natives.

Matters being thus settled, the sick were sent on shore, and were lodged, under the care of the surgeon, in tents near the watering place. This gentleman shooting a wild duck, it dropped on the opposite side of the river, in the presence of some Indians, who fled directly; but stopping within a short space, one of them was at last persuaded to bring the duck over, which he laid at the surgeon's feet, but, at the same time, the agitation of his mind was visible in his countenance. Three ducks were killed by a second shot, and the natives were by this time possessed with such a notion of the effects of fire-arms, as whilst it raised their admiration, was supposed to contribute in a great measure to their good behaviour towards the English during their stay in these parts, though there might be another reason assigned for this before their departure, as will be apparent in the sequel.

The gunner was now appointed to manage all affairs of trade between the Indians and the sailors, in order to prevent quarrelling and pilfering. This was a judicious choice; the natives sometimes stole certain trifles, but immediate restitution was made on the sight of a gun. Besides, the old Indian made himself very serviceable in recovering any thing that might have been taken away. In particular, an Indian swam one day over the river, and pilfered a hatchet, on

which the gunner making preparations, as if he meant to go in search of him, the goods were restored by the old man's means, and the offender was also delivered up to the gunner. Though he had committed other robberies, yet the captain discharged him; and all his punishment consisted in his terrible apprehensions. Being restored to his countrymen, he was conducted to the woods in the midst of their shouts of applause. This man had the gratitude to bring a roasted hog and some bread fruit to the gunner next day, as an acknowledgement for the lenity shewn him.

The captain, first lieutenant, and purser, were at this time very ill; so that the charge of the vessel, and the care of the sick, were committed to the second lieutenant, who discharged his duty with zeal and fidelity; and fruit, fowls, and fresh pork, were procured in such plenty that at the end of fourteen days almost every man had perfectly recovered his health.

A piece of salt-petre, of the size of a small egg, was found on the 25th on the shore; but whether it was brought from the ship, or not, could not be learned, after the most diligent enquiry; but however, no other piece was found. On the 2d of July they began to want fruit and fresh meat, owing to the absence of the old Indian, but they had still a sufficient supply for the sick. On the 3d, the ship's bottom was examined, when its condition was found to be nearly the same as when she left England. This day a shark was caught, which proved an acceptable present to the natives. The old Indian, who had visited the interior parts of the island in quest of provisions, returned on the 5th, and brought with him a roasted hog as a present for the captain, who in return, gave him a looking-glass, an iron pot, &c. His return was soon followed by some of the natives, who had never yet visited the market, and who brought some hogs that were larger than any yet purchased.

Another sort of traffic was now established between the Indian girls and the sailors. The price of a female's favours was a nail or two; but as the seamen could not always get at the nails, they drew them out of several parts of the ship; nor could the offenders be discovered by the strictest enquiry. The damage done to the vessel might have been easily repaired; but a worse consequence arose from this traffic; for on the gunner's offering small nails for hogs, the Indians produced large spikes, demanding such as those. Some of the men made use of a particular device to gratify their passions; for when they could procure no more nails, they cut lead into the shape of them, and passed those pieces on their unsuspecting paramours. When the Indians discovered the fraud, they demanded nails for the lead; but this just demand could not be granted, because it would have promoted the stealing of lead, and likewise injured the traffic with iron. In consequence of their connection with the women, the sailors became so impatient of controul, that the articles of war were read, to awe them into obedience; and a corporal of marines was severely punished, for striking the master at arms. The captain's health being nearly restored, he went in his boat to survey the island, which he found extremely delightful, and every where well peopled.

On the 8th, the wood-cutters were entertained in a friendly manner by certain Indians, who seemed to be of a rank above those, they had yet seen, and some of these visiting the captain, he laid before them a thirty-six-shilling piece, a guinea, a crown-piece, a dollar, some shillings, some new half-pence, and two large nails, intimating that they might take their choice, when they eagerly seized the nails, and then took a few half-pence, but left all the other pieces untouched.

The Indians now refused to supply the market, unless they could get large nails in exchange: the captain therefore ordered the ship to be searched, when it was found that almost all the hammock-nails were stolen, and great numbers drawn from different places; on which every man was ordered before the captain;

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Captain Wallis's meeting with the queen.

who told them, that not a man should go on shore till the thieves were discovered; but no good consequence arose from his threats, at that time.

Three days after this, the gunner conducted to the ship a lady of an agreeable face, and portly mein, whose age seemed to be upwards of forty. This lady had but lately arrived in that part of the island, and the gunner observing that she seemed to have great authority, presented her with some toys; on which she invited him to her house, and gave him some fine hogs. She was afterwards taken on board, at her own desire. Her whole behaviour shewed her to be a woman of fine sense and superior rank; the captain presented her with a looking-glass and some toys, and gave her a handsome blue mantle, which he tied round her with ribbands. As she then intimated that she should be glad to see him on shore, he signified his intention of visiting her the next day. Accordingly, on Saturday the 12th, Captain Wallis went on shore, where she met him, attended by a numerous retinue, some of whom she directed to carry the captain, and others who had been ill, over the river, and from thence to her habitation, and the procession was closed by a guard of marines and seamen. As they advanced, a great number of Indians crowded to see them; but, on a slight motion of her hand, they made room for the procession to pass. When they drew near her dwelling, many persons of both sexes advanced to meet her, whom she caused to kiss the captain's hand, while she signified that they were related to her. Her house was 320 feet in length, and about 40 in breadth. The roof, which was covered with the leaves of palm-tree, was supported by a row of pillars on each side, and another in the middle. The highest part of the thatch on the inside, was 30 feet from the ground, and the space between the sides of the building and the edge of the roof, which was about 12 feet, was left open.

The captain, lieutenant, and purser, being seated, the lady helped four of her female attendants to pull off the gentlemen's coats, shoes, and stockings, which was awkwardly performed; the girls however smoothed down the skin, and rubbed it lightly with their hands for more than half an hour. The surgeon, being heated with walking, having pulled off his wig, one of the Indians screamed out, and the eyes of the whole company were instantly fixed on the wonderful sight, and they remained for some time fixed in surprize. After this, the queen ordered several bales of cloth to be brought out, which were the produce of the country, which were now destined for the dress of the captain and his attendants. It was intended that the Captain should be carried as he had been before, but as he refused the offer, the queen walked arm in arm with him, and lifted him like an infant over such wet and dirty places as they came to in their way. She gave him a sow big with young, and took her leave when she had attended him to the beach. The gunner being dispatched to wait on her the next day with a present of bill-hooks, hatchets, &c. found her busied in entertaining some hundreds of the Indians who were regularly seated round her. She ordered a mess to be provided for the gunner, which he found to be very agreeable, and supposed to be fowls and apples cut small, and mixed with salt water. The provisions which were distributed by the queen, were served in cocoa shells, which her servants brought in a sort of trays. This lady took her seat somewhat above the rest of the company, and when they were supplied, was fed by two women servants, standing on each side of her.

It was observed that she received the captain's presents with an air of great satisfaction, and the supply of provisions brought to market was now greater than ever, but the prices were raised, in a great measure

owing to the commerce between the English seamen and the women of the island, of which we have taken notice; for which reason, besides the orders given for restraining the people belonging to the crew from going on shore, it was also thought proper to prohibit any women from passing the river.

On the 14th of this month, the gunner being on shore, discovered a woman on the opposite side of the river, who seemed to be weeping in a most piteous manner. Perceiving that he seemed to take notice of her apparent distress, she sent a youth to him, who having made a long oration, laid a branch of plantain at his feet, after which he went to fetch the woman, and also brought two hogs with him. The youth now made a long speech, and, in the end, the gunner was given to understand that her husband and three of her sons, had been killed when the English fired on the Indians as above related. She fell speechless on the ground after she had told her tale of woe, and two lads that attended her, seemed also to be much affected. The gunner seeing her distressed situation endeavoured to console her, and at last she became a little calmer, offered him her hand, and directed the hogs to be given him, nor would she accept any thing in return for her present. A large party rowed round the island in their boats on the 15th, in order to take a view of it, and to purchase provisions. Returning, they brought with them a number of hogs and fowls, and some cocoa-nuts. They found the island to be pleasant, and abounding with the necessaries of life, and saw a great number of canoes, several of which were not quite finished. The natives tools were formed of bones, stones, and shells. No other four-footed beasts but dogs and hogs, were seen. The inhabitants ate all their meat either baked or roasted, as they neither had any vessel wherein water could be boiled, nor seemed to entertain an idea that it could be heated by fire so as to answer any useful purpose. One morning, when the lady we have mentioned was at breakfast, an Indian that attended her having observed the cock of an urn turned, to fill a tea-pot, he also turned the cock, when the scalding water falling upon his hand, he cried out and jumped about the cabin, while the Indians were equally surprised and terrified at the circumstance. The Captain received another visit from the queen on the 17th, and the same day a great quantity of provisions was purchased of some of the natives, whom the English had never before dealt with. The next day the queen repeated her visit, and made the captain a present of two hogs, and the master attending her home, she clothed him in the dress of the country, as she had done the captain and his retinue. Their provisions received an increase on the 19th, by the gunner's sending on board a number of hogs and pigs, and abundance of fowls and fruits which he had purchased in the country. At this time an order was made that none of the sailors should be allowed to go on shore, except those that were appointed to procure wood, water, or other necessaries.*

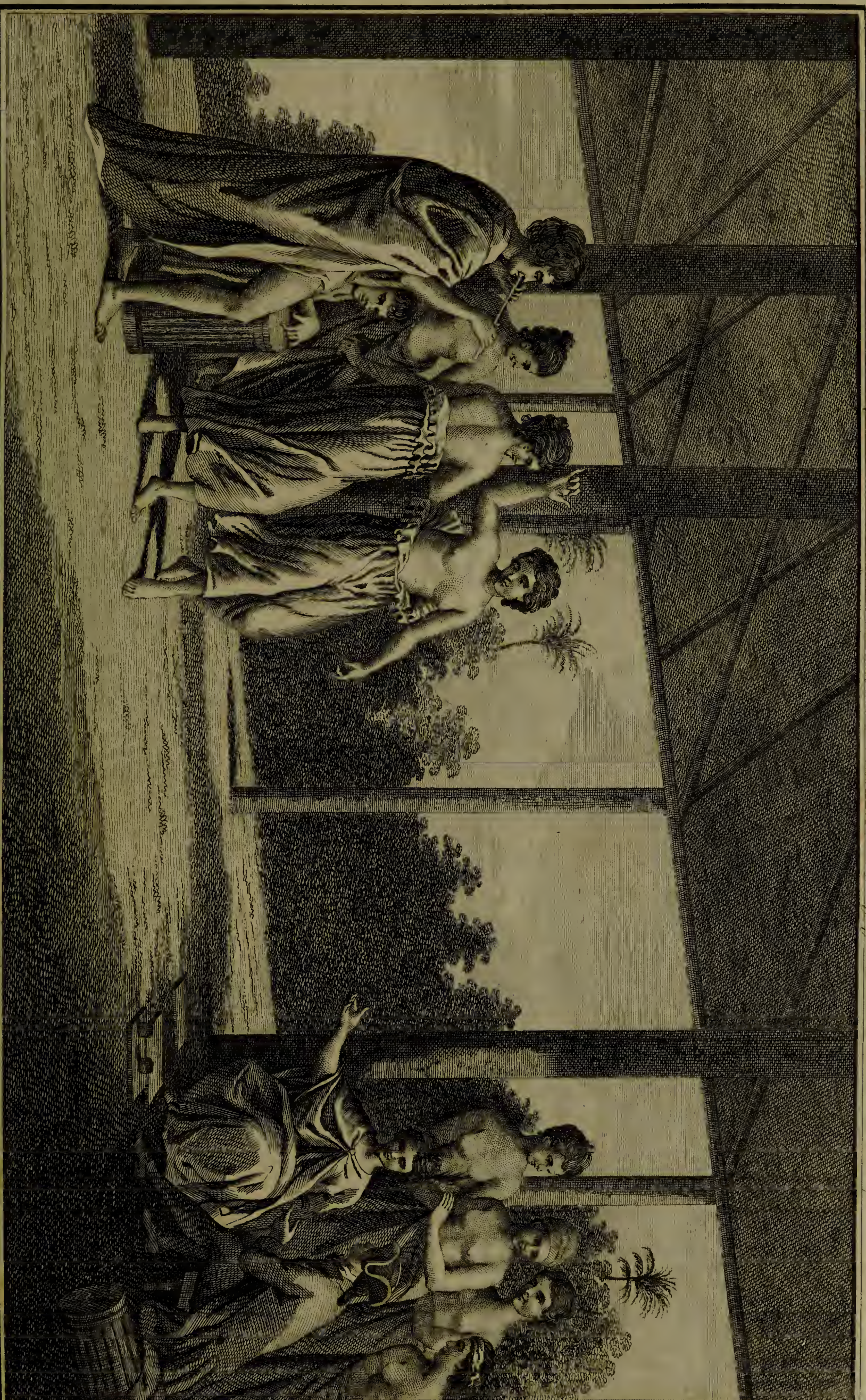
On the 21st the queen came again to visit Captain Wallis and presented him with some hogs. She likewise invited the captain to her house who attended her home with some of his officers. She tied wreaths of plaited hair round their hats, and on the captain's she put a tuft of feathers of various colours, by way of distinction. She came back with them as far as the water-side on their return and ordered some presents to be put into the boat at their departure. Captain Wallis having intimated before they put off, that he should leave the island in seven days time, she made signs that she wished him to stay twenty days; but he repeating his resolution, she bursted into a flood of tears.

The vessel was so well stored with hogs and poultry,

* On the 20th one of the sailors was sentenced to run the gauntlet three times round the deck, while the crew whipped him with nettles. This punishment (which however was not very severely inflicted by the men) was ordered on account of

his having drawn nails from the ship; and it was thought proper to prevent this practice for the future, by hindering the seamen from going on shore, and thereby removing the temptation.

Engraved for Murray, New York, by the Collection of Voyages & Travels.



CAPT^N WALLIS, on his arrival at O'TAHEITE, in conversation with OBEREA the QUEEN, while her attendants are performing a favorite DANCE called the TIMRODDE.



try, that the decks were covered with them, and as the men were more inclined to eat fruit than meat, they were killed faster than had been intended. * The captain presented his friend the old Indian with some cloth and other articles, and sent a number of things to the queen, among which were a cat with kitten, turkies, geese, hens, and several sorts of garden seeds. This compliment was returned by a present of fruit and hogs. Pease and other European seeds were sowed here, and the captain staid long enough to see them come up, and to observe that they were likely to thrive in the country.

A party was sent on shore on the 25th in order to examine the country, and a tent was erected for the purpose of observing an eclipse of the sun. When it was ended, the captain took his telescope to the queen, who shewed a surprise scarcely to be expressed, on discovering several objects with which she was well acquainted, but which were too distant to be seen without the help of a glass. He afterwards invited her and her retinue to come on board the ship, where an elegant dinner was prepared, of which all but the queen ate heartily; but she would neither eat nor drink. On the return of the party from their excursion, the queen was landed with her train. The captain still keeping in the same mind as to the time of his departure, she wept again on being informed of his resolution.

The party sent out this day, reported, That on their first landing they called on the old Indian, and took him into their company, walking some on one side of the river, and some on the other, till the ground rising almost perpendicular, they were all obliged to walk on one side. On the borders of the valley through which the river flowed, the soil was black and there were several houses with walled gardens, and plenty of fowls and hogs. In many places channels were cut to conduct the water from the hills to the plantations. No underwood was found beneath the trees, but there was good grass; the bread-fruit and apple-trees were set in rows upon the hills, and the cocoa-nut grew upon the level ground. The streams now meandered through various windings, and the crags of mountains hung over the travellers heads. When they had walked about four miles they rested, and began their breakfast under an apple tree. At this time they were alarmed by a loud shout from a number of natives. On this they were going to betake themselves to their arms, but the old Indian made signs that they should sit still. He then went to his countrymen, and it was presently observed that they became silent and withdrew. They afterwards returned, bringing with them some refreshments, in exchange for which they received buttons and other trifles from the lieutenant. The party then proceeded, looking every where for metals and ores, but found nothing of that sort worth attending to. And now the old Indian being tired, gave his English companions to understand that he was desirous of returning; but he did not leave them till he had given directions to the Indians to clear the way over a mountain. After his departure his countrymen cut branches from the trees, and laid them in a ceremonious manner at the feet of the seamen; they then painted themselves red with the berries of a tree, and stained their garments yellow with the bark of another. By the assistance of these people, the most difficult parts of the mountains were climbed, and they again refreshed themselves at its summit, when they saw other mountains so much above them, that they seemed as in a valley.

Towards the sea the prospect was inexpressibly beautiful, the sides of the hills being covered with trees, and the vallies with grass, while the whole country was interspersed with villages. They saw but few houses on the mountains above them, but as

smoke was observed in many places, it was conjectured, that the highest were inhabited. Many springs gushed from the sides of the mountains, all of which were covered with wood on the sides and with fern on the summit. The soil even on the high land was rich, and the sugar cane grew without cultivation; as did likewise turmeric and ginger.

Having a third time refreshed themselves, they descended towards the ship, occasionally deviating from the direct way, tempted by the pleasant situation of several houses, the inhabitants of which entertained them in the most hospitable manner. They saw parrots, parroquets, green doves, and ducks. The lieutenant planted the stones of cherries, peaches and plumbs, several kinds of garden seeds, and oranges, lemons and limes. In the afternoon they rested on a delightful spot, where the inhabitants dressed them two hogs and several fowls. Here they staid till evening, when they rewarded the diligence of their guides, and repaired to the ship.

On the 26th, the captain was visited by the queen with her usual presents, and this day they discontinued taking in wood and water, and prepared for sailing. A greater number of Indians now came to the sea-shore, than they had ever yet seen; and of these several appeared to be persons of consequence. In the afternoon the queen visited Captain Wallis, and solicited him to remain ten days longer; but being informed that he should certainly sail on the following day, she burst into tears. She now demanded when he would come again, and was told in 50 days; she remained on board till evening, when being informed that the boat waited for her, she wept with more violence than she had yet done. At length this affectionate woman went over the ship's side, as did the old Indian who had been so serviceable to the crew. This man had signified that his son should sail with the captain; but when the time came the youth was not to be found, from whence it was concluded that parental affection had caused the old man to forfeit his word. The next morning early two boats were sent to fill a few casks of water; but the officer, alarmed at finding the shore crowded with the natives, prepared to return. This occasioned the queen to come forward, who ordered the Indians to retire to the other side of the river, after which she made signs for the boats to come on shore. While they were filling the water she ordered some presents to be put into the boat, and earnestly desired to go once more to the ship, but the officer being ordered not to bring off a single native, she ordered her double canoe out, and was followed by many others. When she had been on board for an hour, weeping and lamenting, the English took advantage of a fresh breeze; and got under sail. She now embraced the captain and officers, and left the ship; but as the wind fell, the canoes put back, and reached the ship again, to which the queen's was made fast, and advancing to the bow of it she there renewed her lamentations. Captain Wallis presented her with several articles of use and ornament, all which she received in mournful silence. The breeze springing up again, the queen and her attendants took their final leave, and tears were shed on both sides.

The place where the ship had lain at anchor, was called Port Royal Harbour, and is situate in 17° 30' of south lat. and 150° of west long.

The following are the particulars of Captain Wallis's farther account of customs, manners, &c. of the people of Otaheite. With regard to their stature he says, the men are from five feet seven to five feet ten inches high, the standard of the women, in general, near three inches shorter, the tallest among them being about five feet seven inches, they were mostly handsome, and some of them are described as being really beautiful. The complexion of such of the men as are much employed on the water is reddish, but their natural colour is what is called tawny. The colour of their hair is not like that of the East Indians and Americans, black, but is diversified like that of the Europeans, having among them black, brown, red

Captain Wallis prepares to leave Otaheite.

* A boar and sow of this kind were sent over and presented to Mr. Stephens, secretary to the Admiralty, the latter of which died in farrowing.

Customs and manners of the natives.

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red and flaxen, most of the children being remarked for the latter. When it is left loose, it has a strong natural curl; but they are accustomed to tie it in two bunches, one on each side of the head; or in a single one in the middle. They anoint their heads with cocoa-nut oil, mixed with a fragrant smelling root.

The females, as has been mentioned, have not the idea of chastity's being a virtue, but the beauty of their persons generally fixes the price of their charms. If a man offered a girl to a seaman, he shewed a stick of the size of the nail which was to be given for the gratification of the Englishman's desires.

Two pieces of cloth, which bear some resemblance to China paper, form their apparel; in one of these a hole is made for the head to pass through, and this hangs to the middle of the leg: the whole is wrapped round the body, and forms a drapery which is not inelegant. The cloth is made of the bark of a tree; and their ornaments consist of pearls, shells, flowers, and feathers.

The hinder parts of the thighs and loins of both sexes are marked with black lines in different forms, which is effected by forcing the teeth of an instrument through the skin, and then rubbing foot and oil into the holes so made. There were some of the men who seemed to be of rank among them, that had their legs marked, but neither boys nor girls under the age of twelve years had this ceremony performed upon them.

One of the queen's attendants who took great pleasure in imitating the English, was presented with a suit of the lieutenant's cloaths, in which he looked very well. The officers being carried on shore by the Indians, because it was shoal-water at the landing place; this man was carried in the same manner, resolving not to be out of the fashion. It was laughable enough to observe his first attempts to make use of a knife and fork, his hand going to his mouth regularly enough, while the fork retained the meat which he intended to swallow.

The people of Otaheite eat dog's flesh, besides fish and the articles already mentioned. Of the common method of dressing their food, we have the following account: Having made a fire by rubbing two dry sticks together, they dig a pit which they pave with stones, and put their fire in it. These stones being well heated, they clear away the ashes, and having laid green leaves of the cocoa-nut at the bottom of the pit, they put in their meat, wrapped up in plantain leaves, and cover it over with the hot ashes, on which they also place a layer of the bread-fruit wrapped up in the same manner: these again they cover with the embers intermixed with hot stones, and close the whole with a covering of earth. In this manner a small hog may be dressed whole, but a large one is cut in two. This method of dressing, Captain Wallis found perfectly agreeable to his palate, and thought it excelled any that he had ever known before. It appears to be nearly the same with that which was said to be used by the Irish (especially their militia) at an early period of their history. The sauces which the Indians used were fruit and salt water, and they had no other knives but such as were made of shells. When they saw meat boiled they were amazed, having, as before observed, no idea of heating water; the captain, however, gave the queen and her chiefs some iron pots, which brought them into use, and the old Indian generally boiled his meat. Their only liquor is water.

The English concluded from the scars which they perceived on the bodies of these Indians, that they were not without their wars, and it appeared that they were not ignorant of surgery.*

Several sheds were observed upon the island, on the

outside of which were posts fixed in the ground; whereon were the resemblances of human creatures as well as of dogs and hogs. The area inclosed was paved with broad stones, the grass growing between them; the natives entering these inclosures with an appearance of sorrow, they were judged to be the burial-places of their ancestors. Captain Wallis discovered no traces of religious worship among these islanders. The arms of the inhabitants were bows and arrows, clubs, and slings for stones, as we have already mentioned. With regard to their navigation, they had three kinds of canoes; one made of a single tree, in which they go out to fish, another made of planks sewed together, and large enough to hold 20 or 30 men; in which they sail round the island and come home laden with fruits; and a third sort not unlike the gondolas of Venice, and which they used when they sailed on parties of pleasure. They make a procession in these two or three times a week, with streamers flying, attended by the smaller canoes, their countrymen crowding the shores to view them. They are arrayed in their best garments on these occasions, and while some are under a large awning others sit upon it. On the prow of each vessel two men sit habited in red, but white is the dress of the steersman.

The island is represented by our voyagers as one of the most pleasant in the world. The air is pure, the country abounds in wood and herbage. It harbours no venomous animals. The south-east parts which produced abundance of fruit, were the best peopled of any place on the island.

From this harbour the Dolphin sailed on the 27th of July, and passed by the *Duke of York's Island*, and on the 28th discovered land, which they called *Sir Charles Saunders's Island*. There were but few inhabitants there, who lived in huts, and the cocoa-nut and other trees grow along the shore.

They made land again on the 30th day of the month, which they called *Lord Howe's Island*; coming after wards to some very dangerous shoals, they gave them the appellation of *Scilly Islands*, from the resemblance they bore to that rocky part of Britain. Lord Howe's Island.
Scilly Island.

They now steered westward, and came within sight of two isles, one of which they denominated *Keppel's*, and the other *Boscawen's Island*. They discovered several inhabitants on the former, but steered towards the latter, as they thought its appearance more promising; but some breakers at a considerable distance from the land prevented their attempting to anchor there. The boats being sent to the island brought two fowls besides cocoa-nuts and other fruit. The officer who was sent, observed that the inhabitants somewhat resembled those of *Otaheite*. Some of them had ventured into the boat, but soon jumped out and swam back again. These people were dressed in a sort of matting, and were remarkable for having the joints of their little fingers cut off. Finding no convenient watering-place here, and the vessel having received such damages as rendered it unsafe for her to encounter a rough sea, Captain Wallis resolved to steer for Tinian, to sail from thence to Batavia, and so return by way of the Cape of Good hope to England. On this account, he passed by this island, of which we have no farther account than it appeared to be well inhabited, and was of a circular figure. Keppel's and Boscawen's Islands.

Land was again discovered on the 16th of August, to which the officers gave the name of *Wallis's Island*. The coast of it is very rocky, and the trees grow almost to the water edge. The natives wore no covering but a sort of mat, which each of them had about the waist, and they all carried large clubs, two of which the boat's crew purchased. These savages endeavoured to steal the cutter, by hauling her upon the rocks; but a gun being fired close to the face of one of them, they

* One of the sailors having run a splinter into his foot, his messmate tried in vain to extract it with his pen-knife, which one of the natives observing, formed an instrument out of a

shell with his teeth with which he presently extracted it, and the old Indian applied some of the gum of the apple-tree to the wound, which in two days was healed.

they retreated with precipitation. Observing the boats on their return to the ship, to be much hindered by points of rocks, the Indians followed them, but rowed back again, as soon as they saw them in deep water. Though no sort of metal was seen on any of these new-discovered islands, yet as soon as the natives procured a piece of iron, they began endeavouring to sharpen it, and were not observed to do the same either to brass or copper.

From hence they sailed to the north-west, and observed a great number of birds flying about the ships on the 28th. Having caught one of them, it was observed to be web-footed, but in every other particular it resembled a dove. They saw land on the 3d of September, which they supposed to be two of the Pescadores. The same day an Indian prau approached the vessel, on which they hoisted Spanish colours, but she stopped at two miles distance. They saw several birds on the 9th; on the 18th they made the island of Saypan, and soon after that of Tinian, at which latter they came to an anchor the next day.

The boats were now sent on shore, and returned in due time, laden with cocoa-nuts, oranges, and limes, when the sick were sent on shore, where tents were provided for their reception. The carpenter's chest, and the smith's forge were also landed, and the captain and first lieutenant, who still continued ill, went on shore, as did also a party of men to hunt for cattle, who presently caught a young bull of great weight, and found bread-fruit in great plenty, as well as oranges and limes. These hunting expeditions, however, were rendered so fatiguing, by going through thickets for many miles, that one party was ordered to relieve another. In the mean time, the second lieutenant being sent to reside in the northern quarter of the island, where they judged cattle to be most plentiful, a boat was sent every day to bring off what he caught. Thus, at length, they supplied themselves with beef, pork, and poultry, and all such fruits and refreshments as Commodore Anson met with when he touched at this place.

They left Tinian on the 15th of October, their sick being recovered, and directed their course to the westward. On the 21st and 22d they saw several gannets, and on the 23d a violent storm arose, while the ship made more water than she had ever done before. This bad weather was accompanied by thunder, lightning, rain, and a sea so violent, as to wash overboard many heavy things, and even to break the iron-work of the gunwale. It did not abate till the 27th, when they once more saw the sun, and the next day the weather grew more moderate. They lost one man at this time, who, as it was generally supposed, had taken too much liquor and fallen overboard.

They discovered three islands on the 3d of November, to which they gave the names of *Sandy Island*, *Small Key*, and *Long Island*; and the next day they saw another, which Captain Wallis called *New Island*. All these lay, by account, in the 10th deg. of south lat. and 247° of west long. They kept on their course till the 8th, when it was altered, and the inferior officers and men delivered up the log and journal books of the voyage. On the 13th they saw the islands of Timoan, Aras, and Pefang. They crossed the equinoctial line on the 16th, and came again into south latitude.

The next day they saw Pulo Toté, and Pulo Weste, [Pulo as we have before observed, signifies an island] and had sight of the seven islands soon after. The following night was extremely tempestuous, and so dark that, except by the flashes of lightning, they could not see across the ship. One of these flashes, however, afforded them so much light as to perceive a vessel of considerable size, which was almost aboard them, before she was discovered; but as the storm was too loud for them to hear each other, they could

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not discover whence she came, nor to what nation she belonged. This was the first ship they had seen since their separation from the Swallow sloop. Pulo Taya was discovered the next morning, near which they came to an anchor in the evening. The succeeding morning they sailed, but the current occasioning them to lose way that evening also, they anchored again. They lost an anchor the next day, the cable being cut away by the rocks.

They made the coast of Sumatra, on the 22d, and came to anchor in the road of Batavia on the 3d of November. The captain saluted the Dutch governor, the next day with 13 guns which compliment was returned with an additional gun; and beef, vegetables, and other necessaries were soon supplied, permission having been obtained for that purpose. At this time, however, it was thought proper to threaten with punishment any of the crew that should bring liquor on board. None were suffered to leave the ship but such as were called on shore by their duty, and even these were not allowed to enter the town, to prevent the ill consequences which might arise from the immoderate use of the Batavia arrack.

The Falmouth ship of war was now lying in the Distress of the road in a most shattered condition. The warrant Falmouth. officers of this ship sent a petition to Captain Wallis, on the 5th of December, wherein they set forth, "That the Dutch had caused their powder to be thrown into the sea; that the gunner was dead; that their misfortunes had deprived the boatswain of his senses, who was then a lunatic in the Dutch hospital; that his stores were all spoiled; that the cook had been wounded, and remained a cripple; and that the carpenter was near death." On these accounts, they intreated that the captain would give them a passage to England, or at least dismiss them from the ship. But they received for answer that neither of these requests could be granted, for as they had taken charge of stores, they must wait for orders from England. In their reply to this they observed, "That they had not received a single order since their being left in the Batavia road; that they had ten years pay due, and would rather go home sweepers than remain in that wretched situation; that they were never permitted to sleep on shore, and when they were sick, no person had the humanity to attend them; that the Malays frequently robbed them, and that they expected nothing but destruction from those people, as they had burned the Siam prize not long before the arrival of the Dolphin." All they could obtain from the captain, in alleviation of these distresses, was that he would make their case known in England.

Several necessary stores being now wanted, Captain Wallis went on shore, with a design of providing them, but when he attempted to treat with the Dutch, their demands were so high that he did not think it prudent to comply with them, but determined to depart, and accordingly sailed on the 8th of December, without losing a single man, and having only two sick on board. But on the 11th the ship's company were visited by the flux, which proved a great affliction. On the 12th they saw the coast of Java, where there were a number of lights placed, as it was supposed, in order to decoy the fish and bring them near the shore. They came to an anchor off Prince's Island on the 14th, where they took in wood and water, and purchased turtle, poultry, and other refreshments, and remained till the 20th*. They buried three men here, and besides the flux, many were seized with a putrid fever, the nature of which latter disorder rendered it dangerous to attend the sick. The ship at this time made four feet water in three hours, and thus they proceeded on their voyage till the 10th of January, when the sickness began to abate. They were attacked by a violent tempest on the 24th, which tore

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their

* While they lay at anchor there, one of the sailors fell from the main-yard into the barge, which was alongside the ship, and threw down two others, one of whom was so much bruised,

that he expired in four days, the other had only his toe broken. The man that fell was terribly bruised, and broke several of his bones.

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their sails, carried five of their booms overboard, and broke a rudder chain. It was remarkable that several birds and butterflies were seen during the continuance of this storm. They saw land on the 30th, and on the 4th of February anchored in Table-Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope.

The captain having saluted the governor and the vessels in the harbour, and the salute being returned, fresh meat and vegetables were sent for, and obtained, to the great refreshment of the crew. Orders were likewise given the surgeon to endeavour to procure lodgings on shore for the sick; but the rate demanded was so exorbitant at the same time that the small pox made great havock, that the captain, with permission of the governor, erected tents on a plain about two miles distant from the town, and the sick were soon after sent on shore.

Strict orders were given that no strong liquors should be brought into those tents, but extra provisions were procured for those that were most weakened by sickness, and none were permitted to enter the town. In the mean time all those that were able to labour, were set about refitting the ship, a necessary work, which was almost finished by the 10th of February. The orders were now in some measure relaxed, as, after this time, many of the ship's company that had had the small-pox were allowed to visit the town, and the others made country excursions, which were likely to contribute to the preservation of their health. As to the captain, he was still ill, and all the time the ship remained here, he resided at a country house some miles distant from the shore. Here those necessaries which

were so dear at Batavia, were purchased at moderate prices, and fresh water was procured by distillation, to convince the captains of the Indiamen lying in the bay, how easily wholesome water might be procured at sea.*

All hands being ordered on board, on the 25th, there were only three found not able to do duty, and the ship sailed on the 3d of March, after having taken some sheep on board for their sea-store.

They anchored at St. Helena on the 17th where they sent people to gather purslain, and procure water. The captain going on shore, was saluted from the fort, where he was invited to take up his residence as long as he chose to remain on the island; but the wind proving favourable the next day, he weighed anchor and departed.

They crossed the equinoctial line on the 28th and proceeding on their voyage towards England, on the 11th of May; they discovered the *Savage* sloop of war, in full chase of a sloop, at which she fired several guns: Captain Wallis, observing this, likewise fired at the chase, and bringing her to, she was found to be a vessel laden with tea, brandy, &c. and the captain suspecting she was a smuggler, detained her, to bring her to England. He now held on his course, without meeting with any thing worth notice, till he came to an anchor in the Downs, on the 20th of May, 1768, having thus accomplished the circumnavigation of the globe. The adventures which befel his consort the *Swallow*, the reader will find related in the subsequent pages.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN CARTERET,

Round the World, in the *Swallow* Sloop.

THIS gentleman who had sailed with Commodore Byron on his expedition, soon after his return, was appointed commander of the *Swallow* sloop, which was destined to accompany the *Dolphin* and *Prince Frederic* store-ship. Nothing material happened before the separation of the two vessels, except that while the *Swallow* lay in the road of *Madeira*, nine of her best sailors took it into their heads to swim on shore, taking nothing with them except their money which they tied in their handkerchiefs round their bodies. When the captain was about to write to the consul, to request his assistance for the recovering these men, he received information that they had been found naked on the shore, ashamed of their ridiculous situation, and heartily tired of their frolic. A boat was sent to fetch them on board, and when they were brought back, all the reason they could give for this temporary desertion was only that they were resolved to have a skinful of liquor, as they were on a long voyage and it was uncertain whether they might live or die. The captain thinking they had contributed sufficiently to their own punishment, passed the matter by, to the satisfaction of the whole ship's company.

The reader will remember that on the 11th of April the *Swallow* parted from the *Dolphin* and *Prince Frederic*. At nine o'clock that day Captain Carteret had intirely lost sight of the *Dolphin*, which he judged to be then clear of the straits mouth, and his own vessel being under land where she had not any considerable breeze, he entertained but little hope of meeting with his consort again.

They had not been long separated before the *Swallow* experienced a violent tempest, during which tho'

they were within half a mile of a mountainous land, it could not be discerned. The boat was then gone off, in search of an anchoring place, and when night succeeded, the darkness was such that they could not see half the length of the ship. In these circumstances it was judged proper to hoist lights, and to fire a gun every half hour, by means of which precautions the boat was enabled to return to them in safety. The next morning she was sent off again upon the same errand, and the captain had given over the hopes of her return, when, in the afternoon, he discovered her founding a bay, on which he immediately stood towards her, and came to an anchor in the same place.

The vessel being thus secured, Captain Carteret had just retired to repose himself when he was disturbed by a noise on the deck, and he heard numbers running up to join their companions; being alarmed, he quitted the cabin to know the cause of this hurry. He had scarcely come forward before he heard all the men crying out, *The Dolphin! the Dolphin!* But this appearance of a sail soon vanished, originating only from water forced up and whirled in the air by a gust of wind from some of the neighbouring hills.—Muscles are found in this bay, and the borders of it afford wood and water, and abound with wild geese.—They sailed from hence on the 15th of April.

While Captain Carteret was thus proceeding on so long a voyage, it was but an uncomfortable reflection that the cloth, linen, cutlery wares, and toys, were on board the *Dolphin*, so that he had no articles fit for Indian commerce. However, he encouraged his men, from the first, to proceed, being resolved to accomplish what he had undertaken.

Soon after they had left this bay, the wind suddenly shifting

* This was performed in the following manner: Fifty-six gallons of water were put into the still at five in the morning, and thirty-six gallons of fresh water were got by about a

quarter after ten; thirteen gallons and a half remaining in the still. But the process consumed sixty-nine pounds of coals, and six pounds of wood.

shifting, they met with another storm, so violent that they were in danger of sinking. They durst not however, take in any sails, for fear of running foul of some rocky islands, which in Narborough's voyage are called the Islands of Directions; nor could they go back into the streight, without the danger of running foul of the lee-shore; yet, notwithstanding their best endeavours, the ship made hastily towards it. They were therefore compelled to stave the water-casks on and between the decks, in order to carry better sail; and by this expedient, escaped ship-wreck, and got into the open sea, after a very seasonable deliverance; for, had the wind shifted again, the ship must have been unavoidably lost.

They now steered a northward course along the coast of Chili; but as the water on board was deemed insufficient for the length of the voyage, the captain proposed touching at the island of Juan Fernandez, or at Massafuero, to take in a proper quantity. On the 15th, the wind which had been hitherto favourable for their sailing northward, and consequently getting into a more temperate climate, suddenly shifted, and continued contrary till the 18th of April, blowing violently all the time, with thunder, lightening, rain and hail, at intervals, adding to the horror of the tempest.

They saw abundance of sea-birds at this time, among which were two sorts; one like a pigeon, which the seamen called the Cape of Good Hope Hen; and the Peterels, which they term, Mother Carey's Chickens, and are reckoned to forebode a storm. They had continual bad weather from the 27th of this month, till the first of May, and on this day a prodigious sea laid the whole ship under water for some time, while it blew a hurricane, and the rain poured down in torrents. The wind now shifted so that the head of the vessel came right against a mountainous sea, which repeatedly broke over the fore-castle, as far as the main-mast, so that it was in danger of sinking.

The weather became afterwards something more moderate, and they repaired in some degree the damage the ship had sustained during the storm; but they had not much fine weather afterwards till the 9th of May, when they were in sight of the island of Massafuero: and on the 10th they saw Juan Fernandez, and sailed round to Cumberland Bay on the east side of it. The Spaniards had fortified this island, a circumstance till then unknown to Captain Carteret. A number of men were seen on the shore, and two large boats lying on the beach. A house and four pieces of cannon were observed near the sea-side; and on the brow of a hill, at a small distance, was a fort with Spanish colours flying on it. Many cattle were seen on the hills, and about 20 houses on different parts of the island. The wind blew so strong out of the bay, that it was impossible to get very near it: they therefore sailed westward, and were followed by one of the Spanish boats; but she soon returned, on observing that the wind kept them out of the harbour. On the eastern side of the west bay, they saw a kind of guard-house with two pieces of cannon, on carriages near it. They now returned towards Cumberland Bay, when the boat again put after them; but night coming on they lost sight of her. Captain Carteret did not hoist any colours during all this time, because he had none but English ones on board.

Heartily chagrined at this disappointment, they steered for Massafuero, where they came to an anchor on the 12th, but found it then impossible to land, as the beach was rocky, and the surf ran so violently that the ablest swimmers could not force their way through the breaches. However, the boats landed and filled some water-casks the next morning. They anchored on the east side of the island on the 15th, but were driven from their moorings, and kept out at sea all night. The cutter was sent for water in the morning, and the ship got near the shore, where she took several casks on board, and sent back for more, employing the long-boat likewise on this service, and also to carry provisions to those of the crew that were on the island. The boats being seen run-

ning along the shore in the afternoon, the ship followed and took them in; but in such a condition that the whole night was spent by the carpenters in re-fitting them, and repairing the damage. The cutter was sent again for water on the 17th, and returning, the lieutenant brought information that such torrents of rain and overflowing water had deluged the land, that many of the casks were lost; and the men had enough to do, to save themselves from being drowned. The lieutenant having seen several rivulets produced by the rain that had fallen, proposed to go and fill the remaining casks, but he had not been long gone before there were all the signs of an approaching storm. It thundered and lightened surprisingly, and as it was grown quite dark, those in the ship (which kept near the shore) began to fear their boat was lost; but she came along-side just in time to save her from a squall which, in all human probability, must have sent her to the bottom. It appeared that three of the sailors having swam on shore with the casks, before the storm began, the lieutenant was under a necessity of leaving them behind him, naked and exposed to all the fury of the tempest.

They returned however, the next day, and related what had passed while they were left upon the island.—As long as the day-light continued, they had still some hopes of regaining the boat; but when the darkness came on, finding their situation cold and damp, they began to think it was in vain at that time to expect a deliverance; and therefore began to consider by what means they should best be able to abide the inconveniences of the weather. The only expedient they could hit on, was to lie alternately each between the other two, till day-light. Then they rose and proceeded by the sea-shore towards the tent; but being often interrupted by high points of land, they ventured to swim round them, and that at such a distance, as to avoid the danger of the rocks; but they certainly ran as great a risque from the sharks which abound in those latitudes. They were fortunate enough, however, to surmount all difficulties, and arrived in safety at the watering-place, where their brother sailors cheerfully shared with them their cloaths and provisions. When they came on board, they were allowed a whole night's rest, and appeared to be in perfect health the next morning. These were three of the nine men who had swam on shore at Madeira, as has been already related.

Such a quantity of fish was taken this day by the boat's crew with hooks and lines only as proved sufficient for the whole ship's company. On the 20th, the ship which had been standing off and on for some time, came to an anchor again. That night, and all the next day they had bad weather, but as soon as it grew a little calmer, the seamen were sent on shore to kill seals, and make oil of their fat to burn for their lamps. The boats being sent on shore on the 22d, returned with a number of Pintado birds, which they got from the natives, who said that when the wind blew high on the night, these birds flew into the fire in such numbers, that they caught several hundreds of them.

As much water as the weather would admit of being brought off, was shipped on the 23d, but by the violence of the surf several of the casks were lost. This succession of bad weather made the captain impatient to be gone. Accordingly, orders were issued for all those on shore to repair on board with the greatest expedition. The vessel was at the same time driven from her moorings into deep water, dragging the anchor after her. They were obliged to lie to, now under bare poles, waiting for the boats; in the mean time the wind was so violent as to raise the sea above the mast-head. The long-boat was taken on board with ten of the men in the evening; but the cutter with the lieutenant and eighteen more still remained.—About midnight, the weather became somewhat more moderate; on which the ship stood in for the land, and was near the shore the next morning. The cutter was not then in sight, but being discovered about

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noon close under the land, her crew were got on board within three hours. The people had made an attempt to come off the preceding evening, but had scarcely quitted the shore when their boat filled with water, and was in danger of going to the bottom. With difficulty they regained the shore, where she remained all night. The crew not having seen the ship in the morning, had given her over for lost, and, having taken the proper means to secure their little vessel, thought of nothing but waiting till the summer, when they might embark in her for Juan Fernandez.

Massafuero.

The island of Massafuero, on the coast of which the Swallow was in such danger, is about 22 miles in circumference: it is of a triangular form, and appears like a single rock at a distance. It has many good anchoring places, and there are abundance of goats upon the island: cod, halibut, and cray-fish are got there in great numbers, and the seals are almost innumerable. There are plenty of birds, among which are some very large hawks; and the mountain cabbage is found in this country.

Having quitted this coast, the captain sailed northward, with a view of catching the south-east trade wind. When he had gone farther north than he at first intended, he searched for the islands of St. Felix, and St. Ambrose, but could not hit upon either of them; he also sought for the supposed continent called Davis's Land, but with no better success. Indeed, as to the latter, he concluded that there was no such land in reality existing. They continued thus wandering over the ocean till the 17th of June, when the weather was cold and dark, with frequent sleet and rain, and thunder and lightning. In the midst of this gloom, which was scarcely ever cheered by sun-shine, being the very sport of the winds, they were obliged to carry as much sail as possible, lest they should perish by famine before the ship could be brought into any port where the crew might be supplied with provisions.

At length, on the 2d of July, they saw an island that was clothed with verdure, and down the side of which ran a stream of fresh water. This they called after the name of the person that first discovered it, *Pitcairn's Island*.

Pitcairn's Island.

The vessel admitted a great quantity of water on the 4th, and was in a shattered condition. The men also began to be visited by the scurvy; but they were well supplied with water by that which fell from the clouds, which they caught on an awning of painted canvas. Captain Carteret discovered an island this day, which he called *Osnaburgh Island*, and on the 12th saw two other isles, where were found birds so tame, that the boat's crew caught them in their hands. The other island was about five leagues distant, but no water nor vegetables could be found on either of them. They were called the *Duke of Gloucester's Islands*. From this time to the 22d of the month, alternate storms and calms perplexed them. They had seen no signs of the southern continent, and they were now by account 5400 miles from the continent of America.

The scurvy now daily increased among the ship's company, and the ship being likewise in so bad a condition, Captain Carteret steered northward, in hopes of having the advantage of the trade wind, whereby he thought he might reach some island, and get the necessary refreshments for his crew.

From the great number of birds, which they saw on the 25th, they supposed that they were near land, but they discovered none. On the 3d of August they saw a number of sea-birds, and the current, which before had set to the northward, now ran strong to the southward*, being in $10^{\circ} 18'$ of south latitude, and $177^{\circ} 13'$ of east longitude.—On the 10th the ship sprang a leak in a place which they could not come at to stop it, which was the source of no small anxiety

to the voyagers. However, two days afterwards, they saw land. Captain Carteret discovering seven islands, sailed towards two which lay very near together; and they came to an anchor off the largest of them in the evening, where they saw two of the natives, who were woolly-headed Negroes, and went intirely naked.

Having sent their boat on shore, the officer reported that there was fine fresh water near the coast, but that it could not be procured without difficulty, as the country was covered with thick wood, quite to the beach: The consideration of this difficulty, and the danger that the natives, if they were disposed to commence hostilities, might attack them under cover of these woods, occasioned the captain to dispatch the cutter the next day to seek for some more convenient anchoring place. The master was at the head of the party, and was ordered to steer to the westward. He was particularly enjoined to be on his guard against the natives, and had several trinkets on board proper to present them with, in order to secure their favour. They also sent off the long-boat, which brought a lading of water. After this success she was ordered out a second time; but, as the natives were observed to come down in numbers towards the landing-place, a signal was made for her to return immediately. A little while afterwards, three Indians were remarked sitting down on the shore, who for some hours continued stedfastly looking at the ship. On the lieutenant's approaching them in the boat, they moved along the shore, and were presently joined by three others. When their conference was over, the former went on, and the latter came towards the boat with great expedition. The lieutenant having observed by a signal made from the ship, that the captain and his people had watched the motions of those on shore, in consequence of which it was requisite for him to act with caution, he landed, and offered his presents, to engage their attention. But these people, instead of accepting what he offered, discharged a flight of arrows at him and his men, and then betook themselves to flight. None of the English were hurt; they fired however, in return, but it did not appear that their fire did any execution.

The master and his party acting with less caution, and either ignorantly or wantonly provoking the natives, fell to skirmishing with them, after they had penetrated into the country. This officer, who came on board with three arrows sticking in his body, gave the following account of the transaction.

He said, that being arrived at a place which was about five leagues distant from the ship seeing some houses, but only a few of the inhabitants, he resolved to land with four of his crew, well armed. The Indians recovering from the fears they had first conceived on his approach, received what he presented them with marks of satisfaction, and gave him some fish, yams, and cocoa-nuts, in return. He then proceeded to the houses; but, soon after, perceiving a number of people among the trees, and several canoes being descried coming round a point, he made haste to return to the boat; but before he could accomplish his purpose, a general attack was made both on his people and those in the boat. The English, in return, fired among the Indians, and killed and wounded many of them; notwithstanding which the natives continued the fight. Some of them ran into the water as high as their breasts, and when the boat got farther off from the shore, the canoes pursued her, till one of them was sunk, and several people killed and wounded in the others by the fire of the English.

But some of those who were witnesses of the whole transaction, gave a different account of the matter. They asserted, that the Indians had demeaned themselves in an amicable manner, towards their guests, till the master provoked them by felling a cocoa-tree, which they had given him to understand, they wished that he would not meddle with on any account. They added, that as the natives, one man excepted, left the spot, as soon as the tree was cut down, a midshipman

* From this circumstance the captain concluded that the passage between New Holland to New Zealand opened in this latitude.

man begged that the master would immediately repair on board; but he would by no means attend to this counsel, nor did he retire till the attack was begun. However that might be, the consequence was fatal to him, as he and three of the seamen afterwards died of the wounds received in this skirmish.

Though they were far from being agreeably situated, yet the captain resolved to endeavour repairing the ship. The wind setting into the bay on the 14th she was driven near the shore, at which time the Indians expecting her to run aground, were observed watching her from the covert of the woods. A party was sent on shore the next day, after a gun had been fired into the woods, in order to disperse any who might be lying in ambush there. The cutter was likewise sent, under the command of the lieutenant, in order, by repeated firing, to keep the coast clear for such as were taking in water. But notwithstanding all this caution, a discharge of arrows was made by the Indians, whereby one of the sailors received a dangerous wound. The captain perceiving what passed, made a signal for the return of the boats, and as soon as that was effected, fired his cannon into the woods. Another large party being afterwards observed on a point of the bay, a great gun was fired towards that quarter, and the ball falling among them, they dispersed immediately. A constant firing towards the woods was afterwards kept up, and by the dying groans that were heard, it appeared that the poor wretches were punished (perhaps too severely) for their temerity.

The captain gave this place the name of *Egmont Island*, and the bay *Swallow Bay*. The master now dying of his wounds, and the captain and lieutenant were so ill that it was doubtful; and as there was little likelihood of procuring proper refreshments where the vessel then lay, there was no longer any encouragement for proceeding to the southward. They sailed from this bay on the 27th of August, and on that day discovered an island, to which they gave the name of *Portland Island*, and discovering an harbour at about the distance of four miles, gave it the appellation of *Byron's Harbour*. Three leagues from hence, they came in sight of the bay where the Indians had attacked the cutter's crew, and gave it the denomination of *Bloody Bay*. Here they saw a number of houses not ill built on the shore; and observed one that much exceeded the rest in length, where it seems the master and his party had been entertained before the skirmish, and which seemed to be constructed for a kind of public hall. The sides of the room were covered with matting, and great numbers of arrows were seen hanging in this apartment. Many gardens planted with vegetables, and inclosed with stone walls, were observed in this neighbourhood. They also saw a large town defended by an angular fortification of stone at about three miles distance from this village. A bay was discovered about a league farther on the coast, into which a river emptied itself, which they denominated *Granville's River*, and called the Point of the Bay, *Ferrers's Point*. From hence the land forms the bay, near which was a large Indian town that was extremely well built. As the vessel passed by, the natives came out and danced before their houses, moved round in circles, and holding what appeared to be bundles of grass in their hands with which they stroked each other.

Proceeding a few miles farther, they saw another point, which they called *Carteret's Point*, where they perceived a large canoe with an awning over it, and saw a town fortified like that which we have just described; and here also the Indians danced as before. Some Indians put off in their canoes, to take a view of the ship, but would not come on board.

Afterwards they came to another small island, to which they gave the appellation of *Trevanian Island*, and the north part of it was called *Cape Trevanian*. Both this isle and the main land abounded with inhabitants. Several canoes advanced to attack the boat that was sent to sound, as soon as the Indians

thought she was at a convenient distance from the ship. Having discharged a flight of arrows, the boat's crew firing, in return, killed one man and wounded another. A gun loaded with grape-shot being also fired from the ship, all the canoes made for the shore, except that wherein was the wounded man, which was taken to the ship, and the surgeon employed to examine his wounds. It appeared that one of this man's arms was broke, and a shot had gone thro' his head; and the surgeon being of opinion that the latter wound was mortal, he was placed in his canoe again, and with one hand rowed towards the shore. The canoe was formed only of the hollow trunk of a tree; he was a young fellow, almost as black as the negroes of Guinea; his features were good, his hair was woolly, and he wore no cloathing.

As they sailed along the shore they saw plantains, bananas, and cocoa-nut trees, and great numbers of hogs and poultry; but the captain being yet very ill, and not having officers sufficient to direct on board the ship, he had no opportunity of establishing a friendly traffic with the Indians; and was unable to obtain by force those refreshments which the crew became every hour more and more in want of. It being thus impossible to proceed farther to the south, and in danger of being too late for the monsoon, he gave immediate orders to proceed northwards, in hopes of discovering the country which Dampier has distinguished by the name of *Nova Britannia*.

Captain Carteret gave these islands the general name of *Queen Charlotte's Islands*, and besides those already mentioned, he saw several which he named as follow, viz. *Lord Howe's Island*, *Keppel's Island*, *Lord Edgumbe's Island*, *Ourry's Island*, and *Volcano Island*; this last being so denominated from a smoke that issued from its top, which is of an amazing height, and shaped like a sugar loaf.

The canoes of the inhabitants are made of the trunk of a tree hollowed, are large enough to contain ten or twelve people, and are furnished with out-riggers, but have no sails.

The natives of the country which Captain Carteret called *Egmont Island*, were expert at swimming and diving; and very active and vigorous. Their arrows were so sharp, and discharged with such strength, that one of them wounded a man in the thigh, after passing through the wash-board of the boat. The points of these arrows are flint, and no metal was seen among the natives. There are good harbours on the coasts of these islands, which likewise abound in rivers, and have some valleys; but for the most part they are mountainous, and covered with wood.

On the 19th of August the captain sailed, and keeping a W. N. W. course, on the 20th he discovered a small island, which was called *Gower's Island*, the people of which did not differ in any thing material from the Indians he had seen on the other islands.

They here procured some cocoa-nuts in exchange for nails, and the inhabitants had intimated, that they would furnish a farther supply the next morning; but it was then found, that the current had carried the ship considerably to the south during the night, and brought them within sight of two other islands, one of which was called *Simpson's Island*, and the other *Carteret's Island*. These islands bore to windward of the ship. Thus situated they sailed again to *Gower's Island*, which abounds with fine trees, many of which are the cocoa-nut. A boat being sent on shore, the Indians attempted to seize her, and in return the crew made prize of a canoe, in which they found a number of cocoa-nuts. The natives were armed with bows and arrows and spears.

The current setting strong to the southward, they now steered a north-westerly course, because the bad condition of the ship, and sickness of the crew, would have rendered it impossible for them ever to have got to sea again, if they had been driven into any gulph or deep bay. On the 22d one of the marines fell overboard and was drowned.

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Sir Charles
Hardy's Island.Winchelsea's
Island.Wallis's
Island.

English Cove.

The ship fell in with nine islands in the night of the 24th, which Captain Carteret supposes to be the same that were discovered by Tasman, and are named Ohang Java: eight of these are very small, but the other is more extensive, and they are all inhabited by blacks, whose heads are woolly, like those on the coast of Africa. On the 25th they saw an island covered with verdure, which was called *Sir Charles Hardy's Island*; and, from the number of fires that were seen on it, they supposed it to be inhabited. This day they had sight of a large island, formed of three high hills, which took the name of *Winchelsea's Island*. On the 26th they saw another large island to the north, which Captain Carteret imagines to be the island of St. John, that was discovered by Schouten. They were now within sight of Nova Britannia, and the next morning the current drove the ship into a deep bay, which in Dampier's voyages was called St. George's Bay. On the 28th, they gave the name of *Wallis's Island* to a small island in a bay, off which they came to an anchor, and were now 7500 miles due west from the main land of America. The cutter was sent out to catch fish; but not succeeding, she returned with a lading of cocoa-nuts. The next day, after great fatigue, they weighed anchor, and sailed to a place they called *English Cove*, and began immediately to take in wood and water. They now attempted to catch fish with hooks and lines, and also with their nets, but did not succeed in either attempt: turtle likewise were very plentiful, yet they could not take any of them; but, at low water, they procured some large cockles and rock oysters. They procured cocoa-nuts and the cabbage of the cocoa-tree, which is crisp and juicy; this, when eaten raw, tastes like a chestnut; but when boiled, has a more agreeable flavour than a parsnip; it was found particularly good when boiled with portable soup and oat-meal. They likewise gathered some plums, which tasted like those of the West-Indies which they called Jamaica plums; and by this supply of vegetables, they soon grew more healthy.

This island appeared to have been lately inhabited, as several wretched huts were seen, in which there were remains of fires, and the shells of fish, which did not seem to have been long taken: they likewise saw two animals resembling dogs. The soil here produces palm-trees of various kinds; aloes, canes, bamboos, rattans, betel-nut, and the nutmeg-trees; with a variety of other trees, and many shrubs and plants, of which the names were not known. In the woods was a large black-bird, whose note was somewhat like the barking of a dog; there were likewise parrots, rooks, pigeons, and doves; and centipeds, serpents, and scorpions, were seen on the island.

They took in wood and water here, repaired the ship in the best manner that circumstances would admit, and took possession of the country, with all the neighbouring islands, for the king of Great Britain. This was done by nailing on a lofty tree a piece of board faced with lead, on which was engraved the name of the vessel and of the captain, the time of their entering and leaving the harbour, and the representation of the union flag. They left the cove on the 7th of September and anchored on the same day almost close to a grove of cocoa-nut trees, where they plentifully supplied themselves with fruit, and the cabbage. They called the place, *Carteret's Harbour*, which being formed by the main and two islands, one of them was named *Leigh's Island*, and the other *Cocoa-nut Island*.

Carteret's Har-
bour.Leigh's Island.
Cocoa-nut
Island.

The captain now resolved to sail for Batavia, while the monsoon continued favourable: on the 9th of September, therefore they weighed anchor, and when they were about four leagues from land, the wind and current being both against them, they steered round the coast into a channel between two islands, which channel was divided by another island, to which Captain Carteret gave the name of the *Duke of York's Island*, and near which are several smaller islands. To

the south of the largest of them are three hills of singular form, which were called the *Mother and Daughters*, one of which was supposed to be a volcano from the large clouds of smoke that were seen issuing from it. A point they called *Cape Palliser*, lies to the east of these hills, and *Cape Stephens* to the west; north of which last, lies an island, which took the name of the *Isle of Man*. The country in general is mountainous and woody, and was supposed to be inhabited, from the numbers of fires seen on it in the night. On the Duke of York's Island, the houses were situated among groves of cocoa-nut trees, and thus formed a most beautiful prospect. They brought to, for the night, and sailed again in the morning, when some of the Indians put off in canoes towards the ship; but the wind being fair and blowing fresh, it was not thought prudent to wait for them. They now steered north-west by west, and lost sight of New Britain on the 11th, when it was found that what had been taken for a bay, was a strait, and it was called *St. George's Channel*, whilst the island on the north of it received the name of *New Island*. In the evening they discovered a large island, well clothed with verdure, which was denominated *Sandwich Island*: off this island the ship lay great part of the night, during which time a perpetual noise resembling the sound of a drum was heard from the shore. When they had almost cleared the straits, the weather falling calm, a number of canoes approached the ship, and tho' their crews could not be prevailed on to go on board, they exchanged some trifles with the English for nails and bits of iron, which they preferred to every thing else that was offered them. Though the canoes of these people were formed out of single trees, they were between 80 and 100 feet in length. The natives were negroes, and their hair was of the woolly kind; but they had neither thick lips nor flat noses. They wore shell-work on their legs and arms, but were otherwise naked. Their hair and beards were powdered with white powder, and a feather was stuck into the head of each, above the ear. Their weapons consisted of a long stick and a spear; and it was observed, that they had fishing-nets and cordage.

Cape Palliser.
Cape Stephens.New Isle of
Man.St. George's
Channel.

New Island.

Sandwich
Island.

Cape Byron.

The New Hanover.

Byron's

Byron's

Byron's Island.

Queen Char-

lotte's Fore-

land.

Duke of Port-

land's Islands.

Sailing from hence westward, they came in sight of the south-west point of the island, it was called *Cape Byron*; near which is an island of considerable extent, which received the name of *New Hanover*. The strait they had now passed was called *Byron's Strait*; one of the largest islands they had seen, *Byron's Island* and the south-west point of New Hanover, *Queen Charlotte's Foreland*. On the following day they saw several small islands, which received the name of the *D. of Portland's Islands*. Having completely navigated St. George's channel, the whole length of which is about 100 leagues, they held on a westward course, and on the 14th of September discovered several islands. The next morning some hundreds of the natives came off in canoes towards the ship, and were invited on board by every token of friendship and good will; notwithstanding which, when they came within reach, they threw several lances at the seamen on the deck. A great gun and several musquets were then fired at them, by which some were killed or wounded; on which they rowed towards shore; and after they had got to a distance, a shot was fired, so as to fall beyond them, to convince them that they were not out of the reach of the guns. Soon after, some other canoes advanced from a distant part of the island, and one of them coming nearer than the rest, the people in it were invited on board the ship: instead of complying, they threw in a number of darts and lances. This assault was returned by the firing of several musquets, by which one of the Indians was killed; on which his companions jumped over-board, and swam to the other canoes, all of whom rowed to the shore. The canoe being taken on board, was found to contain turtle, and some other fish, also a fruit of a species between an apple and a plum, hitherto unknown to Europeans. These people were mostly negroes, with woolly hair, which they powdered,

dered, and went naked, except the ornaments of shells round their arms and legs.

Captain Carteret now coasted along the islands, to which he gave the general name of the *Admiralty Islands*. He describes them as having a beautiful appearance, being covered with woods, groves of cocoa-nut trees and the houses of the natives. The largest is computed to be about 50 miles in length; and he supposes that they produce many valuable articles, particularly spices. They discovered two small verdant islands on the 19th, which were called *Durour's Island*, and *Matty's Island*, the inhabitants of which last ran along the coast with lights during the night. They had sight of other two small islands on the 24th, which were called *Stephen's Islands*, and which abounded with beautiful trees. They saw also three islands on the 25th in the evening, when the natives came off in canoes, and went on board the ship. They bartered cocoa-nuts for some bits of iron, with which metal they did not seem unacquainted, and appeared extravagantly fond of it. They called it *parram*, and hinted that a ship sometimes touched at their islands. These people were of the copper colour, and had fine black hair; but their beards were very small, as they were continually plucking the hair from their faces. Their teeth were even and white, and their countenances very agreeable. They were so extremely active that they ran up to the mast-head quicker than the sailors. Every thing that was given them they ate and drank with freedom, and seemed to have no sort of reserve in their behaviour. A piece of fine matting wrapped round their waists, constituted the whole of their dress, and good-nature appeared to be the only rule of their actions.

The current carrying the ship swiftly along, the captain had not the opportunity of landing; and was therefore obliged to refuse gratifying these friendly people in that particular, though they readily offered that some of their people should remain as hostages for the safe return of any of the officers or ship's company who should chuse to go on shore. Finding that their offer was not accepted, one of the Indians absolutely refused to quit the ship: he was carried in consequence, as far as the island of Celebes, where he died. This man was named Joseph Freewill, and they called the largest of the isles, *Freewill Island*, (by the natives called *Pegan*.) The names of the two other islands were *Onata* and *Onello*.

An island was discovered from the mast-head as they held on their course, on the 28th in the evening, but they neither landed there nor gave it a name. On the 12th of October they saw a small isle which they named *Current Island*, from the great strength of the southerly current in those parts; and the next day two islands were discovered, to which they gave the name of *St. Andrew's Island*.

The next land appeared to be Mindanao, along the south-east part of which they coasted, seeking for a bay which Dampier had described; but this they could not find. The boat, however, found a little creek at the southern extremity of the isle, near which a town and a fort were seen. The people having descried the boat from the shore, a gun was fired, and several canoes came off after it. The lieutenant therefore retreated towards the ship, which, when the canoes discovered, they retired and made towards the shore.

The captain now stood to the eastward, and on the 2d of November anchored in a bay near the shore, whither the boats were dispatched to take in water. No signs appeared of that part of the island being inhabited; a canoe however came round a point, seemingly with a view of observing them, which rowed back again, after having taken a survey of the vessel.

But, in the night, a great noise was heard on the shore, somewhat like the war-song of the Americans. The captain therefore made proper preparations to defend himself in case hostilities should be commenced on the part of the islanders.

One of the boats was sent on shore for water the

next morning, and the other was ordered to hold herself in readiness, in case her assistance should be necessary. The crew had no sooner landed than several armed men came forward from the woods, and one of them held up something white, which being construed as a sign of amity, the Captain having no white flag on board, determined to send the lieutenant with a table cloth in order to answer the token of peace. For the present this had the desired effect. Two Indians, who spoke bad Dutch and Spanish, having at last made themselves understood by the officer in the latter language, made several inquiries which chiefly turned upon desiring to be informed whether the ship belonged to the states of Holland, and whether she was bound to Batavia or elsewhere. He also wanted to know whether she was a ship of war, and what number of guns she carried. Having been resolved as to these particulars, he said they might proceed to the town; some armed Indians were ordered to retreat, and the lieutenant presented a silk handkerchief to the person he conversed with, receiving a neck-cloth in return.

When the captain heard this, he was highly pleased, thinking that all matters were now in a proper train, especially as he had received a supply of water; but while he was enjoying this prospect, he perceived some hundreds of armed Indians on the shore, who held up their targets, and brandished their swords, by way of defiance, and at the same time discharged their lances and arrows towards the vessel. Notwithstanding this hostile appearance, the captain was still willing, if possible, to avoid coming to extremities with the islanders, and for that purpose, sent the lieutenant on shore to display again the former sign of peace. As the boat approached the shore, but without landing her men, one of the natives beckoned them to come where he stood, but the lieutenant did not chuse to obey this summons, lest he should come within reach of the arrows of the islanders. He now concluded that there were Dutchmen or people in the Dutch interest on shore, to whose interference this apparent alteration in the disposition of the natives was owing, and who had irritated the natives against the Swallow's crew, on being informed that she was an English vessel. Captain Carteret however sailed from this place, which he called *Deceitful Bay* with a full intention to visit the town; but soon after the wind blowing violently in shore, he altered his resolution, and steered directly for Batavia, which was probably the best course he could have taken in such a critical situation.

He reached the strait of Macassar, on the 14th of November, which strait lies between the islands of Celebes and Borneo. To a point of the former they at this time gave the name of *Hummock Point*; and to the westward of this point they discovered a great many boats fishing upon the shoals. On the 21st, they were in sight of two very small islands, which were covered with verdure, and Capt. Carteret supposed them to be the Taba Isles, mentioned in the French charts. They crossed the equinoctial line, and came into southern latitude, on the 29th of this month, the tornadoes becoming violent, and the current setting against them. Death had now diminished the crew, and sickness was daily weakening the remainder. They had sight of the Little Pater-Nosters (islands so called) which are situate something more than two degrees to the southward of the equinoctial line, but the winds and currents would not suffer them at that time to land for any refreshment. At this time the whole crew were alike afflicted with the scurvy; and what was very distressing they were attacked soon after in the night by a piratical vessel, which had been seen the evening before. She engaged them with swivel guns and small arms; but though they could not see their enemy, they returned her fire so warmly that they sent her to the bottom, and all her crew perished. As to the Swallow she received some small damage, and had two persons wounded on board. The vessel that she sunk belonged to a pirate who had no less than thirty

Deceitful
dealing of the
inhabitants.

Deceitful Bay.

Hummock
Point.

Admiralty
Islands.

Durour's and
Matty's Island.

Stephen's
Islands.

Pegan, or
Freewill
Island.
Onata and
Onello.

Current
Island.

Captain Car-
teret arrives at
Mindanao.

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thirty of them engaged in the business of plunder, which constantly infested these seas.

The diseases of Captain Carteret's men now daily increased. By the 12th of this month he had lost thirteen of his crew, and thirty others were almost on the point of death. The westerly monsoon being set in they could have no hopes of reaching Batavia, and their situation was such that they must perish if they could not speedily make land. On this account, it was resolved to steer for Macassar, a Dutch settlement on the island of Celebes; and happily they accomplished their design, coming to anchor off that island, at the distance of more than a league from Macassar, on the 15th of December.

The arrive at
Macassar.

The governor sent a Dutchman on board the Swallow late that night, who seemed much alarmed on finding that she was an English ship of war, and would not trust himself in the cabin. Early the next morning the captain dispatched a letter to the governor requesting leave to buy provisions, and to shelter his ship till the season for sailing westward came on. The boat arriving at the shore, none of the crew were suffered to land; and, the lieutenant having refused to deliver the letter to any but the governor himself, two officers, called the Shebandar and the Fiscal, came to him with a message, importing that the governor was sick and had commanded them to come for the letter. The lieutenant, though he thought this was only a mere pretence, at length delivered the letter, which they took away with them. After the boat's crew had waited without any refreshment for several hours in the heat of the sun, they were told that the governor had ordered two gentlemen to wait on their captain with an answer. As the boat lay off the wharf, the people on board observed a great hurry on shore, and concluded that all hands were busy in fitting out armed vessels, a circumstance which could not much contribute to their satisfaction.

Ill behaviour
of the Dutch
governor.

According to the promise given, soon after the boat's return, two gentlemen of the names of De Cerf and Douglas, came with dispatches, desiring, "That the ship might instantly depart from the port, without coming any nearer to the town; insisting that she should not anchor on any part of the coast, and that the captain should not permit any of the people to land on any place under the governor's jurisdiction."

The captain could not but sensibly feel the cruelty of this proceeding. As the strongest argument that could be used in answer to the letter, he shewed his dying men to the gentlemen, and urged the necessity of the case; nor could they but feel the propriety of granting refreshments to the subjects of a power at peace with their country, and who were in such a deplorable situation; but they observed that their orders were absolute and must be obeyed. Incensed at this treatment, Captain Carteret, at last, declared, that he would come to an anchor close to the town, and then, if they persisted in refusing him necessary refreshments, that he would run the ship aground, when his crew would sell their lives as dear as possible. Being alarmed at this declaration, they intreated the captain to remain in his present situation till further orders should arrive. This he promised, on condition that an answer should be sent before the setting in of the sea-breeze the next day.

In the morning early, it was observed that a sloop of war, and another vessel with soldiers on board, anchored under the ship's bows. They refused to speak with Captain Carteret, and as he weighed and set sail with the sea-breeze, they did the same, and closely followed him. As he proceeded, a vessel from the town approached him, wherein were several gentlemen, and Mr. Douglas among them; but, till the Swallow dropped anchor they could not come on board. They expressed some surprize at the English vessel's having advanced so far; but the captain alleged that he had only acted according to his former declaration, which his present situation would sufficiently justify to every candid person.

These gentlemen brought with them two sheep, some

fowls, fruit, and other provisions, which were extremely welcome to the English; but, after they had made several proposals, with which he could not comply, he shewed them the dead body of a man who had expired but a few hours before, and whose life might probably have been saved, had the Dutch sent them a timely supply of refreshments, and again declared his resolution of executing what he had threatened, if they would not comply with his requisition. His guests now enquired whether the ship had touched at the spice islands, and were answered in the negative. At last it was agreed, that the Swallow should sail for a bay at a little distance, where an hospital for the sick might be provided, and where provisions were generally plentiful, and, if there was a want of any articles, they might be supplied occasionally from the town.

It will be imagined that a proposal of this kind was readily agreed to by Captain Carteret; all he insisted upon was, that it should be ratified by the governor and council, which was afterwards done in the proper manner. He could not forbear asking, however, for what reason the two vessels had anchored under his ship's bows. He received for answer, that this was only done in a friendly manner, to protect her from any insult that might be offered by the natives of the country. While this treaty was going forward, the English captain had nothing to give his guests but rotten biscuit and bad salt meat; however, they had ordered an elegant dinner to be dressed on board their own vessel, which was afterwards served up at his table, and they parted in friendship.

The next day an officer from the town came on board, to whom the captain applied to get money for his bills on the English government. He promised to endeavour to do this, and for that purpose went on shore, but when he returned in the evening, he said that there was no person in the town that had any cash to remit to Europe; that the company's chest was quite empty. This was a great difficulty; however it was surmounted at last by an order being sent to the Resident at Bonthain, who had money to remit, and who, in consequence received the bills in question. Matters being thus accommodated, they sailed on the 20th of December, and anchored in the road of Bonthain on the 21st, at which time the guard-boats were moored between them and the shore, to prevent any communication between the ship's boats and the natives of the country. The captain having waited on the resident, to settle the mode of procuring provisions, he had a house appointed for him near a small Dutch fort. The sick being now landed at this place, which was fitted up in the manner of an hospital, they were put under a guard which was commanded by M. Le Cerf, who would not suffer them to go above thirty yards from the spot, nor would he let the seamen carry on any sort of treaty with the natives, so that all the profits were engrossed by the Dutch soldiers, whose gains were immoderate; so great indeed, that some of them sold at more than a thousand per cent. after having extorted the provisions from the natives, at what price they pleased. Captain Carteret having remonstrated with the Resident, on the injustice of this procedure, he spoke to the soldiers on the subject, but this produced no good effect; and it was known that after this Le Cerf's wife sold provisions at more than double the prime cost while it was suspected that her husband sold arrack to the seamen.

On the 26th and 27th, three vessels arrived, one of which had troops on board, destined for the Banda Islands; but their boats not being allowed to go on board the ship, the captain prevailed on the Resident to purchase, for his use, four casks of salt provisions. Above one hundred sail of praws arrived in Bonthain Bay on the 28th. These vessels, which fish round the island, carry Dutch colours, and send the produce of their labours to China for sale.

On the 18th of January a letter from Macassar informed Captain Carteret, that the Dolphin, his old consort, had arrived at Batavia. Ten days afterwards the



*SOLDIERS of the Kingdom of MACASSAR
blowing poisoned Darts through Trunks at their enemies.*



*PORTRAITS of SOLDIERS inhabiting the ISLE of TIMOR,
whose Swords are made of Hardened Wood.*

the secretary, who had been sent with *Le Cerf* had orders to return to Macassar. On the 19th of Feb. *Le Cerf* himself was recalled, and on the 17th of March the largest of the guard-boats was ordered back. On the 9th the resident received a letter from the governor of Macassar, enquiring when Captain Carteret would sail for Batavia, though he must know it could not be before the eastern monsoon set in, which would not be till May. All these were suspicious circumstances; and toward the end of the month a canoe was frequently observed paddling round the ship several times in the night, but returned as soon as she was discovered.

Various conjectures were formed, relative to this circumstance and some others which appeared not to wear a very favourable aspect. In the mean time, a letter was sent to the captain, wherein he was given to understand, that a design was formed for his destruction: the scheme was said to be laid by the Dutch, but the son of the king of Bony was to be the chief person to put it into execution, as he was on terms of friendship with them, who had often assisted him in his attempts to reduce the rest of the island of Celebes. The pretended grounds for these proceedings were to prevent the English from forming connexions with any of those unsubdued natives. On receiving this intelligence, though the captain could not be certain whether it was true or not, yet he thought it highly proper to put himself in a posture of defence. In reality, he suspected that the resident was concerned in this piece of treachery, of which he had now received information; though as to this particular he had afterwards sufficient reason to believe otherwise; but it appeared that one of the princes, subject to the king of Bony, and a minister of that monarch had been privately at Bonthain, but of 800 men who were said to be there, no traces could be found.

On the 7th of May the captain received, through the hands of the resident, a letter from the governor of Macassar, denying his having any knowledge of the above-mentioned project, and requiring that the writer of the letter might be given up; but this requisition was not complied with, as the captain knew he would be equally punished, whether his information was true or false.

At this place they purchased plenty of fresh provisions, at moderate prices; and, among the rest, beef of an excellent quality. The bullocks of this country are those that have the bunch on the back; and it abounds in buffaloes, horses, sheep, deer, and goats. The natives neither eat pork nor turtle; but they sold the latter, as well as other fish, to Captain Carteret.

Having taken in wood and water, they sailed hence on the 22d of May, and, steering along the shore, came to an anchor the same evening between the islands of Celebes and Tonikaky. They sailed again in the morning, and at night saw the southernmost of the islands of Salombo. On the 26th they saw the island of Luback; and on the 29th a number of small islands, called Carimon Java.

On the 2d of June they had sight of the land of Java, and on the following day came to an anchor in the road of Batavia, after having with difficulty prevented the ship from sinking, by the constant working of the pumps, during her whole passage from Celebes. Having fired guns of salutation, the captain attended the governor, requesting permission to repair the defects of the ship; but he was directed to petition the council. The council met on the Monday following, when the captain sent a letter, stating the defects of the ship, and requesting permission to repair her. The time from this day till the 11th of the month, was lost in altercations, respecting the affair at Bonthain Bay; the governor and council insisting, that Captain Carteret should sign a formal declaration, that he believed the report of an intention formed at Celebes, for cutting off the ship, was false and malicious; and he on his part resolutely persisting in his refusal to sign any such paper.

The captain learned, on the 18th that orders had

been issued for repairing the ship at Onrust whither a pilot had attended her, and where she came to an anchor, on the 22d of June. The wharfs, however, being pre-engaged by other vessels, it was the 24th of July, before the repairs commenced. The ship when examined, was found to be in so decayed and rotten a condition, that the Dutch carpenter would not undertake to repair her without shifting her whole bottom, till the captain had certified under his hand, that whatever should be done was in consequence of his own express direction. This precaution the Dutchman insisted on, lest, if the ship should never reach England, the blame might remain with him.

While Captain Carteret staid at this port, he often visited Mr. Houting, an admiral in the Dutch service. This gentleman was remarkable for his politeness and affability, from whom the captain received great civilities.—The governor of Batavia keeps the state of a sovereign prince. When he goes publicly abroad is attended by horse-guards, and two black footmen run before his carriage. If any other coach meets the governor's, it is obliged to be drawn on one side, and those who are in are then to get out, in order to pay their respects to him. Nor must any one that is behind, pass by that of his excellency, though never so much in haste. The same rules are observed with regard to the honour shewn those of the council, only that the salute is given by the person who meets him standing upright in his carriage, instead of getting out of it, and a member of the council has only one black footman running before his coach. The blacks carry sticks, and threaten to chastise such as do not comply with these arbitrary customs.

The master of the hotel where the English captain lodged, failed not to give his guest notice of what was expected from him in these particulars, but the captain disdained to pay such homage to the governor or council belonging to the province of a republic as was not expected by the king of Great Britain, he therefore, in plain terms refused to comply, and when the black fellows were mentioned to him as persons that were appointed to enforce compliance, he intimated that he should have recourse to his pistols, if any insult was offered him. To prevent a contest of this nature, however, the governor thought proper to send him word that he might act as he pleased.

The *Swallow* sailed from Onrust on the 5th of September, the captain having recruited his crew by engaging some English seamen, and the next day came to an anchor off the straits of Sunda. Here he took in wood and water, and sailed again on the 25th with a favourable gale, which continued to carry him on their course for the space of 700 leagues, and on the 23d of Nov. he anchored in Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope. From hence they sailed again on the 26th of January, the captain during his stay having received a number of civilities from the governor and the gentlemen of this settlement. On the 20th of January they came to an anchor off St. Helena, and quitting that island, took their departure from thence for England, on the 24th of the same month. They touched at Ascension Island in their course, anchoring on the last day of January, in a bay where they found plenty of turtle. The vessel sailed again the succeeding day. The island is uninhabited and it has been customary to leave a letter in a bottle, containing an account of the name and destination of any vessel that might touch there, with which Captain Carteret complied before he proceeded on his voyage.

They observed a ship on the 20th of February standing towards them. This vessel had been seen far to the leeward the day before, but had outailed the *Swallow* in the night. She proved to be a Frenchman, and sent her boat on board, with a young officer, who had it in charge to endeavour to learn from Captain Carteret all the interesting particulars of his voyage, at the same time that he took great pains to disguise what related to his own. It was however afterwards discovered that the ship from whence he had been sent, was M. Bougainville's, which, like

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the Swallow, was returning from a voyage round the world, and which, as we have already noticed, had followed Captain Wallis so closely through the Straights of Maghellan. The French captain had learned the name of the English ship from the letter left in the bottle at Ascension Island, and took this unfair method of attempting to inform himself of all that he wanted to know concerning the expedition.

But Captain Carteret was so cautious and guarded in his conversation, that the French officer got no information of any consequence to his nation from this proceeding, while his own secret was discovered by his countrymen; for the boat's crew that had brought

him on board, told the whole matter to one of the Englishmen who was able to converse with him in his own language.

Nothing material happened to the Swallow from this time, during the rest of the voyage. Captain Carteret came in sight of the Western Islands on the 27th of March, 1769, and holding on his course, came to an anchor at Spithead on the same month, after having accomplished her voyage round the world, for which it was scarcely possible to conceive any vessel more unfit, and having singly combatted such difficulties as even whole squadrons have found it impossible to surmount.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN COOK ROUND THE WORLD,

In his Majesty's Ship the ENDEAVOUR: Undertaken in the Year 1768.

CAPTAIN COOK sailed on this voyage the latter end of August, 1768, having on board Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, two gentlemen of distinguished abilities, of whom we shall say a few words, before we proceed with our relation.

The first of these gentlemen, who was possessed of a considerable fortune in Lincolnshire, had already been on a voyage to Newfoundland, and was now desirous of observing the transit of Venus, in the southern hemisphere. On this expedition he engaged his friend Dr. Solander to accompany him. The Doctor had been appointed to a place in the British Museum, which he filled with credit to himself, and in which he gave universal satisfaction. He was a native of Sweden, and a man of great learning and capacity, an adept in natural philosophy, and had studied under the famous Linnæus. Mr. Banks took two draughtsmen with him, the one being intended to paint subjects of natural history, the other to delineate figures and landscapes. He had likewise a secretary and four servants in his retinue.

Captain Cook sails from Plymouth with Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks.

The Endeavour quitted Plymouth on the 26th of August, and saw land between Cape Finisterre, and Cape Ortegal, on the coast of Galicia in Spain, on the 2d of September. During their course, these two gentlemen saw several marine animals hitherto unnoticed by naturalists. One of these is described as a new species. It is of an angular figure, near three inches in length, and about one in thickness; it has a hollow quite through it, and a brown spot at one end. It seemed that four of these animals were joined together; but when they were put into water they separated and swam about, shining with a gem-like brightness. There was also another animal of a beautiful colour, somewhat resembling an opal. They observed likewise several birds not described by Linnæus at the distance of about ten leagues from Cape Finisterre.

They discovered the islands of Puerto Santo and Madeira, on the 12th, and on the 13th they came to an anchor in the road of Funchial. In heaving the anchor Mr. Weir, the master's mate, was unfortunately carried over-board and drowned. Mr. Banks found here the tree called *Laura Indicus*, the wood of which he supposes to be what is called the Madeira mahogany, as there is no real mahogany upon the island.

Madeira described.

The people of Madeira appear to have no other article proper for trade than wine, which is made by pressing the juice out in a square vessel. The size of this vessel is proportioned to the quantity of wine, and the persons employed, taking off their cloaths, get into it, and with their elbows and feet, press out as much of the juice as they can; in the same manner, the stalks being tied together, are also pressed under another square piece of wood by a lever, and a stone to

extract the remainder of the juice. Wheeled carriages are not in use in Madeira, nor have they any thing that resembles them, except a hollow board which is more properly a sledge, upon which their wine vessels are drawn. The soil is so very rich, and there is such a variety in the climate, that there is scarcely any article either of the necessaries or luxuries of life, which might not probably be cultivated here. On the hills, walnuts, chestnuts, and apples flourish, almost without culture. Pine-apples, mangoes, guavas, and bananas, grow almost spontaneously in the town. They have corn which is large-grained and fine; and it might be produced in plenty; but for want of being attended to, this is not the case, but all that they consume here is imported from other countries. Beef, mutton, and pork, are remarkably good here, and the captain took some of the former on board for his use. Funchial (which took its name from *Foncho*, signifying fennel, in the Portuguese language) is situated at the bottom of a bay, and though it is extensive in proportion to the rest of the island, it is but poorly built, and the streets are narrow and badly paved. The churches are full of ornaments, with pictures and images of saints; the first are, for the most part, wretchedly executed, and the latter are dressed in laced cloaths. The taste of the convents, especially of the Franciscans is better; neatness and simplicity being united in most of the designs of the latter. The Infirmary also is a piece of good architecture, and one of the most considerable in the place. There are many high hills here, and Pico Ruivo in particular, is near 5100 feet in height. To a certain height these hills are covered with vines, above which are numbers of chestnuts and pine-trees; and above these again whole forests of various sorts of trees. The Mirmulano and Paobranco which are found among them, are unknown in Europe. The latter of these is very beautiful, and would be a great ornament to our gardens.

The inhabitants of Madeira are computed to amount to between seventy and eighty thousand, and the revenue that arises from the customs is between twenty and thirty thousand pounds a year. Besides wine, water is to be had here in plenty; also onions, and a great number of fruits may easily be procured, but for the obtaining of poultry and fresh meat it is necessary to get the governor's permission.

The vessel sailed from Madeira on the 19th of September, and on the 22d they saw the islands of Salvages to the northward of the Canaries. The principal of these islands was about five leagues to the south half-west. They saw the Peak of Teneriff on the 23d, bearing west by south. The height of this mountain is estimated at about 15,400 feet. On the 29th they saw Bona Vista, one of the Cape Verd Islands, in 16° north latitude, and 21° 48' of west longitude.

In

In their course from Bona Vista to Teneriff they observed great numbers of flying fish, which appeared very beautiful, their sides resembling burnished silver; and Mr. Banks went out in a boat on the 7th of October, and caught what is called a Portuguese Man of War, together with several marine animals, which were objects of his curiosity.

They had now variable winds, with some showers of rain, and the air was so damp as considerably to damage their utensils. On the 25th of this month, Mr. Banks shot a black-toed gull, a sort of bird which Linnæus has not described, and whose dung is of a lively red.

On the 25th of October they crossed the line with the usual ceremonies; and on the 28th of the same month, when the ship was in the latitude of Ferdinand Noronha, and in 32° 5' west long. they began to look out for the island, and the shoals which are laid down as situate between it and the main; but neither the island nor the shoals could be discovered by our voyagers. On the evening of the 29th they perceived that luminous appearance of the sea mentioned by navigators, which sent forth rays like those of lightning. As Mr. Banks and his friend were not thoroughly satisfied with any of the causes which have hitherto been assigned for this phenomenon,* but rather thought it was occasioned by some luminous animals, they threw out a casting net, in order to try by experiment whether they were right in their conjectures. A species of the Medusa was taken, which bore some resemblance to a metalline substance greatly heated, and emitted a whitish light; they caught also some small crabs which glittered very much; animals which had not before been taken notice of by the curious researchers into the secrets of nature.— As provisions by this time began to grow short, they resolved to put into the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. On the 8th of November they saw the coast of Brasil, and speaking with the crew of a Portuguese fishing boat, were informed by them, that the land which they saw was to the south of Santo Espirito. Mr. Banks buying some fish of these people was surprised that they required English shillings, and refused Spanish silver. †

They made sail for Rio de Janeiro on the 13th in the morning, and the first lieutenant was sent before to the city to acquaint the governor that we put into that port in order to procure a pilot and proper refreshments. The pinnace returned, but the lieutenant had been detained by the viceroy, till the captain should come on shore. When the ship had come to an anchor, a ten-oared boat filled with soldiers, approached, and rowed round her, but no conversation took place. Presently afterwards another boat appeared which had several of the viceroy's officers on board. They enquired from whence the Endeavour came, and what was her cargo? They also desired to know the number of men and guns she carried, and to what port she was bound? All these questions being punctually and truly answered by the English, the officers apologized for having detained the lieutenant, and behaved in the manner already related, pleading the custom of the place in excuse for their conduct.

On the 14th the captain went on shore, and got leave to furnish himself with provisions, which permission was clogged with the condition of employing an inhabitant as a factor. He also found that it was judged proper to send a soldier in the boat every time she came from shore to the vessel. To both these circumstances Captain Cook made objections, but the viceroy was determined to insist on them, neither would he by any means permit the gentlemen to remain on shore, nor allow Mr. Banks to go up the country to collect plants. The captain conceiving from these

and other marks of jealousy, that the viceroy thought they were come to trade, used all his endeavours to convince him of the contrary; and acquainted him that they were bound to the southward, to observe the transit of Venus over the disk of the sun, which was an object of great consequence to the improvement of navigation; but the person to whom he addressed himself, seemed to be entirely ignorant of this phenomenon. An officer now was appointed to attend the captain: this he was told must be understood as a compliment. However, when he would have declined such a ceremony, the viceroy very politely forced it upon him.

The two gentlemen were not a little disappointed and chagrined on hearing that they must not be permitted to reside on shore, and still more so when they understood that they were not even to be allowed so much as to quit the vessel. For the viceroy had ordered that none but the captain and such sailors as were required by their duty, should come on shore. Whether this arose from his jealousy in regard to trade, or from the apprehensions he entertained of the extraordinary abilities of gentlemen sent on voyages of discovery, it is certain that they were highly disagreeable to the persons prohibited, who were resolved, if possible, to evade the order. They attempted to come on shore, but were stopped by the guard-boat; yet several of the crew, without the knowledge of the sentinel, let themselves down by a rope from the cabin window into the boat, about midnight, and drove away with the tide, till they were out of hearing. They afterwards rowed to an unfrequented part of the country, where they landed, and from thence went up the country.

The captain failed not to remonstrate to the viceroy on the unreasonableness of these restrictions, but the latter gave him for answer, that these were his master's orders, and must be obeyed. Thus repulsed, Captain Cook, much displeased at this conduct, resolved to go no more on shore, rather than when-ever he did so, to be treated as a prisoner in his own boat, the officer who was so polite as to accompany him, constantly attending him both to and from the shore. A resolution was now taken to draw up two memorials, to be presented to the viceroy, one written by the captain, and the other by Mr. Banks; but the answers sent to these were by no means such as gave satisfaction. In effect, several papers passed between them and the viceroy, to no good purpose, the prohibitions still remaining as before. This caused the captain to judge it necessary in order to vindicate his own compliance, to urge the viceroy to some act of force in the execution of his orders. For this purpose he sent Lieutenant Hicks with a packet, giving him orders not to admit of a guard in his boat. As this gentleman was resolved to obey his captain's command, the officer of the guard-boat did not oppose him by force, but accompanying him to the viceroy, acquainted him with what had happened, on which the lieutenant was sent away with the packet unopened. When he returned, he found a guard of soldiers had been placed in his boat, which he insisted on their quitting. The officer then seized the boat's crew, and conducted them under an escort to prison. The lieutenant being sent back to the ship, guarded. As soon as the captain was informed of the transaction, he wrote to the viceroy to demand his boat and her crew, inclosing the memorial which Mr. Hicks had brought back with him. He sent these papers by a petty officer, to avoid continuing the dispute concerning a guard, which must have been kept up by a commissioned officer.

An answer was now promised by the viceroy, but before this could well arrive, the long-boat, which had

Disputes with
the viceroy.

* Some have supposed it to be caused by fishes darting at their prey; some have concluded it to arise from the putrefaction of marine animals; and others have attributed it to electricity.

† Their Venetian and Portuguese interpreters told them the

crew of the fishing vessel asserted, that they had not seen a ship for eight years; but as these men spoke the English language very imperfectly, it was natural to conclude that there must have been some mistake in the interpretation.

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had four pipes of rum on board (the rope breaking that was thrown from the ship) was driven to windward of her, together with a small skiff which was fastened to her; while the pinnace was still detained on shore. Immediate orders were given for manning the yawl, which being dispatched accordingly with proper directions, returned, and brought the people on board the next morning. Captain Cook learned from them that the long-boat having filled with water, they had brought her to a grapple, and quitted her, and falling in with a reef of rocks on their return, they were forced to cut the fastening of Mr. Banks's little boat, and send her adrift. The captain now thought it would be proper to send again to the viceroy; and accordingly he dispatched another letter to his excellency, wherein he informed him of the accident, desired he would assist him with a boat to recover his own, and at the same time, renewed his demand of the delivery of the pinnace, and her crew. The viceroy at length complied with the demand, and granted the request; but in his answer to the captain's remonstrance, suggested some doubts that he entertained, whether the Endeavour was really a king's ship, accusing the crew of smuggling.*

Captain Cook in his reply said, that though the viceroy had already seen his commission, he was willing to shew it; adding, if any attempt should be made to carry on a contraband trade, he requested his excellency would order the offender to be taken into custody.

The dispute was thus terminated; but Mr. Banks's thirst of natural knowledge led him to attempt eluding the vigilance of the guard, which he found means to do, and got safe on shore on the 26th in the morning. He took care to avoid the town, and passed the day in the fields, where he could best gratify his curiosity. He found the country people inclined to treat him with civility, and was invited to their habitations. But as it was afterwards heard that search had been making for him while he was absent, he and Dr. Solander resolved to run no more risques in going on shore, while they remained at this place.

Having taken in water and provisions, they got a pilot on board on the first of December, when a contrary wind prevented them from putting to sea. A Spanish packet from Buenos Ayres, bound for Spain, arriving the next day, the captain of her was so polite as to offer his service to convey Mr. Cook's dispatches to Europe, who accordingly sent by him all the papers which had passed between him and the viceroy, leaving the duplicates of them with his excellency.

It was not till the 7th that the Endeavour got under way, when having passed the fort, the guard-boat left them, and the pilot was discharged. It was observed that during the three last months of their stay in this place, the air was filled with a certain species of butterflies. Of the town and neighbouring country we have the following description.

Description of
Rio de Janeiro.

Rio de Janeiro is supposed to have been called so because it was discovered on the festival of St. Januarius. The town, which is the capital of the dominions of the Portuguese, in America, borrows its name from this circumstance.

It is situated on the west side of the river, from which it extends itself about three quarters of a mile. The ground whereon it stands is a level plain; it is defended on the north side by a hill that extends from the river, having a small plain, which contains the suburbs and king's dock. On the south side is another hill running towards the mountains which are behind the town. Some of its streets run parallel from north to south, and are intersected by others at right angles. The principal street is near 100 feet in width, and extends from St. Benedict to the foot of

Castle-hill. The other streets are commonly twenty or thirty feet wide. The houses adjoining to the principal street are three stories high, but in other places they are very irregular, though built after the same manner as at Lisbon. In the town are four convents; the first is that of the Benedictines, situated near its northern extremity: the structure affords an agreeable prospect, and contains an elegant chapel, which is ornamented with several valuable paintings. The second is that of the Carmelites, which forms the centre angle of the royal square, and fronts the harbour; its church had fallen some time before, but it was rebuilding in a very elegant manner, with fine free-stone brought thither from Lisbon. The third is that of St. Anthony, situated on the point of a hill, on the south side of the town; before this convent stands a large basin of brown granite, in the form of a parallelogram, which is employed in washing. The fourth is situated at the eastern extremity of the town, and was formerly the Jesuit's convent, but is now converted into a military hospital.

The viceroy's palace forms the right angle of the royal square: the palace, mint, stables, goal, &c. compose but one large building, which has two stories, and is 90 feet from the water. In passing through the palace, the first entrance is to a large hall or guard-room, to which there is an ascent of three or four steps. In the guard-room are stationed the body of guards, who attend the viceroy, and are relieved every morning between eight and nine: Adjoining to the hall are the stables, the prison being in the back part of the building. Within the guard-room is a flight of stairs for ascending to the upper story; this divides at a landing-place about half way, and forms two branches, one leading to the right, and the other to the left. The former leads to a saloon, where there are two officers in constant attendance; the viceroy's aid-du-camp at the same time waiting in an antichamber to receive messages and deliver orders.

The left wing of the royal square is an irregular building, which consists chiefly of shops occupied by trading people. In the centre of the square is a fountain supplied with water from a spring at the distance of three miles, from which it is brought by an aqueduct. From this fountain both the shipping and inhabitants are supplied with water, the place being continually crowded with negros of both sexes waiting to fill their jars. At the corner of every street is an altar. The market-place extends from the north-east end of the square along the shore; and this situation is very convenient for the fishing-boats, and those who bring vegetables from the other side of the river to market. Negros are almost the only people employed in selling the different commodities exposed in the market, and they employ their leisure time in spinning cotton.

Without the Jesuit's college on the shore, is a village called Nuestra Señora del Gloria, which is joined to the town by a very few intervening houses. Three or four hundred yards, within the Jesuit's convent, stands a very high castle, but it is falling to decay. The bishop's palace is about 300 yards behind the Benedictine convent, and contiguous to it is a magazine of arms, surrounded by a rampart.

The gentry keep their chaises, which are drawn by mules; the ladies however use a sedan chair, boarded before and behind, with curtains on each side, which is carried by two negros, on a pole connected to the top of the chair by two rods coming from under its bottom, one on each side, and resting to the top. The inhabitants likewise use hammocks or rajas, supported in like manner, and surrounded with curtains. The apothecaries shops in this town commonly serve the purposes of coffee-houses, as the people meet in them to drink capillaire, and play at back-gammon. When the gentry are seen abroad they are

* It seems that Mr. Banks's servants had got on shore by stratagem, on the 22d, early in the morning, and remained till

night; but they had brought on board nothing but plants and insects to gratify their master's curiosity.

are well-dressed, though at home they are but loosely covered. The shop-keepers have generally short hair, and wear linen jackets with sleeves.

"The women here, as in most of the Portuguese and Spanish settlements in South America, are more prompt to grant amorous favours than those of any other civilised parts of the world. As soon as the evening began, females appeared at the windows on every side, who distinguished such of the men as best pleased their fancies by giving them nosegays, and the doctor and two other gentlemen, received so many of them, that they threw away these love-tokens by handfuls.

"As to the climate of Rio de Janeiro, it is healthy and agreeable, and free from most of those inconveniences incident to tropical countries. The air is seldom found immoderately hot, as the sea-breeze constantly begins to blow about ten o'clock in the morning, and continues till night, when it is generally succeeded by a land wind; though that does not always happen. The seasons are divided into dry and rainy, though their commencement of late has been irregular and uncertain. It appeared that the rainy seasons had almost failed for four years preceding Captain Cook's arrival in those parts; but at this time the rain had just began, and it fell in large quantities during their stay: formerly the streets have been overflowed by the rain, and rendered impassable with canoes.

"The adjacent country is mountainous, and chiefly covered with wood, but a small part of it appearing to be cultivated. The soil near the town is loose and sandy; but farther from the river it is a fine black mould. It produces all the tropical fruits, such as oranges, lemons, limes, melons, mangoes, cocoa-nuts, &c. in great abundance, and without much cultivation, a circumstance which is agreeable to the inhabitants, who are very indolent.

"The mines, which lie far up in the country, are very rich; but their situation is concealed, and nobody can view them, except those who work in them. The experiment is very dangerous, for every one found upon the road which leads to them, is hung upon the next tree, unless he can give a satisfactory account of the cause of his being in that situation. About twelve months before their arrival, the government had detected several jewellers in carrying on an illicit trade for diamonds, with the slaves in the mines; and immediately afterwards a law passed, making it felony to work at the trade, or have any tools fit for it in possession, the civil officers having indiscriminately seized on all that could be found. Near 40,000 negroes are annually imported to dig in the mines: these works are so pernicious to the human frame, and occasion so great a mortality amongst the poor wretches employed in them, that, in the year 1766, 20,000 more were draughted from the town of Rio de Janeiro to supply the deficiency of the former number. There are several courts of Justice in the town, at all of which the viceroy presides. In criminal causes the sentence is regulated by the majority of voices in the supreme court. The viceroy has a council appointed from Europe by the king, to assist him in his private department, where he has two voices.

"The inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro maintain a whale-fishery, which supplies them with lamp-oil. They import brandy from the Azores, and their slaves and East India goods from their settlements in Africa, their wine from Madeira, and their European goods from Lisbon. The current coin is Portuguese, which is struck here; the silver pieces are called *Petacks* of different value; and the copper are five and ten ree pieces.

"Rio de Janeiro is very useful for ships that are in want of refreshment; the harbour is safe and commodious, and may be distinguished by a remarkable hill, in the shape of a cone, at the west point of the bay. The entrance is not wide, but it is easy, from the sea-breeze which prevails from noon to sun-set, for any ship to enter before the wind. The entrance of

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the narrow part is defended by two forts, La Cruz, and Lozia; they are about three quarters of a mile from each other. The bottom being rocky, renders it dangerous to anchor there, but there is a way to avoid that danger, which is to keep in the mid-channel. The coast abounds with a variety of fish, among which are dolphins and mackarel."

An amazing number of atoms were taken out of the sea on the 9th of December. These were of a yellowish colour, and few of them were more than the 5th part of an inch long; nor could the best microscope on board the Endeavour discover whether they belonged to the animal or vegetable creation. The sea was tinged in such a manner with these equivocal substances, as to exhibit broad streaks of a similar colour, for near the space of a mile in length, and for several hundred yards in breadth.—Perhaps these might be the spawn of some marine animal, unknown either to ancient or modern philosophers.

Having procured all necessary supplies, Captain Cook left Rio de Janeiro on Thursday, the 8th of December, and met with nothing worth relating till the 22d of the same month, when numbers of birds of the *profillaria* genus were discovered in 39° 37' of south latitude, and in longitude 49° 16' west, a number of porpoises of a singular species also surrounded them; these were of an ash-colour, and about 15 feet long.

On the 23d, an eclipse of the moon was observed; and a small white cloud appeared about seven o'clock in the west, from which issued a train of fire, extending itself westerly; in two minutes time, they heard two distinct loud explosions like those of a cannon, immediately succeeding each other; and the cloud disappeared soon afterwards.

They caught a large tortoise called a logger-head, on the 24th, and likewise shot several birds, among which was one of those called the *Albetross*, measuring between the tips of its wings nine feet and an inch, and two feet one inch and a half from the beak to the tail. They ran upwards of fifty leagues on the 30th through great numbers of land insects, some in the air, and some upon the water, which appeared exactly to resemble our flies in England. This was the more remarkable as our voyagers accounted themselves to be 30 leagues from land.

Captain Cook now supposed himself to be nearly opposite the bay called Sans Fond [or bottomless] where some have conjectured there is a passage that divides America; but the gentlemen on board rather thought it might be a large river which had caused an inundation. They had much thunder and lightning and rain on the 31st, and the three following days. They now saw some birds, about the size of our pigeon, with white bellies and grey breasts. They had also sight of several whales.

On the 4th of January they perceived the appearance of land, which they mistook for Pepys Island; but standing towards it, it proved one of those deceptions which we have already noticed. At this time the sailors were furnished with fear-nought jackets, as is customary in these cold climates. Having passed Falkland's Islands at about the distance of four leagues, they saw Terra del Fuego. Perceiving a smoke they took it for a signal, as it did not continue after they had passed along the shore to the south-east.

They entered the straits of Le Maire on the 14th, but were afterwards driven out again with such violence, (the tide being against them) that the ship's bow-sprit was frequently under water.

At length however they got anchorage in a little cove, which was called St. Vincent's Bay, where the weeds, that were observed upon rocky ground were very remarkable. They appeared above the surface of the water, where it is eight or nine fathoms in depth. Their leaves were four feet long, and many of the stalks of the length of an hundred feet, tho' their circumference was not above an inch and an half. Mr. Banks and the Doctor went on shore, and returned with upwards of an hundred different plants

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St. Vincent's Bay.

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Extraordinary substances found in the sea.

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and flowers, of which none of the European botanists had taken any notice near this bay. The country in general was flat, and the bottom, in particular, was a grassy plain. Here was plenty of wood, water, and fowl, and winter bark was found in great plenty. The trees appeared to be a species of the birch, but neither large nor lofty. The wood was white and they bore a small leaf. White and red cranberries were found in these parts.

They came to an anchor on Sunday, the 18th in twelve fathom water, upon coral rocks, before a small cove, at the distance of about a mile from the shore. At this time two of the natives came down upon the beach, as if they expected that the strangers would land; but as there was no shelter here, the ship was got under sail again, and the Indians retired disappointed.

Strange Indians.

The same afternoon about two o'clock, they came into the bay of Good Success, and the vessel coming to an anchor, the captain went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in order to search for a watering place, and discourse with the Indians. These gentlemen had not proceeded above 100 yards before the captain, when two of the Indians that had seated themselves, rose up, and threw away the small sticks which they held in their hands, as a token of amity. They afterwards returned to their companions, who had remained at some distance behind them and made signs to their guests to advance, whom they received in a friendly tho' uncouth manner. In return for their civility, some ribbands and beads were distributed among them. Thus a sort of mutual confidence was established, and the rest of the English joined the party, the Indians conversing with them in their way, in an amicable manner. Captain Cook and his friends took three of them to the ship, dressed them in jackets, and gave them bread and other provisions, part of which they carried on shore with them; but they refused to drink rum or brandy, making signs that it burned their throats, as their proper drink was water.

"One of these people (says our author) made several long and loud speeches, but no part of them was intelligible to any of us. Another stole the covering of a globe, which he concealed under his garment that was made of skin. After having remained on board about two hours, they returned on shore, Mr. Banks accompanying them. He conducted them to their companions, who seemed no way curious to know what their friends had seen, and the latter were as little disposed to relate as the former were to enquire. None of these people exceeded five feet ten inches in height, but their bodies appeared large and robust, though their limbs were small. They had broad, flat faces, high cheeks, noses inclining to flatness, wide nostrils, small black eyes, large mouths, small, but indifferent teeth, and straight black hair, falling down over their ears and foreheads, the latter being generally smeared with brown and red paints, and like all the original natives of America, they were beardless. Their garments were the skins of seals and guanicoes, which they wrapped round their shoulders. The men likewise wore on their heads a bunch of yarn, which fell over their foreheads, and was tied behind with the sinews or tendons of some animals. Many of both sexes were painted on different parts of their bodies with red, white, and brown colours, and had also three or four perpendicular lines pricked across their cheeks, and noses. The women had a small string tied round each ankle, and each wore a flap of skin fastened round the middle. They carried their children upon their backs, and were generally employed in domestic labour and drudgery.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander go up the country.

"Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, attended by their servants, set out from the ship on the 16th, with a design of going into the country as far as they could that day, and returning in the evening. Having entered a wood, they ascended a hill through a pathless wilderness till the afternoon. After they had reached what they took for a plain, they were greatly disap-

pointed to find it a swamp, covered with birch, the bushes interwoven and so inflexible that they could not be divided: however, as they were not above three feet high, they stepped over them, but were up to the ankles in boggy ground. The morning had been very fine, but now the weather became cold and disagreeable; the blasts of wind were very piercing, and the snow fell thick; nevertheless they pursued their route in hope of finding a better road. Before they had got over this swamp, an accident happened that greatly disconcerted them: Mr. Buchan, one of the draughtsmen, whom Mr. Banks had taken with him, fell into a fit. It was absolutely necessary to stop and kindle a fire, and such as were most fatigued remained to assist him; but Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Monkhouse proceeded, and attained the spot they had in view, where they found a great variety of plants that gratified their curiosity, and repaid their toil. On returning to the company amidst the snow which now fell in greater abundance, they found Mr. Buchan much recovered. They had previously sent Mr. Monkhouse and Mr. Green back to him and those that remained with him, in order to bring them to a hill which was conjectured to lie in a better track for returning to the wood, and which was accordingly fixed on as a place of rendezvous. They resolved from this hill to pass through the swamp, which this way did not appear to be more than half a mile in extent, into the covert of the wood, in which they proposed building a hut, and kindling a fire, to defend themselves from the severity of the weather. Accordingly, the whole party met at the place appointed, about eight in the evening, whilst it was still day-light, and proceeded towards the next valley.

"Dr. Solander, having often passed over mountains in cold countries, was sensible, that extreme cold when joined with fatigue, occasions a drowsiness that is not easily resisted; he therefore intreated his friends to keep in motion, however disagreeable it might be to them. His words were—Whoever sits down will sleep, and whoever sleeps will wake no more.—Every one seemed accordingly armed with resolution; but, on a sudden, the cold became so very intense as to threaten the most dreadful effects. It was now very remarkable, that the Doctor himself, who had so forcibly admonished and alarmed his party, was the first that insisted to be suffered to repose. In spite of the most earnest intreaties of his friends, he lay down amidst the snow, and it was with difficulty that they kept him awake. One of the black servants also became weak and faint, and was on the point of following this bad example. Mr. Buchan was therefore detached with a party to make a fire at the first commodious spot they could find. Mr. Banks and four more remained with the doctor and Richmond the black, who with the utmost difficulty were persuaded to come on; and when they had traversed the greatest part of the swamp, they expressed their inability of going any farther. When the black was told that if he remained there he would soon be frozen to death, his reply was, That he was so much exhausted with fatigue, that death would be a relief to him. Doctor Solander said he was not unwilling to go, but that he must first take some sleep, still persisting in acting contrary to the opinion which he himself had delivered to the company. Thus resolved, they both sat down, supported by some bushes, and in a short time fell asleep. Intelligence now came from the advanced party, that a fire was kindled about a quarter of a mile farther on the way. Mr. Banks then awakened the doctor who had already almost lost the use of his limbs, though it was but a few minutes since he sat down; nevertheless, he consented to go on, but every measure taken to relieve the black proved ineffectual. He remained motionless, and they were obliged to leave him to the care of a sailor, and the other black servant, who appeared to be the least hurt by the cold, and they were to be relieved as soon as two others were sufficiently warmed, to fill their places. The doctor, with much difficulty, was got to the fire; and as to those who were sent to relieve the

Their distresses.

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companions of Richmond they returned without having been able to find them. What rendered the mortification still greater was, that a bottle of rum (the whole stock of the party) could not be found, and was judged to have been left with one of the three that were missing.

"There was now a fall of snow which continued for near two hours, and there remained no hopes of seeing the three absent persons again. At twelve o'clock, however, a great shouting was heard at a distance, which gave inexpressible satisfaction to every one present. Mr. Banks and four others now went forward and met the sailor, who had just strength enough left to walk. He was immediately sent to the fire, and they proceeded to seek for the other two. They found Richmond upon his legs, but incapable of moving them; the other black was lying senseless upon the ground. All endeavours to bring them to the fire was fruitless; nor was it possible to kindle one upon the spot, on account of the snow that had fallen, and was falling; so that there remained no alternative, and they were compelled to leave the two unfortunate negroes to their fate, after they had made them a bed of the boughs of some trees, and covered them over thick with the same. As all hands had been employed in endeavouring to move these poor blacks to the fire, and had been exposed to the cold for near an hour and an half in the attempt, some of them began to be afflicted in the same manner as those whom they were to relieve. Briscoe, another servant of Mr. Banks, in particular, began to lose his sensibility. At last they reached the fire, and passed the night in a very disagreeable manner.

"The party that set out from the ship had consisted of twelve; two of these were already judged to be dead, it was doubtful whether the third would be able to return on board, and Mr. Buchan, a fourth, seemed to be threatened with a return of his fits. The ship they reckoned to be at the distance of a long day's journey, through an unfrequented wood, in which they might probably be bewildered till night, and having been equipped only for a journey of few hours, they had not a sufficiency of provisions left to afford the company a single meal.

"On the 17th at day-break nothing presented itself to the view all around but snow, which covered alike the trees and the ground; and the blasts of wind were so frequent and violent, that their journey seemed to be rendered impracticable, and they had reason to dread perishing with cold and famine. However, about six in the morning, they were flattered with a dawn of hope of being delivered, by discovering the sun through the clouds, which gradually diminished. Before their setting out, messengers were dispatched to the unhappy negroes; but these returned with the melancholy news of their death. Though the sky had flattered the hopes of the survivors, the snow continued falling very fast, a circumstance which impeded their journey, but a breeze springing up about eight o'clock, added to the influence of the sun, began to clear the air, and the snow falling in large flakes from the trees, gave tokens of a thaw. Hunger prevailing over every other consideration, induced our travellers to divide the small remainder of their provisions, and to set forward on their journey about ten in the morning. To their great astonishment and satisfaction, in about three hours they found themselves on the shore, and much nearer to the ship than their most sanguine expectations could have suggested. When they looked back upon their former route from the sea, they found that instead of ascending the hill in a direct line, they had made a circle almost round the country. On their return, these wanderers received such congratulations from those on board as can more easily be imagined than expressed."

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore again on the 20th of this month, landing in the bottom of the bay, where they collected a number of shells and plants, hitherto unknown. After having re-

turned to dinner, they went to visit an Indian town, about two miles up the country, the access to which, on account of the mud, was difficult. When they approached the town, two of the natives came out to meet them, who began to shout in their usual manner. They afterwards conducted Mr. Banks and the Doctor to their town. It was situate on a small hill, over-shaded with wood, and consisted of about a dozen huts, constructed without art or regularity. They were composed of a few poles inclining to each other in the shape of a sugar-loaf, which were covered on the weather side with grass and boughs, and on the other side a space was left open, which served at once for a fire-place and a door. They were of the same nature of the huts that had been seen at St. Vincent's Bay. A little grass served for beds and chairs, and their utensils were a basket for the hand, a satchel to hang upon the back, and a bladder for water, out of which they drank through a hole near the top. This town was inhabited by a tribe of about 50 men, women, and children. Their bows and arrows were constructed with neatness and ingenuity, being made of wood highly polished, and the point which was either glass or flint, very skilfully fitted. These latter substances were observed among them unwrought; as also cloth, rings, buttons, &c. from whence it was concluded that they sometimes travelled to the northward, as no ship, for years past, had touched at this part of Terra del Fuego. The natives here did not shew any surprise at the sight of fire arms, but appeared to be well acquainted with their use. It is likely that the spot on which the Doctor and Mr. Banks met them, was not a fixed habitation, as their houses did not seem as if they were erected to stand for any long time, and they had no boats or canoes among them. They did not appear to have any form of government or any ideas of subordination. They seemed to be the very out-casts of men; and a people that passed their lives in wandering in a forlorn manner over dreary wastes; their dwelling being a thatched hovel, and their cloathing scarcely sufficient to keep them from perishing with cold, even in these uncomfortable climates. Their only food was shell-fish, which on any one spot must soon be exhausted; nor had they the rudest implement of art, not even so much as was necessary to dress their food, yet amidst all this, we are told, that they appeared to enjoy that content which is seldom found in great and populous cities; a species of content, which if they really enjoyed it, must have arisen from stupidity, a satisfaction the offspring of the greatest ignorance.

Such is the state of uncultivated nature; such the rude form which uncivilised man puts on. The wants of these people seemed to be few; but some wants all mankind must have, and even the most simple of them, these poor savages appeared scarcely in a condition to gratify. The calls of hunger and thirst must be obeyed, or man must perish, yet the people in question seemed to depend on chance for the means of answering them. Those who can be happy in such a situation, can only be so, because they have not a due feeling of their misery.

We know that there have been admirers of simple nature amongst the philosophers of all ages and nations; and certainly simple nature has her beauties. In regard to the vegetative and brute creation, she operates with resistless energy; her power is prevalent as her pencil is inimitable; but when we ascend in the scale of beings, and come to examine the human race, what shall we find *them*, without cultivation? It is here that instinct ends and reason begins, and without entering into the question, Whether a state of nature is a state of war? when we observe the innumerable inconveniences to which those are subject on whom the light of science never dawned, we may easily determine in the favour of those arts which have civilised mankind, formed them into societies, refined their manners, and taught the nations where they have prevailed, to protect those rights which the untutored savages

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savages have ever been obliged to yield to the superior abilities of their better instructed invaders, and have thus fallen a prey to European tyranny. *

No other quadrupeds than seals, sea-lions, and dogs were observed here. From a hill, Mr. Banks, indeed, remarked the impression of the foot-steps of a large animal, on the surface of a bog, but of what kind it was he could not determine. There were no land-birds seen here larger than an English black-bird, hawks and vultures excepted; there were ducks and other water-fowls in abundance. Shell-fish, clams, and limpets, were very plentiful here. The country, though not cleared, produced no species of hurtful or troublesome animals. A great variety of plants were found by the Doctor and Mr. Banks. The beach and the birch which grow here may be used for timber. The wild celery (as well as the scurvy-grass) is supposed to possess antiscorbutic qualities, which cannot but be of service to the crews of such ships as touch here after having been on a long voyage. The latter is found in abundance near springs and in damp places, particularly at the watering-place in the bay of good Success, and resembles the English cuckow-flower or lady's-smock. The wild celery is like that of our gardens, but the leaves are of a deeper green. It grows in plenty near the beach and upon the land above the spring-tides, and tastes somewhat like parsley mixed with celery.

On Sunday, January 22, Captain Cook having got in his wood and water, sailed out of the bay, and steered his course through the Straights of Maghellan.

Notwithstanding the terrible description which some voyagers have given of Terra del Fuego, the people on board the Endeavour did not find that it had such a very forbidding aspect. On the contrary, they found the sea coasts and the sides of the hills clothed with verdure. The summits of these hills were indeed barren, but the valleys appeared rich, and a brook was generally found at the foot of almost every hill. Though the water had a reddish tinge, it was far from being ill-tasted.

The strait of Le Maire is bounded on the west by Terra del Fuego, and on the east by the west end of Staten Land, and is near five leagues in length, and as many in breadth. The bay of Good Success is situate about the middle of it, on the side of Terra del Fuego, which presents itself on entering the strait from the northward. The south head of it may be distinguished by a land mark, resembling a road from the sea into the country. It affords good anchorage, and plenty of wood and water. Staten Land did not appear to captain Cook in the same manner as it did to Commodore Anson. The horror and wildness with which it appeared to the commodore was not discernible to our voyager. On the contrary, the land seemed not to be destitute of wood and verdure, nor covered with snow; and on the north side there was the appearance of bays and harbours. It is most probable that the season of the year and other circumstances have concurred to furnish us with these different descriptions of a land which at best must be owned to be disagreeably situated.

The ship sailed from Cape Horne on the 26th of January, the weather being then very calm; and Mr. Banks went on board a small boat in order to shoot birds, when he killed some sheer-waters, and albatrosses, the latter were larger than those caught to the northward of the strait, and proved to be very good food.

Captain Cook had the good luck to find no difficulty in doubling Cape Horn, and had a very distinct view of the coast, the weather being fair and temperate. On the first of March they were in $38^{\circ} 44'$ of

south latitude, and $110^{\circ} 33'$ of west longitude, both by the log and by the observation, a concurrence very singular in a run of 660 leagues, and which tended to prove that no current had affected the ship in her course, and it was likewise concluded that she had not come near a continent of very large extent from a parity of reasoning. Mr. Banks killed more than 60 birds in one day, and caught two forest flies, such as had never yet been described; he also found a cuttle-fish different from those of this name generally described in Europe. This fish which had a double row of talons, resembling those of a cat, which it could put forth or withdraw at pleasure, when dressed made good soup.

A young fellow about twenty threw himself overboard on the 25th, on account of a quarrel about a piece of seal-skin which he took by way of frolic, but being charged with it as a theft, he took it so much to heart, that he could not endure to live after such an accusation.

On Tuesday the 14th of April, Peter Briscoe, servant to Mr. Banks, discovered land to the south, at the distance of about three or four leagues. The captain immediately gave orders to haul up for it, and found it was an island of an oval form, with a lagoon [or lake] in the middle which extended over the greatest part of it. The surrounding border of land was low and narrow in many places, especially towards the south, where the beach consisted of a reef of rocks; three places on the north side had the same appearance; so that on the whole, this land seemed to resemble several woody islands. There was a large clump of trees to the westward, and in the centre were two cocoa-trees. The vessel came within a mile on the north side, but no bottom could be found at 130 fathoms, nor any good anchorage. The island was covered with trees; but no other species than the palm and the cocoa-nut tree could be discerned from on board. Several of the natives were discovered on shore. They appeared to be tall, with heads remarkably large, which probably some bandage might have increased. Their complexion was of the copper colour, and their hair was black. Some of these people were seen a-breast of the ship, holding poles or pikes of twice their own height. They then appeared naked, but when they retired, on the ship's passing by the islands, they put on a light-coloured covering. Some clumps of palm-trees served for their habitations, and the appearance of the groves was very agreeable. They called this place Lagoon Island; it lay in latitude 18° south, and longitude 139° west. In the afternoon the captain saw land again to the north-west, by sun-set he reached it, and found it a low circular island, in circumference about a mile. The land appeared here covered with verdure, but of various sorts, but no inhabitants were seen, nor any cocoa-trees. It was called *Thrum-Cap* by the gentlemen on board. Lagoon Island.

They continued their course on the 5th, with a favourable trade wind, and saw land about three o'clock to the westward. It was a low land, in form resembling a bow, and appeared to be about ten or twelve leagues round. Its length was between three and four leagues, its width that of above two hundred yards. The beach was flat, and seemed to have no other herbage than sea-weeds upon it. The resemblance of a bow was preserved in the arch and cord forming the land, while the intermediate space was taken up by water; the arch in general was covered with trees of various verdure, and of different heights. Bow Island.

Having sailed along the beach within a league till sun-set, concluding that they were half way between the two tufts of trees that they had seen, they founded.

From

* For a comprehensive system of all the useful arts, see the New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, written by the Rev. Mr. Middleton, and other gentlemen of abilities, where the principles of every art are treated in such a manner

as to be suited to all capacities, and the whole circle of sciences is fully illustrated and explained. This Dictionary is comprised in only eighty numbers, and includes all the new discoveries in the several arts and sciences.

From the smoke that had been seen here, our voyagers concluded the place to be inhabited, and gave it the name of *Bow Island*.

On Thursday the 6th, about noon, land was again seen to the west; at three o'clock they came up with it. It seemed to be divided into two parts, which had the appearance of two collections of islands, to the extent of about nine leagues. The two largest were divided from the others by a strait, the breadth of which was about half a mile.

There were some of these islands about ten miles in length; but they appeared like long narrow strings of land, not above a quarter of a mile in breadth. They produced trees, however, of different kinds, among which the cocoa-tree was seen. Some of the inhabitants came out in their canoes, and two of them made as if they intended to come on board; but these, like the rest, stopped at the reef. After the captain had got about a league from the shore, he saw some of the natives following in a canoe with a sail, but she likewise stopped after she passed the reef. From the observations made on these people, they appeared to be about the common size, and well made; their complexion was brown, and they were naked. — In general, they bore two weapons, one of them was a long pole, spear-pointed, and the other resembled a paddle. Several of their canoes were constructed in such a manner as not to carry more than three persons; others were fitted up for six or seven; one of these boats hoisted a sail, which was converted into an awning when a shower of rain fell. The captain did not chuse to stay for any of them; neither could he nor his officers determine whether the signals made by the natives were meant for defiance or for invitation. However, the captain did not think proper to try the experiment, being satisfied that should these people endeavour to oppose his landing, it must cost them dear, whereas the island appeared to be of no importance, as producing nothing of which the ship's company were at that time destitute. He therefore resolved to pass by this place, and proceed to the island where directions were given to make the astronomical observations already mentioned, the natives of which he conceived would make no resistance, as they had already experienced the danger of opposing the force of an European nation.

On the 7th, about six in the morning, another island was discovered, which was about five miles in circumference, being very low and had a piece of water in the middle of it. It was woody, and covered with verdure, but no inhabitants were seen upon it by those on board. The English called this *Bird Island*, from the birds that were seen flying round it.

In the afternoon of Saturday, they saw land to the northward, and came abreast of it in the evening, at about five miles distance. It seemed to be a chain of islands. It was of an oval figure, and consisted of coral and sand, with some clumps of small trees, and a lagoon [or lake] was in the middle of it. It received the name of *Chain Island*, on account of its appearance.

Osnaburgh Island, already mentioned, was seen on the 10th, and the same day they made Otaheite, or King George the Third's Island, as Captain Wallis had denominated it. The ship was prevented from approaching it by the calms, till the 12th, when a breeze sprang up, and several canoes were seen making towards the ship, but those who were in the nearest of these canoes seemed to be very shy of coming on board. They had brought with them young plantains and branches of trees, which were handed up the ship's side, and, by their desire, were stuck in conspicuous parts of the rigging, as tokens of peace and friendship. Then the English bartered with the

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Indians for their cargoes, which consisted of bread fruit, bananas, apples, and figs.

They opened the north-west point of the isle, to which the Dolphin's people had given the appellation of York Island, on the evening of this day. They lay off and on all night, and entered Port Royal Harbour on the 13th, in the morning, and came to an anchor within half a mile of the shore. Several of the natives came off immediately in their canoes, and brought with them bread-fruit, * cocoa-nuts, and apples; besides some hogs which they bartered for beads and other trinkets with the ship's company. The old Indian that was so well known to Mr. Gore and others, who had been on the island with Mr. Wallis, came on board. His name was *Ouhaw*; and being looked upon as a very useful man, they were glad of his company.

The vessel being secured in a proper manner, the captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander went on shore with a party under arms. Some hundreds of the natives received them with awe and reverence; and the tokens of peace being exchanged the Indians offered to conduct them to a spot of ground which it would be more convenient for them to occupy, than that where they had landed. The offer was accepted; and, on their way, the English made the Indians some presents which the latter very thankfully received. They now took a circuit of about four miles through groves of the bread-fruit and cocoa-trees. Intermingled with these were the dwellings of the natives, which consisted of huts without walls. They found but few fowls or hogs in the course of their journey, and understood that none of their conductors, nor any of the people they had hitherto seen were persons of rank in the island. Such as had before been at Otaheite in the Dolphin, were likewise of opinion, that the queen's residence was removed, as there were no traces of it now to be discovered.

Before they left the ship the next morning, several canoes were seen full of people whose dress indicated them to be of a superior class. Two of them came on board, when each fixed upon a friend; one chose Captain Cook, and the other Mr. Banks; at the same time performing the ceremony of taking off great part of their cloaths to put on the English gentlemen, who presented them with some trinkets in return for their compliment. They afterwards made signs for their new friends to go with them to their habitation. As the captain was desirous of being acquainted with the people, and of finding out a more convenient harbour, he accepted the invitation, and went with them, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and others. They landed at the distance of about three miles, among a great number of the natives who brought them to a large house, where they were introduced to a middle-aged man, named Tootahah. As soon as they were seated, this Indian presented Mr. Banks with a cock and a hen and a piece of perfumed cloth, which compliment was returned by a present from the English gentleman. After this they were conducted to several large houses built in the manner we have already described; where they were kindly received by many of the natives of both sexes, and afterwards met with another chief, whose name was Tubora Tumaida, with whom they settled a treaty according to the fashion of the country. This chief gave them to understand that if they chose to eat he had provisions at their service; which he accordingly produced.

“ In the course of this visit (says my author) Tootahio, the chief's wife placed herself upon the same mat with Mr. Banks, close by him; but as she was not young, nor appeared ever to have possessed many charms; this gentleman paid little attention to her; and she received the additional mortification of Mr. Banks's beckoning to a pretty girl; who, with some reluctance,

A a a

reluctance;

* The tree which bears this fruit is about the size of the horse-chestnut; its leaves are near a foot and a half in length, in shape oblong, and very much resemble those of the fig-tree. The fruit is something like that of the cantaloupe melon,

it is inclosed in a thin skin, and its core is as large as a man's thumb; its substance is somewhat like that of new bread, and of the whiteness of a blanched almond. It is roasted before it is eaten, and has very little taste.

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reluctance, came and placed herself by him. The princess was somewhat chagrined at this preference given to her rival; nevertheless she continued her assiduities to her guest. This whimsical scene was interrupted by an event of a more serious nature; Dr. Solander having missed his opera glass, a complaint was made to the chief, which interrupted the convivial party. The complaint was enforced by Mr. Banks's starting up and striking the butt-end of his musquet against the ground, which struck the Indians with such a panic that all of them ran precipitately out of the house, except the chief and a few others of the superior class. That no disadvantageous notions might be entertained of them on account of this circumstance, the chief observed, with an air of great probity, That the place which the Doctor had mentioned on this occasion, was not within his district, but that he would send to the chief of it, and endeavour to recover it, adding, that if this could not be done, he would make the Doctor compensation, by giving him as much new cloth, (of which he produced large quantities) as should be thought equal to the value. The case however was brought in a little time, and the glass itself soon after, which deprived us of the merit we should otherwise have had in refusing the cloth which had been offered us. But it afforded an opportunity of convincing the natives of our generosity, by lavishing rewards upon them for an action, to which self-interest had been the motive, rather than any sentiment of probity; to which, from numerous transactions, they appeared to be absolutely strangers. After this adventure was amicably terminated, we returned to the ship about six o'clock in the evening. On Saturday the 15th, in the morning, several of the chiefs, one of whom was very corpulent, came on board from the other point, bringing with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreshments, in exchange for which they received linen, beads, and other trinkets; but some of them took the liberty of stealing the lightning chain. This day the captain, attended by Mr. Banks, and some of the other gentlemen, went on shore to fix on a proper spot to erect a fort for their defence, during their stay on the island, and the ground was accordingly marked out for that purpose; a great number of the natives looking on all the while, and behaving in the most peaceable and friendly manner."

As Mr. Banks and his friends had seen so few hogs and poultry in their walks, they suspected that they had been driven up the country; for which reason they determined to penetrate into the woods, the tent being guarded by a petty officer and a party of marines. On this excursion several of the natives accompanied the English. While the party were on their march they were alarmed by the discharge of two pieces fired by the guard of the tent. Owahaw having now called together the captain's party, dispersed all the Indians, except three, who in token of their fidelity broke branches of trees, according to their custom, and whom it was thought proper to retain. When they returned to the tent, they found that an Indian having snatched away one of the centinel's musquets, a young midshipman, who commanded the party, was so imprudent as to give the marines orders to fire, which were obeyed, and many of the natives were wounded; but this did not satisfy them, as the offender had not fallen, they therefore pursued him and revenged the theft by his death.

This action which was equally inconsistent with policy and humanity, could not but be very displeasing to Mr. Banks; but as what had passed could not be recalled, nothing remained but to endeavour to accommodate matters with the Indians. Accordingly he crossed the river where he met an old man, through whose mediation several of the natives were prevailed to come over to them, and to give the usual tokens of friendship. The next morning, however, they saw but few of the natives on the banks, and none came on board, from whence it was concluded that the treatment they had received the former day was not yet

forgotten, and the English were confirmed in this opinion by Owahaw's having left them. In consequence of these circumstances, the captain brought the ship nearer to the shore, and moored her in such a manner as to make her broad-side bear on the spot which they had marked out for erecting their little fortification. But in the evening the captain and some of the gentlemen going on shore, the Indians came round them, and trafficked with them as usual.

On the 17th, Mr. Banks had the misfortune to lose Mr. Buchan. The same day they received a visit from Tubora Tumaida, and Tootahah. They brought with them some plantain branches, and till these were received, they would not venture on board. They bartered some bread-fruit and a hog which was ready dressed, for nails, with the English.

On the 18th the fort began to be erected. And now some of the company were employed in throwing up intrenchments, whilst others were busied in cutting fascines and pickets, in which work the Indians assisted them. They fortified three sides of the place, with intrenchments and pallisadoes, and upon the other which was flanked by a river, where a breast-work was formed by the water-casks. The natives brought down such quantities of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts this day, that it was necessary to refuse them, and to let them know that none would be wanting for two days. Mr. Banks slept for the first time on shore this night. None of the Indians attempted to approach his tent, he had however taken the precaution of placing centinels about it, for its defence, in case any attack should be meditated.

Tubora Tumaida visited Mr. Banks at his tent on Wednesday the 19th, and brought with him his wife and family with the materials for erecting a house, intending to build it near the fort. He afterwards asked that gentleman to accompany him to the woods. On their arrival at a place where he sometimes resided, he presented his guests with two garments, one of which was of red cloth, and the other was made of fine matting; having thus clothed Mr. Banks, he conducted him to the ship, and staid to dinner with his wife and son. They had a dish served up that day, which was prepared by the attendants of Tubora Tumaida, which seemed like wheat flour, and being mixed with cocoa-nut liquor, it was stirred about till it became a jelly. Its flavour was something like blanc mange. A sort of market was now established without the lines of the fort, which was tolerably well supplied, and Tubora Tumaida was a frequent guest to Mr. Banks, and the other English gentlemen. He was the only native that attempted to use a knife and fork, being fond of adopting European manners. The surgeon being abroad on his evening walk, reported that he had seen the body of the man who had been shot from the tent, of which he gave the following account.—“The corpse was deposited in a shed, close to the house where the deceased had resided when he was alive, and others were within ten yards of it. It was about fifteen feet in length, and eleven in breadth, and the height was proportionable. The sides and one end were inclosed with a sort of wicker work; the other end was intirely open. The body lay on a bier, the frame of which was of wood, supported by posts about five feet high, and was covered with a mat, over which lay a white cloth: By the side of it lay a wooden mace, and towards the head two cocoa shells; towards the feet was a bunch of green leaves, and small dried boughs tied together, and stuck in the ground, near which was a stone about the size of a cocoa-nut; here were also placed a young plantain tree, and a stone axe. A great many palm-nuts were hung in strings at the open end of the shed; and the stem of a palm-tree was stuck up on the outside of it, upon which was placed a cocoa-shell filled with water. At the side of one of the posts there hung a little bag with some roasted pieces of bread-fruit.”—The natives were not pleased at his approaching the body, their jealousy appearing plainly in their countenances and gestures.

On the 22d they were entertained by some of the musicans of the country, who performed on an instrument somewhat resembling a German flute; but the performer blew with his nostril instead of his mouth; several of the natives accompanied this instrument with a particular tune.

Some axes were brought by the natives to the English to grind and repair, and most of them appeared to have been left there by Captain Wallis and his people. There was however a French one among the rest, which it was found at last they had received from M. Bougainville when he visited these parts, in the course of his voyage round the world; as the reader will see in its proper place.

Mr. Banks and the Doctor made an excursion into the country on the 24th, and found it level and fertile for about two miles along the shore to the eastward; farther on, they found the hills stretch to the water's edge, till at last they ran quite out into the sea. Having passed these hills, which continued about three miles, they descried an extensive plain where the houses were good; the people seemed to enjoy a considerable share of property; and the place was rendered still more agreeable by a wide river issuing from a valley that watered it.—When they had crossed this river, perceiving that they were come into a barren country, they resolved to return; but just as they were about to put their resolve into execution, they were offered some refreshment by a man whose skin was of a dead white, and his hair and eyebrows were as white as his skin. Tubora Tumaida and his women expressed great joy when they met the English on their return.

Several of the gentlemens knives being missing on the 25th, Mr. Banks who had lost his amongst the rest, accused Tubora Tumaida of having taken it, which, as he was innocent, occasioned him a great deal of unmerited anxiety. It was some time before he could forget the injury, and at last it was found that Mr. Banks's servant had mislaid it. The Indian, with the tears starting from his eyes, made signs that if he ever had been guilty of such an action as was imputed to him, he would suffer his throat to be cut. But though he was innocent of this accusation, it appeared that the natives of this island were very much addicted to thieving.

Six swivel guns were mounted upon the fort on the 24th, on which the Indians seemed to be in great trouble, and several of the fishermen removed themselves, fearing, notwithstanding all the marks of friendship which had passed between them, that within a few days they should be fired at from the fort.

Notwithstanding this jealousy, Tubora Tumaida came with three of his women, and an acquaintance of his who was a remarkable glutton, to dine at the fort; after which he went back to his own house in the wood. It was not long after that he returned, to complain to Mr. Banks that the ship's butcher had threatened to cut his wife's throat, because she would not barter a stone hatchet for a nail. As it appeared that he was to blame, he was flogged in the vessel in sight of several of the natives, who were humane enough to interfere, and beg for his release;—they shewed great concern, and even burst into tears when that favour was denied them.

In the forenoon of the 28th the Indian canoes were continually coming in, and people of both sexes filled the tents at the fort. The master of the Endeavour now went on shore, where having seen a female whose name was Oberea, he declared she was the same person whom he judged to be the queen of the island when he was there with Captain Wallis.

It will naturally be imagined that the attention of all was fixed on a person of whom so much had been said by the captain and crew of the Dolphin. With regard to her person, she was tall, and rather large made; her skin was white, and she had once been handsome, but as she was near forty, it was no wonder that her beauty was on the decline; her eyes, however, still retained great expression. It was not long

before this lady was conducted on board with some of her family. Among several presents that she received, was a child's doll that she seemed to be very attentive in viewing. She was escorted on shore by the captain, to whom she gave a hog and some plantains, in return for his presents;—these marks of her favour were carried in a sort of procession, the rear of which was closed by the queen and the captain.—Envy is found among those who are supposed to be the children of simple nature; this pest is but too apt to sow her baleful seeds in every breast. Her influence was plain enough here, though in a matter which to an European was rather a subject of laughter than of serious consideration. As they proceeded they met Tootahah who, though he did not appear to be king of the island, yet acted as if he thought he had a right to something like sovereign command. He immediately shewed signs of jealousy at Oberea's having the doll; nor could there be any means found of conciliating his friendship (however absurd the present might seem) without complimenting this chief with “the baby of a child” and so prevalent is fashion in every country, when the great ones lead the way, that now a doll was preferred to a hatchet; but a very short time taught the Indians to find their mistake, and the usefulness of iron in the end prevailed over every other consideration. As to the natives who now came on board, the men ate heartily of the ship's provisions, but the women did not chuse to partake of any of them; and though they were courted to dine with the gentlemen, yet, for reasons which remained a secret to those who solicited them, they chose to eat of plantains with the servants.

Mr. Banks paid a visit to Oberea on the 29th day of the month, but found that she was asleep under the awning of her canoe; and going to call her up, was not a little surprised at finding her in bed with a young fellow of about twenty-five years of age; a circumstance which caused him to retire rather disconcerted, and with some precipitation. But as we have already observed, a commerce of this kind was by no means uncommon in the island of Otaheite; the ladies being all of easy virtue, frequently courting the men to their arms, and making no secret of their amorous dalliance. On this occasion, Mr. Banks was given to understand that such an intrigue as this was not considered as scandalous, and that the person found in bed with the queen, whose name was Obadie, was well known to her subjects to be the companion of her looser hours.

Oberea, however, soon got up and dressed herself to wait on her English friend. After dressing him in a suit of fine cloth, they proceeded together to the tent; and Mr. Banks paid a visit to Tubora Tumaida in the evening. He was astonished to find this chief and his family in tears, nor could he discover the reason while he remained with them: But, on his return, the officers acquainted him that Owahaw had been so weak as to pretend to foretell that the guns would be fired within four days; and this was the eve of the third, which had occasioned their alarm. As the gentlemen were apprehensive that some ill consequence might arise from this prepossession, the centinels were doubled at the fort, and they themselves thought it necessary to keep under arms; but Mr. Banks walking his bounds about two in the afternoon, finding nothing that might tend to encourage his suspicions, he dropped them and rested secure in the fort.

On the 30th Tomio came in great haste to the tents, and taking Mr. Banks by the arm, told him that Tubora Tumaida was dying, owing to something that had been given by some of the English, and entreated he would instantly go to him.

Mr. Banks went according to their desire, and found the Indian very sick. He was told that he had been vomiting, and had thrown up a leaf which they said contained some of the poison. Mr. Banks having examined the leaf, found it was nothing but tobacco which the Indian had begged of some of the ship's company.

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The queen comes on board.

The matter, however, appeared in a very serious light to Tubora Tumaida, who really concluded from the violent sickness he suffered, that he had swallowed some deadly drug, the terror of which no doubt contributed to make him yet more sick. While Mr. Banks was examining the leaf, he looked up to him, as if he had been just on the point of death. But when the nature of this dreadful poison was found out, he only ordered him to drink of cocoa-nut milk, which soon restored him to health, and he was as chearful as before the accident happened.

These people seemed in particular instances to be sometimes strangely afflicted from slight causes. At one time a certain female attendant of Tubora Tumaida came to the tent in the greatest seeming affliction, the cause of which could not be discovered: the tears gushed from her eyes, and she seemed to be in all the bitterness of grief. When she was asked the occasion of all this, she refused to make any answer, but struck herself with a shark's tooth several times upon the head, till she caused the blood to flow plentifully; yet several other Indians who were present, continued talking and laughing without being in the least concerned at her sorrow. She afterwards picked up some pieces of cloth that she had thrown down to catch the blood, and cast them into the sea, as if she meant to signify that she wished her unaccountable behaviour might be forgotten. Afterwards she bathed herself in the river, and returned with great chearfulness to the tent; and so ended the whole matter.

Captain Cook having produced an iron adze, which was made in imitation of the stone ones used by the natives, shewed it to Tootahah, as a curiosity. The latter snatched it up and insisted on having it; and though he was offered the choice of any of the articles in the chests which were opened before him; yet he would not accept of any thing in its stead. A chief dined with them that day, who had been on board some time before, accompanied by some of his women that used to feed him. He now came alone; and when all things were set ready for dinner, the captain helped him to some victuals, supposing that he would have dispensed with the ceremony of being fed; but he was deceived; for the chief never attempted to eat, and would have gone without his dinner, if one of the servants had not fed him.

They took the astronomical quadrant and some of the instruments on shore that afternoon; and to their great surprise when they wanted to make use of the quadrant, the next day, it was not to be found; a matter which was looked upon as the more extraordinary, as a sentinel had been placed for the whole night within a few yards of the place where it was deposited.

At first their own people were suspected of being concerned in this theft, and, as the instrument had never been taken out of the case, it was suspected that some person might have carried it off, under the supposition that its contents were articles used in traffic. A strict search was made in and about the fort, and a considerable reward offered in order to obtain it again. But all this proving fruitless, Mr. Banks, accompanied by Mr. Green and some other gentlemen, set out for the woods, where they thought they might probably get some tidings of what was stolen. In their way, they met with Tubora Tumaida, and some of the natives. This chief was made to understand by signs, that they had lost the quadrant, and that as some of his countrymen must have taken it, they insisted upon being shewn the place where it was concealed. Having proceeded a few miles together, after some enquiry, Tubora Tumaida was informed who the thief was, and it was found that he was then at a place about four miles distant. As they had no arms but a brace of pistols, not caring to trust themselves so far from the fort, a message was dispatched to Captain Cook, requesting him to send out a party to support them. The captain accordingly set out, with a party properly armed, after having laid an embargo upon all the canoes in the bay.

In the mean time, Mr. Banks and Mr. Green proceeded on their way, and at the place which had been mentioned, were met by one of Tubora Tumaida's own people, bringing with him part of the quadrant; the case and the other parts of the instrument were recovered soon afterwards, when it was found that it had received no real injury, though it had been taken to pieces.

When they returned in the evening, they were much surprised to find Tootahah under confinement in the fort, while a crowd of the natives, (who thought he would be put to death) surrounding the gate, discovered marks of the greatest anxiety for the fate of their chief.

The cause of his detention originated from the conduct of the Indians: alarmed at Captain Cook's having gone up the country with an armed party, most of the natives left the fort that evening, and one of the canoes attempted to quit the bay. The lieutenant who commanded on board the ship, having it in charge not to suffer any canoe to depart, sent a boat to detain her, but she no sooner approached, than the Indians jumped into the sea. Tootahah being of the number, was taken up, and sent by the lieutenant to the officer that commanded at the fort, who concluded he should do right to detain him prisoner, while the poor chief thought of nothing but being put to death, till Captain Cook caused him to be returned to the great joy of his countrymen.

But the natives were still inclined to bear this affair in their minds, and as a proof of it, they neglected to supply the market with provisions. Mr. Banks walking into the woods, heard great murmurings concerning the treatment of Tootahah, who, as they said, had been ill used and beaten, though Mr. Banks declared he was quite ignorant of his having received such treatment.

The chief now sent for such hogs to be restored as he had left behind him at first, intending them as a present, which by this time, perhaps, he did not think the English had merited; but they refused to send them unless he would come himself, thinking by an interview to promote a reconciliation; and this they were the more desirous of, as they were told it would be a fortnight before he would pay them a visit.

Provisions were now extremely scarce, as the markets continued to be ill supplied on the account already mentioned; and it was not without some difficulty that Mr. Banks got a few baskets of bread-fruit from Tubora Tumaida. Tootahah now sent for an axe and a shirt in return for the hogs, which were accordingly promised to be brought him the next day. He sent again early in the morning of the 5th, and Mr. Banks and the Doctor set out in the pinnace, taking with them one of Tootahah's people, and soon reached Eparre, where he resided, which was a few miles to the westward. When they arrived there, they found a great number of the natives waiting for them on the shore, and were conducted directly to the chief, the people notwithstanding the offence they had so lately taken, shouting out in their language, "Tootahah is your friend." He was sitting under a tree, and some old men were standing about him. Having made signs for them to be seated, he asked for the axe, which was then given him by Captain Cook, as also the shirt that he had demanded, and a broad-cloth garment, which latter he put on, and was well pleased with the present. They ate a mouthful together in the boat, and were afterwards conducted to a large court-yard on one side of the chief's house where they were to be entertained with wrestling after the manner of the country. He himself sat at the upper end of the area, having several of his principal men on each side of him, who appeared as judges of the sport, which is described in the following manner.

"Ten or twelve combatants entered the area; and after many simple ceremonies of challenging, they engaged, and each endeavoured to throw his antagonist by mere strength: thus they seized each other

other by the hand, the thigh, the hair; or the cloaths, grappling, without the least art, till one was thrown on his back. The conquest was applauded by some words from the old men, and three shouts. After one engagement succeeded another, but if they could not determine the victory in about a minute, they parted, either by consent or the intervention of their friends. Several women of rank in the country were present, but it was thought they only attended this amusement in compliment to the English gentlemen. A man with a stick, who made way for them when they landed, officiated here as master of the ceremonies, keeping order among the people.

As soon as this entertainment was ended, the gentlemen were acquainted that some hogs and a quantity of bread-fruit were ordered to be prepared for their dinner, which intelligence was pleasing enough to them, as their journey had sharpened their appetite. However, they neither dined on shore nor in the boat, but went as far as the ship, at the desire of the chief; and as soon as he was known to be on board the Indians brought to the fort plenty of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other provisions.

Early in the morning of the 8th, Mr. Molineux, the master, and Mr. Green, set out in the pinnace to the eastward, with a view of procuring some poultry or hogs; they saw some of the latter, and a turtle, but could not purchase either, because they belonged to Tootahah, and without his permission the people would not presume to sell them. However, some time afterwards, bringing out their nails to purchase provisions, they obtained near 20 cocoa-nuts and some bread-fruit, for one of the smallest size, so that they soon had plenty of these articles. On the 9th in the forenoon, Oberea and her favourite Obadie paid the English a visit, and made them a present of a hog and some bread fruit.

By this time the forge was set up and frequently employed, which greatly excited the curiosity of the Indians, and they were besides sometimes more materially obliged by the smith's having permission to make them various sorts of tools out of some old iron which was supposed to have been left on the island by Captain Wallis's people.

A very extraordinary ceremony was performed by some of the natives, on the 12th of this month. As Mr. Banks was sitting in his boat, some ladies who were strangers, came, in a sort of procession, the Indians each side giving way to them. They then presented him with some plantains and other plants, as also with some parrots feathers. After this they brought some large bundles of cloth, consisting of nine pieces, which being divided into three parcels, one of the women, who appeared to be the principal, stepping on one of them, pulled up all her cloaths as high as her waist, and then turned round three times with an air of the greatest simplicity. She did the same on the other two parcels, and then the ladies saluting Mr. Banks, the whole was presented to him, and he, in return, gave them such presents as he supposed would prove most acceptable to them: so ended this ceremony.

Tubora Tumaida the next evening much surprised and offended Mr. Banks, by snatching his gun out of his hand, and firing it in the air, whereas the English gentlemen had no idea that the Indian knew any thing of the method of using it. And as the ignorance of the people of these countries in regard to this particular must always cause them to reverence and fear their guests, Mr. Banks made a serious matter of what probably the other meant as a joke, and, not without threats, gave him to understand, that for him to touch the piece was a high insult. The offender made no reply, but set out immediately with his family for Eparre. However, as he was really an useful man, and his absence might in some measure impede the dealings of the English with the Indians, Mr. Banks and Mr. Molineux went after him, and found him among his people, apparently much dejected on account of what had happened. On this,

they made up the affair with him, and brought him back to supper, and both he and his wife passed the night in Mr. Banks's tent. That very evening, while they were there, one of the natives tried to scale the walls of the fort, but the centinel prevented him. The temptation which caused him to attempt what might have cost him his life, was doubtless the iron which he expected to find within in the fortification.

On Sunday the 14th, in the morning, divine service was performed on shore, which was done with a view of having the presence of some of the Indians; but before the time fixed on for beginning, most of them were gone home; Tubora Tumaida and his wife indeed were present, but though they behaved with great decency, they took no notice of what passed, and their brethren, at their return, made as few enquiries of them as they had been disposed to make of the English. The day thus begun, on the one hand, with an act of piety, was concluded with several acts of lewdness, on the other, which were exhibited by the natives, by way of entertainment. Among the rest, a young fellow publicly lay with a girl about eleven or twelve years of age, while queen Oberea and some women of the first rank in the country were spectators of the exhibition.

Mr. Banks having a good opinion, in general, of Tubora Tumaida, was resolved to put his honesty to the test, in order to prove whether he was as much infected as his countrymen, with the common vice of the island. For this purpose, he threw several temptations in his way; a basket of nails at last proved an object so desirable as to conquer his honesty. He confessed the fact; but when restitution was talked of, he said the nails were at Eparre. High words passed on the occasion, and, in the end, the Indian produced one of the nails, and was to be forgiven on restoring the rest; but his virtue was not equal to the task, and he withdrew himself, as usual, when he had committed any offence.

One of these nimble-fingered Indians came before day-light, on the 17th, in order to steal some casks, and as this was not the first attempt of the same nature, he was near paying dear for his temerity, for the centinel levelled his piece at him, and he escaped only by its missing fire.

Tootahah having sent several times to intreat that the captain would visit him, and promised to acknowledge the favour by presenting him some hogs, Mr. Hicks was sent to him on the 24th, in order, if possible, to obtain the hogs without the required visit. Coming to a place called Tettehah, where the chief had taken up his residence, he was received in a friendly manner, but procured only one hog, though when this was produced, which was on his first arrival, he was promised more the next morning; but when the time arrived, he was obliged to go away without them.

Mr. Banks seeing Tubora Tumaida at the tent, for the first time after the affair of the nails, once more endeavoured to prevail on him to make restitution, but he did not succeed in his attempt, for which reason the Indian was treated very coolly while he stayed; and as he could not but perceive it, he departed in a very abrupt manner.

Tootahah having removed to a place called Atahoroa, the captain with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and some others set out in the pinnace, to pay him a visit. After making presents of a few articles, they were invited to pass the whole night there. Mr. Banks accepted of a place in Oberea's canoe, to whom he gave charge of his cloaths; but notwithstanding her care, they were stolen, as were also his pistols, his powder-horn, and several other things that were in his waistcoat pockets. Tootahah, who slept in the next canoe, being alarmed, rose and went in pursuit of the thief, Oberea accompanying him. As to Mr. Banks he waited for them, having nothing on but his breeches; and when they returned, found that he must be obliged to put up with his loss, as their search had been unsuccessful. Just as he had composed himself

to sleep again, he was roused by some music, and observed lights at a little distance from the shore. He then rose to go and find his companions. As soon as he approached the lights, he found the hut where Captain Cook and three others of the gentlemen lay, when he began to relate his misadventure to them, they told him, in return, that they had lost their stockings and jackets. In effect, Dr. Solander, who joined them the next morning, was the only one that escaped being robbed, and he had slept at a house that was a mile distant. This accident, however, did not prevent Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, and the rest that were at the hut, from attending to the music which was a sort of concert called Heiva, and consisted of drums, flutes, and several voices. They retired again to their repose, after this entertainment was over.

Their cloaths, and the other things which had been stolen, were never heard of afterwards, but Mr. Banks got some cloaths from Oberea, in which he made an odd appearance. The next morning they set out for the boat, having obtained only one hog, which had been intended for their supper the preceding night; so that all things considered they had little reason to be satisfied with their excursion. On their return, to the boat, they had a specimen of the agility of the Indian swimmers, some of whom, merely for diversion, swam in a surf where no European boat could have lived, and where our best swimmers must have perished, had they accidentally fallen in with it.

At this time the preparations were made for viewing the transit of Venus, and two parties were sent out to make observations from different spots, that in case of failing in one place, they might succeed in another. They employed themselves for some time in preparing their instruments, and instructing those gentlemen who were to go out, in the use of them; and on Thursday the first of June they sent the long-boat with Mr. Gore, Mr. Monkhouse, and Mr. Sporing, the latter of whom was a friend of Mr. Banks, with proper instruments to Emayo. Others were sent to find out a spot that might answer the purpose, at a convenient distance from their principal station.

The party that went towards Emayo, after rowing the greater part of the night, having hailed a canoe, were informed of a proper place by the Indians on board, which was judged proper for their observatory, where they accordingly fixed their tents. It was a rock that rose out of the water about 140 yards from the shore.

As soon as it was light on Saturday the 3d (the day of the transit) Mr. Banks left them in order to go and get fresh provisions on the island. The king, whose name was Tarrao, came to pay him a visit, as he was trading with the natives, and brought with him Nuna his sister. As it was customary for the people in these parts to be seated at their conferences, Mr. Banks spread his turban of Indian cloth, which he wore as a hat, upon the ground, on which they all sat down. Then a hog and a dog, some cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit were brought, being the king's present, and Mr. Banks sent for an adze, a shirt, and some beads, which were presented to his majesty, who received them with apparent satisfaction. Tubora Tumaida, and Tomio, who had gone with Mr. Banks, came from the observatory, when Tomio, who was said to be related to Tarrao, gave him a long nail, and left a shirt as a present for Nuna. Afterwards the king, his sister, and three beautiful young women their attendants, returned with Mr. Banks to the observatory, where he shewed them the transit of Venus, and acquainted them, that to view it in that situation was the cause of his undertaking a voyage to those remoter parts. According to this gentleman's account, the produce of this

island is nearly the same with that of Otaheite; the people also resembled those of that island: he had seen many of them upon it who who acquainted with the nature of trading articles. The parties that were sent out to make their observations on the transit, had good success in the undertaking; though they differed rather more than might have been expected in their account of the contact.*

They view the transit of Venus.

Some of the ship's company having broke into the store-room while the gentlemen and officers were busied in viewing the transit, took the liberty of stealing a quantity of spike-nails. After a strict search the thief was found out; he had, however but few of the nails in his possession; but he was ordered to receive two dozen of lashes, by way of example.

An old female of some distinction dying, gave the English an opportunity of observing the ceremonies used by these islanders in disposing of the dead bodies of their people; which, as we have observed, they do not directly bury. The reader has already seen the description of the bier, the placing the bread-fruit, &c. which, according to Tubora Tumaida's account, was a sort of offering to their Gods. In the front of the square space, a sort of stile was placed where the relations of the deceased stood to give token of their grief. There were under the awning some pieces of cloth, whereon were the tears and blood of the mourners, who used to wound themselves with a shark's tooth upon these occasions. Four small temporary houses were erected at a small distance, in one of which remained some of the relations of the deceased; the chief mourner resided in the other; and was dressed in a particular manner, in order to perform a certain ceremony. When the corpse is rotten, the bones are buried near the spot, and these places were found to answer the purposes of religious worship, though Captain Wallis could not perceive the traces of any such worship among them.

As to the ceremony we are about to speak of, the Funeral ceremonies. following is the account we have of it, which may not be unentertaining to the curious reader: "It was performed on the 10th, and Mr. Banks was so desirous of being present, that he agreed to take a part in it when he was informed, that he could not be a spectator on any other condition. He went accordingly in the evening, to the place where the body was deposited, where he was met by the relations of the deceased, and was afterwards joined by several other persons. Tubora Tumaida was the principal mourner, whose dress was whimsical, though not altogether ungraceful. Mr. Banks was obliged to quit his European dress, and had no other covering than a small piece of cloth that was tied round his middle; his body was blacked over with charcoal and water, as were the bodies of several others, and among them some females, who were no more covered than himself. The procession then began, and the chief mourner uttered some words which were judged to be a prayer, when he approached the body, and he repeated these words as he came up to his own house. They afterwards went on, by permission, towards the fort. It is usual for the rest of the Indians to shun these processions as much as possible; they accordingly ran into the woods in great haste, as soon as this came in view. From the fort the mourners proceeded along the shore, crossed the river, then entered the woods, passing several houses, which became immediately uninhabited, and during the rest of the procession, which continued for half an hour, not an Indian was visible. Mr. Banks filled an office that they called *Niniveh*, and there were two others in the same character. When none of the other natives were to be seen, they approached the chief mourner, saying *Imatata*; then those who had assisted

* Mr. Green's account was as follows:

	Hours.	Min.	Sec.	
The first external contact				Morning.
The first internal contact or total	9	25	4	
emersion,	9	44	4	

	Hours.	Min.	Sec.	
The second internal contact, or beginning of the emersion,	3	14	8	Afternoon.
The second external contact, or total emersion	3	32	10	
Latitude of the observatory 17 deg. 29 min. 15 sec. south; longitude, 149 deg. 32 min. 30 sec. west from Greenwich.				

assisted at the ceremony bathed in the river, and resumed their former drefs." Mr. Banks who had performed a capital part in this ceremony, received applause from Tubora Tumaida.

The Indians having lost some of their bows and arrows, and some strings of plaited hair, on the 12th of this month, a complaint was made on the subject to the captain, whereupon the affair was inquired into, and the offenders who had taken them away received each two dozen of lashes. The same day Tubora Tumaida brought his bow and arrows, in order to decide a challenge of shooting between him and Mr. Gore, but it appeared that they had mistaken each other, Mr. Gore intending to discharge his arrow at a mark, while the Indian meant only to try who could shoot farthest. As soon as this was apprehended, the challenge was dropped; but Tubora Tumaida, in order to shew his skill, kneeling down, shot an arrow (unfeathered, as they all are) near the sixth part of a mile, dropping the bow the instant the shot is discharged.

Mr. Banks having this morning met several of the natives, and learning that these people had a kind of musical entertainment in the evening, he and the English gentlemen resolved to be present at it. They went accordingly, and heard a performance on drums and flutes by a sort of itinerant musicians. The drummers sung to the music, and the English perceived these must be mere extempore compositions, as themselves were the subject of the song.

The captain seizes the canoes of the Indians on account of their thefts. The continued dishonesty of the natives, (whose manners were in other respects agreeable enough) occasioned Captain Cook to try if he could not at once put an end to this evil by making reprisals; an iron coal rake for the oven being stolen in the night of the 14th, this consideration, added to many other facts of the like nature occasioned him to give orders for seizing twenty-seven of their double canoes, which were just come in, laden with fish. They were told that unless the rake and all the other things were returned these canoes with their cargoes should certainly be burnt; but Captain Cook who had very humanely already given orders to the centinels not to fire on the Indians, even if they should detect them in the act of thieving, never meant to make this sacrifice to justice. However, the natives were alarmed by a threat of such a nature, as he was furnished with the power to put it into immediate execution. Yet so much averse were they to restitution, that the coal-rake only was brought home, the rest being still retained in their possession. The captain, however, gave up the cargoes of the Indian vessels, as the poor natives were greatly distressed by the seizure, and afterwards promised to release the canoes, in order to prevent the confusion arising from the disputes concerning the property of the different lots of goods which they had on board.

But a boat being sent on shore, in order to procure ballast, the imprudence of the officer was near involving his countrymen in another quarrel with the Indians. As he could not readily procure what he wanted, he very improperly began to violate the mansions of the dead, and was immediately opposed by the enraged islanders. Intelligence of this dispute being received by Mr. Banks, he went to the place where it had commenced, when, as it appeared that there was a sufficient quantity of stones to be got elsewhere, the affair was amicably settled. And this was the only opposition which they met with, and the only personal insult received, properly so called (except at the affair of the fort, which has been already related) was by Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, whom one of the Indians struck for plucking a flower within one of these burial inclosures. This gentleman laid hold of him, but two of his countrymen pulled his hair, till he was obliged to let him go; and then they all ran off as fast as they could. In the evening of the 19th soon after the canoes were detained, Queen Oberea and several of her attendants came from Tootah's house in a double canoe, and brought a hog, a dog, some bread-fruit, and other presents; but as

she had brought none of those things which the captain had required to be restored, he would not accept them, at which she appeared to be much concerned; especially as a childish story that she told about Obadie's taking them, and her having beaten him for so doing did not gain credit. Notwithstanding all this, and though at first she did not seem to be without her fears, yet at length she surmounted them so far as to offer to sleep in Mr. Banks's tent; but being refused she went to rest in her canoe.

She returned to the fort next morning, when the captain thought fit to accept her presents, when two of her attendants were very assiduous to match themselves with mates, in which design they found the greatest likelihood of succeeding by means of the surgeon and one of the lieutenants. All were very agreeable till bed-time, when some words arising between the surgeon and one of them, Mr. Banks thrust her out, and the rest followed. As Mr. Monkhouse thought his mistress not well used, it was feared this affair would have occasioned a duel; but happily the matter was amicably adjusted.

The natives of Otaheite hold dogs flesh in higher esteem than they do pork; but it is to be observed that those dogs which they breed for food, live only upon vegetables. In order to try an experiment, Tupia undertook to kill and bake one of these animals; and they all allowed that the dish was agreeable.

On the 21st of this month they were visited by many of the natives, who brought them various presents. Among the rest was a chief of several districts on the island, named Oamo, whom the English gentlemen had never yet seen. He had a boy and a young woman with him; and the former was carried upon a man's back though he was able to walk. Oberea and some of the Indians bareheaded, and uncovered as low as the waist, went forth to meet them; a circumstance which was considered as a mark of respect. When Oamo entered the tent, the young girl, though seemingly very curious, did not follow him. The youth was brought in by Dr. Solander, but was soon got out again by the Indians, who were averse to the boy's entrance.

Mr. Banks and the rest of the gentlemen, being curious to know who their new guests were, received the following account: "That Oamo was the husband of Oberea; but that this couple had been separated by consent a long time, and the boy and girl were their children. The former was called Terridiri; he was heir apparent to the sovereignty of the islands, and when he came to a proper age, was to marry his sister. The present sovereign, Outou, was a minor, and was the son of a prince, called Whappai.—Whappai, Oama, and Tootahah, were all brothers, of whom Oama was the eldest, the last-named was the youngest; and Whappai having no other child besides Outou, Terridiri, his brother's son, according to the custom of the country, was heir to the sovereignty." It is here to be noticed, that in the island of Otaheite, a boy, as soon as he is born, succeeds to his father's authority; but a regent being necessary, that office, though elective, generally falls upon the father, who holds the reins of government till the child is of age. The reason that the election in this case had fallen upon Tootahah was, his being celebrated for his warlike exploits among his countrymen. Oamo asked a number of questions concerning the English, and, by his conversation appeared to be a person of good understanding.

Captain Cook received an elegant garment from a woman that came from the western part of the island. The ground was a bright yellow; it was bordered with red; and there were several crosses in the middle of it. As the French had been on the coast, it was supposed that they had taught the natives the notion of making these figures.

One of the English being missing on the 23d, proper inquiries were made for him among the natives; and at last it was found that he was at Eparre, from whence

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Captain Cook
sails round the
island.

whence one of the Indians fetched him the same evening. When he returned, he acquainted them that he had been taken by three men from the fort, and carried up to the top of the bay; that they stripped him, forced him into a canoe, and conducted him to Eparre, where Tootahah had given him some cloaths, and wanted to persuade him to remain among his people. As soon as the natives knew of his return, they quitted the fort which was construed as a confirmation of what this man had asserted.

Captain Cook setting out in the pinnace with Mr. Banks, failed to the eastward with a design of circumnavigating the island. They went on shore in the forenoon, in a district in the government of Ahio, a young chief, who at the tents had frequently been their visitant. And here also they saw several other natives whom they knew. Afterwards they proceeded to the harbour where M. Bougainville's vessel lay, when he came to Otaheite, and were shewn the watering-place, and the spot where he pitched his tent.

Coming to a large bay, when the English gentlemen mentioned their design of going to the other side, their Indian guide, whose name was Titubaola, said he would not accompany them, and also endeavoured to dissuade the captain and his people from going; observing, "That country was inhabited by people who were not subject to Tootahah, and who would destroy them all." Notwithstanding they resolved to put their design in execution, loading their pieces with ball; and at last Titubaola ventured to go with them. Having rowed till it was dark, they reached a narrow isthmus which severed the island in two parts, and these formed distinct governments. However, as they had not yet got into the hostile part of the country, it was thought proper to go on shore to spend the night where Ooratoa, the lady who had paid her compliments in so extraordinary a manner at the fort, provided them with a supper, and they proceeded for the other government in the morning.

They afterwards landed in the district of a chief called Maraitata, and his father was called Pahairedc.* These people gave the captain a very good reception, fold them a hog for a hatchet, and furnished them with provisions. A crowd of the natives came round the English gentlemen, amongst whom however they met only two with whom they were acquainted; but though they saw several European commodities, yet they perceived none that came out of the Endeavour. Here they saw two twelve pound shot, one of which had the king's broad arrow upon it, yet the natives said they had them from M. Bougainville. They afterwards advanced till they reached that district which was under the government of Waheatua, who had a son, it was not known in whose hands the sovereign power was deposited. There they found a spacious plain with a river which they were obliged to pass over in a canoe, though the Indians that followed them, swam over without any difficulty. They proceeded on their journey for a considerable way along the shore, till at last they were met by the chief, who had with him an agreeable woman, of about twenty-two years of age, who was called Toudidde. Her name was not unknown to the English who had often heard of it; and she was supposed to bear the same rank here as Oberea bore in the other part of the island. The parts through which they now passed, appeared to be better cultivated than any of the rest, and the burial-places were more in number. They were neat, and ornamented with carvings; and in one a cock was seen, which was painted with the various colours of the bird. Though the country was apparently fertile, very little bread-fruit was to be found here, a nut called Ahee, furnishing the principal subsistence of the inhabitants.

Being fatigued with their journey, they went on board their boat, and landed in the evening on an

island which was called Otooareite, to seek for refreshment. Mr. Banks going into the woods for this purpose, when it was dark could discover only one house, wherein he found some of the nuts before-mentioned, and a little bread-fruit. There was a good harbour in the southern part of this island, and the surrounding country appeared to be extremely fruitful. Landing at about three miles distance they found some of the natives whom they well knew, yet it was not without difficulty that they obtained a few cocoa-nuts before they departed. When they came a little farther to the eastward, they landed again, and here they were met by Mathiabo, the chief, with whom they were not at all acquainted. He supplied them with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, and they purchased a hog of him for a glass bottle which he chose in preference to all the other articles presented before him. A turkey-cock and a goose were seen here, which were much admired by the natives, and were supposed to have been left there by Captain Wallis's people. They observed in a house near the same place several human jaw-bones, which seemed fresh, and had not lost any of the teeth, and were fastened to a board, of a semi-circular figure; but they could not get any information of the cause of this extraordinary appearance.

When they left the place, the chief piloted them over the shoals. In the evening they opened the bay on the north-west side of the island, which answered to that on the south-east in such a manner as to intersect it at the isthmus. Several canoes came off here, and some beautiful women giving tokens that they should be glad to see them on shore, they readily accepted the invitation.—Of their adventures during the rest of their journey we have the following account.

"They met with a very friendly reception from the chief whose name was Wiverou, who gave directions to some of his people to assist them in dressing their provisions which were now very plentiful, and they supped at Wiverou's house in company with Mathiabo. Part of the house was allotted for them to sleep in, and soon after supper they retired to rest. Mathiabo having borrowed a cloak of Mr. Banks, under the notion of using it as a coverlet when he lay down, made off with it without being perceived either by that gentleman or his companions. However, news of the robbery being presently brought them by one of the natives, they set out in pursuit of Mathiabo, but had proceeded only a very little way before they were met by a person bringing back the cloak which this chief had given up rather through fear than from any principle of honesty. On their return they found the house entirely deserted; and, about four in the morning, the centinel gave the alarm that the boat was missing. Captain Cook and Mr. Banks were greatly astonished at this account, and ran to the water-side; but though it was a clear, star-light morning no boat was to be seen. Their situation was now extremely disagreeable. The party consisted of no more than four, having with them only one musquet and two pocket pistols, without a spare ball or a charge of powder. After having remained some time in a state of anxiety arising from these circumstances, of which they feared the Indians might take advantage, the boat which had been driven away by the tide, returned; and Mr. Banks and his companions had no sooner breakfasted than they departed. This place is situated on the north side of Tiarabou, the south-east peninsula of the island, about five miles east from the isthmus, with a harbour equal to any in those parts. It was fertile and populous, and the inhabitants every where behaved with great civility.

The last district in Tiarabou, in which they landed was governed by a chief named Omoe. He was then building a house, and was very earnest to purchase a hatchet; but the gentlemen had not one left. He would not trade for nails, and they embarked, the chief, however, following them in his canoe with his wife. They were afterwards taken on board, but when they had sailed about a league, desired to be put on shore. Their request was complied with, when

* The former of these names signifies the burying-place of men, and the other the sealer of boats.

the captain met with some of Omoe's people, who brought with them a very large hog. The chief agreed to exchange the hog for an axe and a nail, and to bring the beast to the fort. As the hog was a very fine one, Mr. Banks accepted the offer. They saw at this place one of the Indian *Eatuas*, a sort of image, made of wicker-work, which resembled a man in figure; it was near seven feet in height, and was covered with black and white feathers; on the head were four protuberances, called by the natives *Tata etc*, that is, *little men*. Having taken their leave of Omoe, the gentlemen set out on their return. They went on shore again, after they had rowed a few miles, but saw nothing, except a sepulchral building, which was ornamented in an extraordinary manner. The pavement, on which was erected a pyramid, was very neat; at a small distance there was a stone image, very uncouthly carved, but which the natives seemed to hold in high estimation. They passed through the harbour which was the only one fit for shipping on the south of Opoureonou, situate about five miles to the westward of the isthmus, between two small islands, not far from the shore, and within a mile of each other. They were now near the district called Paparra, which was that where Oama and Oberea governed, and where the travellers intended to spend the night. But when Mr. Banks and his company landed, about an hour before it was dark, it appeared they were both set out to pay them a visit at the fort. However, they slept at Oberea's house, which was neat, though not large, and of which there was no inhabitant but her father, who shewed them much civility.

"They took this opportunity of walking out upon a point upon which they had observed at a distance some trees called *Etoa*, which usually grow upon the burial places of these islanders. They call those burying grounds *Morai*. And here Mr. Banks saw a vast building, which he found to be the *Morai* of Oama and Oberea, which was the most considerable piece of architecture in the island. It consisted of an enormous pile of stone-work, raised in the form of a pyramid, with a flight of steps on each side. It was near 270 feet long, about one third as wide, and between 40 and 50 feet high. The foundation consisted of rock stones; the steps were of coral, and the upper part was of round pebbles all of the same shape and size. The rock and coral-stones were squared with the utmost neatness and regularity, and the whole building appeared as compact and firm as if it had been erected by the best workmen in Europe. What rendered this last circumstance the more extraordinary was the consideration that when this pile was raised, the Indians must have been totally destitute of iron tools either to shape their stones, or for any other necessary purpose, nor had they mortar to cement them when made fit for use; so that a structure of such height and magnitude must have been a work of infinite labour and fatigue. In the centre of the summit was the representation of a bird carved in wood; close to this was the figure of a fish in stone. The pyramid constituted part of one side of a court or square, the sides of which were nearly equal; and the whole was walled in, and paved with flat stones, notwithstanding which pavement, several plantains and trees which the natives call *Etoa*, grew within the inclosure. At a small distance to the westward of this edifice was another paved square that contained several small stages, called *Ewattas* by the natives; which appeared to be altars, whereon they placed the offerings to their Gods. Mr. Banks afterwards observed whole hogs placed upon these stages or altars.

"They arrived at Otahorou on Friday the 30th, where they found their old acquaintance Tootahah, who received them with great civility, and provided them a good supper and convenient lodging; and though they had been so shamefully plundered the last time they slept with this chief, they spent the night in the greatest security, none of their cloaths nor any other article being missing the next morning. They returned to the fort at Port Royal Harbour, on the first

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of July, having discovered the island, including both peninsulas, to be about 100 miles in circumference."

After their return from this tour, they were very much in want of bread-fruit, none of which they had been able to provide themselves with; as they had seen but little in the course of their journey; but their Indian friends coming round them, soon supplied their want of provisions.

Mr. Banks made an excursion on the 3d, in order to trace the river up the valley to its source, and to remark how far the country was inhabited along the banks of it. He took some Indian guides with him, and after having seen houses for about six miles, they came to one which was said to be the last that could be met with. The master presented them with cocoa-nuts and other fruits, and they proceeded on their walk; after a short stay. They often passed through vaults formed by rocky fragments in the course of their journey, in which, as they were told, benighted travellers sometimes took shelter. Pursuing the course of the river about six miles farther, they found it banked on both sides by rocks almost 100 feet in height, and nearly perpendicular; a way, however, might be traced up these precipices, along which their Indian guides would have conducted them, but they declined the offer as there did not appear to be any thing at the summit which could repay them for the toil and dangers of ascending it. Mr. Banks sought in vain for minerals among the rocks, which were naked almost on all sides, but no mineral substances were found. The stones every where exhibited signs of having been burnt, which was the case of all the stones that were found while they staid at Otaheite, and both there and in the neighbouring islands the traces of fire were evident in the clay upon the hills.

A great quantity of the seeds of water-melons, oranges, limes and other plants, brought from Rio de Janeiro, were planted on each side of the fort, by Mr. Banks, who also plentifully supplied the Indians with them, and planted many of them in the woods. Some melons, the seeds of which had been sown on the first arrival of the English at the island, grew up and flourished before they left it.

By this time they began to think of making preparations to depart; but Oama, Oberea, and their son and daughter visited them before they were ready to sail. As to the young woman (whose name was *Toimata*) she was curious to see the fort, but Oama would not permit her to enter. The son of *Waheatua*, chief of the south-east peninsula, was also here at the same time; and they were favoured with the company of the Indian who had been so dextrous as to steal the quadrant, as above related. The carpenters being ordered to take down the gates and palisades of the fort, to be converted into fire-wood for the *Endeavour*, one of the natives stole the staple and hook of the gate; he was pursued in vain, but the property was afterwards recovered, and returned to the owners by *Tubora Tumaida*.

Before their departure, two circumstances happened which gave Captain Cook some uneasiness. The first was, that two foreign sailors having been abroad, one of them was robbed of his knife, which as he was endeavouring to recover, he was dangerously hurt with a stone by the natives, and his companion also received a slight wound in the head. The offenders escaped, and the captain was not anxious to have them taken, as he did not want to have any disputes with the Indians. Of the other matter we have the following account.—

Two young marines one night withdrew themselves from the fort, and in the morning were not to be met with. Notice having been given the next day that the ship would sail that or the ensuing day; as they did not return, Captain Cook began to be apprehensive that they designed to remain on shore; but as he was apprised in such a case no effectual means could be taken to recover them without running a risque of destroying the harmony subsisting between the English and the natives, he resolved to wait a day, in hopes of their

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their returning of their own accord. But as they were still missing on the 10th in the morning, an enquiry was made after them, when the Indians declared they did not propose to return, having taken refuge among the mountains, where it was impossible for them to be discovered; and added, that each of them had taken a wife. In consequence of this, it was intimated to several of the chiefs that were in the fort with their women, that they would not be suffered to quit it till the deserters were produced. They did not shew any signs of fear or discontent upon the occasion; but assured the captain that the persons in question should be sent back. However, in the mean time, he sent Mr. Hicks with the pinnace to bring Tootahah on board the ship, and he executed his commission without giving any alarm. When night came on, Oberea, Tubora Tumaida, and some others, were removed on board the ship, which greatly alarmed them all, and especially the females, these latter testifying their apprehensions with great agitation of mind, and floods of tears, when they were conducted on board. Captain Cook escorted them; but Mr. Banks remained on shore with some Indians whom he thought it of less consequence to detain. One of the marines was brought back in the evening by some of the natives, who reported that the other, and the two people that were sent to fetch them back, would be detained while Tootahah was confined. On this, Mr. Hicks was immediately dispatched in the long-boat, with several men, to rescue the English prisoners; at the same time Captain Cook told Tootahah that it was incumbent on him to assist them with some of his people, and to give orders in his name that the men should be set at liberty; for that he would be expected to answer for the event. Tootahah immediately complying, this party released the men without opposition. They returned on the 11th about seven in the morning, but they did not bring their arms back with them; these however being sent soon after, the chiefs on board were allowed to return, and those that had been detained on shore were also set at liberty. On examining the deserters it appeared that the Indians had told the truth, they having chosen two girls, and would have remained with them at Otahete if they had not been brought back as above related.—

The power of Oberea was not so great when Captain Cook came to these parts as it was when the Dolphin first discovered the island. The English gentlemen had observed all the way from her house to the Morai, a great number of human bones. When they asked what had occasioned this circumstance, they were told “That about four or five months before the arrival of the Endeavour, the inhabitants of Tiarrabou, the south-east peninsula had made a descent, and slain many of the people, whose bones were those which were strewn along the sea-coast; that thereupon Oberea and Oama fled to the mountains, and that the victors destroyed all the houses, and pillaged the country.” It seems the turky and goose which Mr. Banks had seen in Mathiabo’s district, were not left there by captain Wallis’s people, but were taken among the plunder from Oberea’s government. As to the jaw-bones, it seems they were preserved as trophies, being looked upon in much the same light wherein scalps are considered by the North-American Indians.

Tupia, who had been prime minister of the queen when in the zenith of her power, had often expressed a desire of going with the English. This Indian was also intimately acquainted with the religion of the islanders, being himself the principal priest in the country. Besides this, he had a knowledge of navigation, and was acquainted with the situation and inhabitants of the neighbouring islands. On Wednesday the 12th he came on board with a boy about twelve years of age, who was his servant, whose name was Taiyota, and requested that the gentlemen on board would let him go with them. This being agreed to, Tupia went on shore for the last time to bid farewell to his

friends, to whom he gave several baubles, by way of remembrance, at parting.

Captain Cook and Mr. Banks wanting to obtain a drawing of the Morai, which was in the possession of Tootahah, went to visit him at Eparre, accompanied by Dr. Solander, where they were met by Oberea and several others. Tupia came back with them, and slept on board the ship for the first time, the Indian chiefs having promised once more to visit the gentlemen before the vessel set sail.

Accordingly, these friendly people came on board on the 30th, and a vast number of canoes filled with Indians of the lower sort, surrounded the ship. About twelve, the captain weighed anchor, and notwithstanding all the little misunderstandings that had happened between the English and the natives, who were treated sometimes perhaps too severely, yet the latter, who possessed a great fund of good-nature and much sensibility, took their leave weeping in an affecting manner. As to Tupia, he felt the scene, but with more fortitude than his countrymen; though it might seem that he had the most cause for weeping, he suppressed the starting tear, and going to the mast-head with Mr. Banks, took a last farewell of his country.—For the entertainment of the curious reader, we shall here give a summary account of what has been remarked by the voyagers who visited this island, which is to the following purport:—

“The people are in general of a larger make than the Europeans. The males are mostly tall, robust, and finely shaped; the women of the higher class, in general are rather above the size of those in England; but it is remarkable that those of the lower rank are below our standard, and some of them are very short. Their natural complexion is a fine clear olive, or what we call a *brunette*; their skin is delicately smooth and agreeably soft. Their faces in general are handsome, and their eyes are full of sensibility. Their teeth are remarkably white and regular, and their breath is entirely free from any disagreeable smell; their hair is for the most part black. The men, unlike the *aborigines* of America, have long beards, which they wear in various forms; and circumcision is generally practised among them from a motive of cleanliness, which is carried so far, that they have a term of reproach with which they upbraid those among them who do not adopt this custom. Both sexes always eradicate the hair from their arm-pits, and they often took upon them to charge the English gentlemen with want of cleanliness, for not making use of the same method. Their motions are easy and graceful, and their behaviour when unprovoked (as the reader has seen) affable and courteous. Contrary to the custom of most other nations, the women of this country cut their hair quite short, whereas the men wear it long, sometimes hanging loose upon the shoulders, and at other times tied in a knot on the crown of the head, in which they stick the feathers of birds of various colours.

“A piece of cloth of the manufacture of the country is frequently tied round the heads of both sexes, in the manner of a turban; and the women take pains to plait human hair into long strings, which being folded into branches, are tied on the forehead by way of ornament. They have also a custom (not peculiar to them, but practised in many of the hot countries) of anointing their hair with cocoa-nut oil; the smell of which is not very agreeable; and having no sort of combs among their various inventions, they were infested with vermin, which however they quickly got rid of as soon as they were furnished by the Europeans with these convenient instruments.

“The people of this island stain their bodies by indenting or pricking the flesh with a small instrument made of bone, cut into short teeth; which indentures they fill with a dark blue or blackish mixture, prepared from the smoke of an oily nut (burnt by them instead of candles) and water; this operation, which is called by the natives *Tataowing*, is exceedingly painful, and leaves an indelible mark on the skin.

It is usually performed when they are about ten or twelve years of age, and on different parts of the body; but those which suffer most severely are the breech and the loins, which are marked with arches, carried one above another a considerable way up the back. At the operation of *tataowing* performed upon the posteriors of a girl about twelve years of age, Mr. Banks was present; it was executed with an instrument that had twenty teeth, and at each stroke, which was repeated every moment, serum mixed with blood issued. She bore it with great resolution for several minutes; but at length the pain became so intolerable, that she murmured and complained, and then burst into the most violent lamentations; but her operator was inexorable, whilst some females present chid, and even beat her. Mr. Banks was a spectator for near an hour, during which time it was performed only on one side, the other having undergone the ceremony some time before; and the arches upon the loins, which are the most painful, but which they most value, were yet to be made.—They cloath themselves in cloth and matting of various kinds: the first they wear in fair, the latter in wet weather. They are in different forms, no shape being preserved in them, nor are the pieces sewed together. The women of a superior class wear three or four pieces. One which is of considerable length, they wrap several times round their waist, and it falls down to the middle of the leg. Two or three other short pieces, with a hole cut in the middle of each, are placed on one another, and their heads coming through the holes, the long ends hang before and behind, both sides being open, by which means they have the free use of their arms. The mens dress is very similar, differing only in one instance which is that part of the garment, instead of falling below the knees is brought between the legs. This dress is worn by all ranks of people, the only distinction being quantity in the superior class. At noon both sexes appear almost naked, wearing only the piece of cloth that is tied round the waist. Their faces are shaded from the sun with small bonnets, made of cocoa-nut leaves or matting, which are constructed in a few minutes. The men sometimes wear a sort of wig made of human or dog's hair, or of cocoa-nut strings, woven on a single thread, which is fastened under their hair, and hangs down behind. Both men and women wear ear-rings on one side, consisting of shells, stones, berries, or small pearls; but they soon gave the preference to the beads, brought by the *Endeavour's* company. The boys and girls go quite naked; the first till they are seven or eight years old; the latter till they are about five. Their houses, which have been described already, they seldom use but to sleep in, or to avoid the rain, as they eat in the open air, under the shade of a tree. Their cloaths serve them at night for covering, and there are no divisions or apartments. The master and his wife repose in the middle, then the married people; next to these the unmarried females, and at a small distance the men who are unmarried; and the servants sleep in the open air in fair weather. The houses of the chiefs, however, differ in some degree; there are some very small, and so built as to be carried in canoes; all sides of them are inclosed with the leaves of the cocoa-nut; the air nevertheless penetrates: in these the chief and his wife alone sleep. There are also houses which are general receptacles for the inhabitants of a district. These are much larger, many being more than 200 feet in length, 40 in breadth, and 70 or 80 feet high. They are constructed at the common expence, and have an area on one side, surrounded with low palisades: but like the others have no walls.

“When a chief kills a hog, which is but seldom, he divides it equally among his vassals; dogs and fowls are more common. When the bread-fruit is not in season, they are supplied by cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, &c. Their cookery consists chiefly of baking, the manner of doing which has been already described. They bake their bread-fruit in the same

way, which renders it something like a mealy potatoe; of this fruit three dishes are made, by beating it to a paste, and mixing it with bananas, plantains, or four paste, which the natives nominate *mabie*.

This paste is made by taking bread-fruit which is not thoroughly ripe, and laying it in heaps, covered with leaves, by which means it ferments, the core is then taken out, and the fruit put into a hole lined with grass; it is then again covered with leaves, upon which large stones are placed; this produces a second fermentation, after which it grows sour, and undergoes no change for a long time: they take it from this hole as they have occasion for it and make it into balls, it is rolled up in plantain leaves, and baked; as it will keep for some weeks after it is dressed, they eat it both hot and cold. Such is the food of these people, their sauce to which never consists of any thing but salt water. As to their drink, it is generally confined to water, or the milk of the cocoa-nut, though there were instances in which some of them drank so freely of the English liquors as to become quite intoxicated. This, however, seemed to proceed more from ignorance than design, as they were never known to practice a debauch of this kind a second time. They were told indeed that the chiefs sometimes became inebriated by drinking the juice of a plant called *Ava*; but of this they saw no instance during the time they remained on the island. The chief generally eats alone, unless when visited by a stranger, who is sometimes permitted to become a second in the mess. Having nothing to supply the want of a table, they sit on the ground in the shade; leaves of trees being spread before them, serve as a table-cloth: their attendants, who are numerous, having placed a basket by the chiefs, containing their provisions and a cocoa-nut shell of fresh and salt water, set themselves around; they then begin by washing their mouths and hands, after which they eat a handful of bread-fruit and fish, dipt in salt water alternately, till the whole is consumed, taking a sup of salt water likewise between almost every morsel. The bread-fruit and fish being all eaten, they next have either plantains or apples, which they never eat without being pared. During this time a soft paste is prepared from the bread-fruit, which they sup out of cocoa-nut shells; this finishes the meal, and the hands and mouth are again washed as at the beginning. They eat an astonishing quantity of food at a meal; Mr. Banks and some other gentlemen saw one of them devour three fish of the size of a middling carp, four bread-fruits, as large as a common melon; thirteen or fourteen plantains, seven or eight inches long, and above half as big round, and about a quart of the paste made of bread-fruit. The inhabitants of this island, though apparently so fond of the pleasures of society, have yet an aversion to holding any intercourse with each other at their meals; and they are so rigid in the observation of this custom that brothers and sisters have their separate baskets to contain their provisions, and generally sit at the distance of some yards when they eat, with their backs on each other, and not exchanging a word during the whole time of their repast; the middle-aged of superior rank, usually go to sleep after dinner, but what is remarkable, the older people are not so indolent, but music, dancing, wrestling, and shooting with the bow, or throwing the lance, constitute a chief part of their diversions. Flutes and drums are formed of a circular piece of wood, hollow only at one end, this is covered with the skin of a shark, instead of a stick. The songs of the islanders are *extempore*, and frequently in rhyme, but they consist only of two lines. These are often couplets rehearsed by way of evening amusements, between sun-set and bed time, during which interval they burn candles made from an oily nut, fixing them one above another upon a small stick that is run through the middle; some of these candles afford a pretty good light, and are known to burn for a long time. They have a dance called *Timorodee*, which is generally performed by ten or a dozen young females,

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males, who put themselves into the most wanton attitudes, keeping time during the performance with the greatest nicety and exactness. Pregnant women are excluded from these dances. *

"Personal cleanliness is much esteemed among these Indians. Both sexes are particular in washing three times a day, viz. when they rise in the morning, at noon, and before they go to rest. They are also very cleanly in their cloaths, so that no disagreeable effluvia are found to arise in the largest communities.

"Cloth is the chief manufacture of Otaheite, and of this there are three sorts, all which are made out of the bark of different trees, namely, the mulberry, the bread-fruit, and a tree which bears some resemblance to the West-Indian wild fig-tree. The first of these produces the finest cloth, which is seldom worn but by those of the first rank. The next sort is made of the bread-fruit tree and the last of that which resembles the wild fig-tree. But this last sort, though the coarsest is scarcer than the other two, which are manufactured only in small quantities, as the same manner is used in manufacturing all these cloths. [The following description will suffice for the reader's information.]

"The bark of the tree being stripped off, is soaked in water for two or three days; they then take it out, and separate the inner bark from the external coat, by scraping it with a shell, after which it is spread out on plantain leaves, placing two or three layers over one another, care being taken to make it of an equal thickness in every part. In this state it continues till it is almost dry, when it adheres so firmly that it may be taken from the ground without breaking. After this process, it is laid on a smooth board, and beaten with an instrument made for the purpose, of the compact, heavy wood called Etoa. The instrument is about fourteen inches long, and about seven in circumference; is of a quadrangular shape, and each of the four sides is marked with longitudinal grooves or furrows, differing in this instance, that there is a regular gradation in the width and depth of the grooves on each of the sides; the coarser side not containing more than ten of these furrows, while the finest is furnished with above fifty. It is with that side of the mallet where the grooves are deepest and widest that they begin to beat their cloth, and proceeding regularly, finish with that which has the greatest number. By this beating, the cloth is extended in a manner similar to the gold that is formed into leaves by the hammer; and it is also marked with small channels resembling those which are visible on paper, but rather deeper; it is in general beat very thin; when they want it thicker than common, they take two or three pieces and paste them together with a kind of glue prepared from a root called *pea*.

This cloth becomes exceedingly white by bleaching, and is died of a red, yellow, brown or black colour; the first is exceeding beautiful, and equal, if not superior to any in Europe. They make the red colour from a mixture of the juices of two vegetables, neither of which used separately has this effect: matting of various kinds is another considerable manufacture in which they excel, in many respects, the Europeans. They make use of the coarser sort to sleep on, and in wet weather they wear the finer. They excel in the basket and wicker work; both men and women employ themselves at it, and can make a great number of different patterns. They make ropes and lines of all sizes of the bark of the Poerou, and their nets for fishing are made of these lines; the fibres of the coconut they make thread of, such as they use to fasten together the several parts of their canoes; the forms

of which are various, according to the use to which they are applied. Their fishing lines are esteemed the best in the world, made of the bark of the Erowa, a kind of nettle which grows on the mountains; they are strong enough to hold the heaviest and most vigorous fish, such as bonetas and albicores; in short, they are extremely ingenious in every expedient for taking all kinds of fish.

"The tools which these people make use of for building houses, constructing canoes, hewing stones, and for felling, cleaving, carving and polishing timber, consists of nothing more than an adze of stone, and a chissel of bone, most commonly that of a man's arm; and for a file or polisher, they make use of a rasp of coral and coral sand.

"The blades of their adzes are extremely tough, but not very hard; they make them of various sizes, those for felling wood, weigh six or seven pounds, and others which are used for carving, only a few ounces: they are obliged every minute to sharpen them on a stone, which is always kept near them for that purpose. The most difficult task they meet with in the use of these tools, is the felling of a tree, which employs a great number of hands for several days together. The tree which is in general use is called *Aoie*, the stem of which is strait and tall. Some of their smaller boats are made of the bread-fruit tree, which is wrought without much difficulty, being of a light spongy nature. Instead of planes they use their adzes with great dexterity. Their canoes are all shaped with the hand, the Indians not being acquainted with the method of warping a plank.

"They have two kinds of canoes; one they call *Ivahabs*, the other *pahies*; the former is used for short voyages at sea, and the latter for long ones. These boats do not differ either in shape or size, but they are in no degree proportionate, being from sixty to seventy feet in length, and not more than the thirtieth part in breadth. Some are employed in going from one island to another, and others used for fishing. There is also the *Ivahab*, which serves for war; these are by far the longest, and the head and stern are considerably above the body. These *Ivahabs* are fastened together, side by side when they go to sea, at the distance of a few feet, by strong wooden poles, which are laid across them and joined to each side. A stage or platform is raised on the fore-part, about ten or twelve feet long, upon which stand the fighting-men, whose missile weapons are slings and spears. Beneath these stages the rowers sit, who supply the place of those who are wounded. The fishing *Ivahabs* are from thirty or forty to ten feet in length, and those for travelling have a small house fixed on board, which is fastened upon the fore-part, for the better accommodation of persons of rank, who occupy them both day and night. The *pahies* differ also in size, being from sixty to seventy feet long, they are also very narrow, and are sometimes used for fighting, but chiefly for long voyages. In going from one island to another, they are out sometimes a month, and often at sea a fortnight or twenty days, and if they had convenience to stow more provisions, they could stay out much longer.

These vessels are very useful in landing, and putting off from the shore in a surf, for by their great length and high stern they landed dry, when the *Endeavour's* boats could scarcely land at all.

They are very curious in the construction of these boats, the chief parts or pieces whereof are formed separately without either saw, plane, chissel, or any other iron tool, which renders their fabrication more surprising

* One of the worst customs of the people of Otaheite, is that which several of the principal people of the island have adopted of uniting in an association, wherein no woman confines herself to any particular man, by which means they obtain a perpetual society. These societies are called *Arreoy*. The members have meetings where the men amuse themselves with wrestling, and the women dance the *Timorodee* in such a manner as is most likely to excite the desires of the other sex, and which were frequently

gratified in the assembly. A much worse practice is the consequence of this. If any of the women prove with child, the infant is destroyed, unless the mother's natural affection should prevail with her to preserve its life, which, however is forfeited unless she can procure a man to adopt it. And where she succeeds in this, she is expelled from the society being called *Whannownow*, which signifies a bearer of children, by way of reproach.

surprising and worthy observation. These parts being prepared, the keel is fixed upon blocks, and the planks are supported with props, till they are sewed or joined together with strong plaited thongs, which are passed several times through holes bored with a chisel of bone, such as they commonly make use of, and when finished, they are sufficiently tight without caulking. They keep these boats with great care in a kind of shed, built on purpose to contain them. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were at a loss to find out their method of dividing time, they always made use of the term Malama, which signifies the moon, whenever they spoke of time, either past or to come, they reckon thirteen of these moons, beginning again when they are expired. This proves that they have some idea of the solar year; but these gentlemen could not discover how they computed their months, to make thirteen equal to the year, as they said these months consisted of twenty-nine days, one day in which the moon was invisible being included. They, however, knew the prevailing weather that was to be expected, as well as the fruits which would be in season. As to the day, they divide it into twelve equal parts, six of which belong to the day, and the other six to the night. When they numerate, they reckon from one to ten, making use of their fingers, and changing hands, till they came to the number which they intended to express; and joining expressive signs to their words, in the course of their conversation. But they are not so expert in measuring distances, for when they attempt describing the space between one place and another, they are obliged to express it by the time that would be taken in passing it.

“With regard to their language, it is soft, as it abounds with vowels, and easy to be pronounced; but very few of their nouns or verbs being declineable, it must consequently be rather imperfect. However, they found means to be mutually understood without much difficulty.*

“The natives of this country are seldom afflicted with any diseases except sometimes an accidental fit of the cholic; but they are subject to the erysipelas, attended with cutaneous eruptions somewhat resembling the leprosy; and if they have it to any considerable degree, they are excluded from society and live alone, in a small house in some unfrequented part of the island. The management of the sick belongs to the priests, whose method of cure consists generally of prayers and ceremonies, which are repeated till they recover or die. If the former happens, it is attributed to their mode of proceeding; if the patient dies, then they urge that the disease was incurable.

“The religion of these islanders appears to be very mysterious; and as the language adapted to it, was different from that which was spoken on other occasions, the English were not able to gain much knowledge of it. Tupia, who gave them all the information that they got in regard to this particular, informed them, That his countrymen imagined every thing in the creation to proceed from the conjunction of two persons. One of these two first being (the supreme deity) they called Taroataihetoomo, and the other Tapapa; and the year which they call Tettowmatatayo, they suppose to be the daughter of these two. They also imagine an inferior sort of deities,

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known by the name of Eatuas, two of whom, they say, formerly inhabited the earth, and they suppose that the first man and woman descended from them. The Supreme Being they style “The causer of earthquakes;” but more frequently address their prayers to Tane, whom they conceive to be a son of the first progenitors of nature. They believe in the existence of the soul in a separate state, and suppose that there are two situations differing in the degrees of happiness, which they consider as receptacles for different ranks, but not as places of rewards and punishments. Their notion is, that the chiefs and principal people will have the preference to those of lower ranks. For as to their actions they cannot conceive them to influence their future state, as they believe the deity takes no cognizance of them. The office of priest is hereditary; there are several of them of all ranks: the chief is respected next to their kings; and they are in general superior to the natives, not only in point of divine knowledge, but also in that of astronomy and navigation. They are not at all concerned with the ceremony of marriage, which is only a simple agreement between the man and the woman, and when they chuse to separate, the matter is accomplished with as little ceremony as was thought necessary to bring them together. These people do not appear to worship images of any kind; but they enter their Morais with great awe and humility, their bodies being uncovered to the waist when they bring their offering to the altar.

“As to their form of government, there is a sort of subordination among them which resembles the early state of all the nations of Europe when under the feudal system, which reserved authority to a small number, putting the rest intirely in their power. The ranks of the people of this island were these, Earee Rahie, signifying a king or supreme governor; Earee, answering to the title of baron; Mannahoonies, to that of vassal; and Toutou, under which name was included the lowest orders of the people, such as are called villains according to the old law term. The Earee Rahie, of which there are two here, one belonging to each peninsula, had great respect shewn them by all ranks. The Earees are lords of one or more of the districts, into which these governments are divided; and they separate their territories into lots, which are given among the Manahoonies, who respectively cultivate the share that they hold under the baron. But they are only nominal cultivators; this, as well as all other laborious work, being done by the Toutou, or lower class of the people. The sovereign, or Earee Rahie, and the baron, or Earee are succeeded in titles and honours by their children, as soon as they are born; but their estates remain in their possession, and subject to the management of their parents. Every district under the command of an Earee furnishes a proportionate number of fighting men, for the defence of the common cause, in case of a general attack; and they are all subject to the command of the Earee Rahie. The number of fighting men furnished by the principal districts, amounted (according to Tupia’s account) to upwards of 6000. Their weapons, as we have already observed, consist of slings, with which they are very dextrous, and of long clubs, remarkably

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* The following specimen will possibly enable the reader to form some notion of the language of those islanders.

Aheine, a woman	Erowroo, the head
Aihoo, a garment	Huaheine, a wife
Ainao, take care	Iropa, to fall
Aree, a chief	Kipooameemhee, a chamber-pot
Aouna, to-day	Mahana, a day
Aox, water	Marroowhai, dry
Eahoo, the nose	Matau, the eyes
Eawow, to scold	Matte roah, to die
Eei, to eat	Mayneenee, to tickle
Eeyo, look you	Meyoooo, the nails
Emoto, to box	Midee, a child
Epanoo, a drum	Mutee, a kiss
Epeenei, an echo	Myty, good
Epehe, a song	Neeheco, good night

Oboboa, to-morrow
Oowhau, the thighs
Ore’ dehaiya, a large nail
Ore’ eetea, a small nail
Otaowa, yesterday
Pahie, a ship
Parawei, a shirt
Poa, a night
Poe, ear-rings
Tane, a husband

Tatta te homannee maitai, a
good-natured person
Tea, white
Teine, a brother
Tooahene, a sister
Tooanahce, you and I
Toonoah, a mole in the skin
Tumatau, a bonnet
Wahoa, fire
Waow, I

It is remarkable that the people of Otaheite, finding great difficulty in pronouncing English names, instituted others more agreeable with their own language, by which they distinguished their guests: Thus Captain Cook they called *Toote*; Hicks, *Hate*; Green, *Treen*; and, Mr. Banks they called *Opane*.

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hard, with which they fight obstinately and cruelly, giving no quarter to their enemies in time of battle."

While the Endeavour staid at Otaheite, there was a good understanding between the Earees of the two peninsulas, though it seems that the Earee of Tiarrebau called himself king of the whole island: this however was a mere nominal claim, and was considered as such by the inhabitants. There is nothing among them substituted for money or a general medium by which every desirable object may be purchased or procured; neither can any permanent good be obtained by force or fraud. The general commerce with women sets aside almost every excitement to commit adultery. In a word, in a government so little polished, though distributive justice cannot be regularly administered, as at the same time there can be but few crimes whereon to exercise it, the want of this justice is not so severely felt, as it must be in more civilised societies.

Before the crew of the endeavour quitted Otaheite, it is to be remarked that they were apprised of the natives having the venereal disease among them, which it was easy to conclude was disseminated there by M. Bougainville's people. The islanders called it by a name expressive of *rottenness*, and gave the most dismal accounts of its effects, observing that the hair and nails of those who were first infected with it, fell off, and the flesh rotted from their bones; while their countrymen uninfected, and nearest relations were so much terrified at the appearance, that the unhappy sufferer was often forsaken by them, and left to perish in that horrible condition.—

On Thursday, the 13th of July, after leaving the island of Otaheite, they sailed with clear weather and a gentle breeze; and Tupia informed them that the islands which he called *Huaheine*, *Ulietea*, *Otaba*, and *Bolabola*, were at the distance of about one or two days sail, and that hogs, fowls, and other refreshments which were very scarce on board, were to be got there in great abundance. Accordingly they proceeded in search of these islands, and discovered Huaheine, on the 14th, and founded on the 16th near the north-west part of the island, but found no bottom at 70 fathoms. Several canoes put off; but the Indians seemed fearful of coming near the vessel till the sight of Tupia removed their apprehensions. They then came along side, and the king of Huaheine and the queen came on board. They seemed surprised at whatever was shewn them, but made no inquiries after any thing but what was immediately presented before them. The king, whose name was Oroe, proposed exchanging names with Captain Cook, a custom which is looked upon as a mark of friendship in this island, and which the captain readily complied.

The people here appeared in almost every respect similar to those of Otaheite; only Tupia asserted that they were not like them addicted to thieving.

The captain having come to an anchor in a small but convenient harbour on the west side of the island, went on shore with Mr. Banks, and some other gentlemen, accompanied by the king and Tupia. The last-mentioned uncovered himself to the waist, desiring Mr. Monkhouse to follow his example. Being seated, he now began a speech, which lasted about twenty minutes; the king, who stood opposite to him, answering in what seemed set replies. During this discourse he delivered, at different times, a handkerchief, a black silk neck-cloth, some beads, and plantains, as presents to their Eatua or Deity. He received in return for the Eatua, of the English, a hog, some young plantains, and two bunches of feathers, which were carried on board. These ceremonies were considered as a kind of ratification of a treaty between the English and the king of Huaheine.

On the 17th they went again on shore, and walked up into the country, the productions of which greatly resembled those of the Otaheite; the rocks and clay seemed, however, more burnt; the boat-houses were

large, and the other houses neat. The level part of the country affords the most beautiful landscapes that the imagination can possibly form an idea of; the soil is exceedingly fertile, and the shore is lined with fruit-trees of different kinds, particularly the cocoa-nut, which was seen in great abundance. They also went on shore on the 18th, without Tupia, but his boy, whose name was Taiyota, accompanied them, and Mr. Banks proposed taking a more perfect view of a kind of chest, or ark, which he had before observed: the lid of this ark was covered in a peculiar manner, and thatched with palm-nut leaves. It was placed upon two poles, and sustained on small carved arches of wood; the poles served to remove it from one place to the other, in the manner of a sedan chair: it is very surprising, that this chest was of a form greatly resembling the ark of the Lord, among the Jews, but what was still more extraordinary, the boy informed them that it was called *Ewharee no Eatua*, the house of the God, but could give no account of its meaning or utility.—With some difficulty they negotiated for eleven pigs, and were not without hopes of obtaining more the next morning.—

On the 19th they carried some hatchets with them, with which they procured three hogs. As they proposed to sail in the afternoon, the king, accompanied by some others of the natives, came on board to take his leave, when his majesty received from Captain Cook a small pewter plate, with the following inscription, "His Britannic Majesty's ship Endeavour, Captain Cook commander, 16 July 1769." He also was presented with some medals, or counters, resembling the coin of England, and other trifles which were very acceptable to him. The island lies in 16° 43' south latitude, and 150° 52' west longitude; it is about 30 leagues distant from Otaheite, and is about twenty miles in circumference. Their productions seem to be about a month forwarder than these of Otaheite. Mr. Banks saw only a few new plants, but he found here a new species of scorpion.

The inhabitants are of a very lazy disposition, but are stouter and larger made than those of Otaheite. The women are much fairer than those of that island, and in general are very handsome; neither so susceptible of fear, nor not so desirous of information.

They sailed from Huaheine for the island of Ulietea, Ulietea. and came within a league or two of the shore in the afternoon. The next morning, by the direction of Tupia, they anchored in a bay which is formed by a reef on the north side of the island, two canoes full of the natives soon came off from the shore, and brought with them two small hogs, which they exchanged for some nails and beads. The captain, Mr. Banks, and some other gentlemen now went on shore, accompanied by Tupia, who introduced them with the same kind of ceremonies that had taken place on their landing at Huaheine; after which Captain Cook took possession of this adjacent island in the name of the king of Great Britain. They then walked to a large Morai, which the natives called Tapodoboatea. They found that it differed from the sepulchral ornaments of Otaheite, being composed of four walls, about eight or nine feet in height, and built of large coral stones, surrounding a court of about 30 feet square. They saw an ewhatta or altar, on which a hog was placed as an offering, weighing about an hundred pounds. There was an amphitheatre in the front of this morai, facing the sea. They also saw three or four *Ewharee, no Eatua* (houses of God) like that which was observed at Huaheine.

The master was sent on the 21st to inspect the southern part of the island, and a lieutenant was dispatched in the yawl to sound the harbour where the Endeavour lay; while the captain went in the pinnace to take a view to the northward. On their return they saw a tree of the same kind as that which had been observed by Mr. Green at Otaheite; the circumference of the trunk, or rather congeries of the roots of which, measured about 40 yards.

The hazy weather and brisk gales prevented Captain Cook

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



The Mode of DANCING in the Island of Ulitca.



Exact representation of a MORAI, or BURIAL PLACE, in Otaheite.

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Cook from getting under sail, till the 24th, when he put to sea, and steered northward within the reef, towards an opening, at the distance of about five or six leagues, in effecting which he was in great danger of striking on a rock, the man who founded, crying out on a sudden "Two fathoms;" which could not but alarm them greatly, but luckily they received no damage.

The name of the bay where the Endeavour lay at anchor is Oopoa. It is capacious enough to hold a great number of shipping, and is secured from the sea by a reef of rocks. Its situation is off the easternmost part of the island. The provisions here consist of cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, and a few hogs and fowls. The country round about the place where they landed was not so plentiful as at Otaheite or Huaheine.

Otoha. They were within a league or two of the island of Otoha; but could not get near enough to land (the wind having proved contrary) till the 25th in the morning, when Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went in the long-boat with the master, in order to sound a harbour on the east side of the island, which they found safe and convenient. They then went on shore and purchased a large quantity of plantains, and some hogs and fowls. The produce of this island was much the same with that of Ulitea, but it seemed to be more barren. They received the same compliment from the Indians here, as was usual for them to pay their own kings, which was by uncovering their shoulders, and wrapping their cloaths round their bodies. They made sail to the northward, and at eight o'clock the next morning they were under the high peaks of Bolabola. They found the island inaccessible in this part, and found likewise that it was impossible to weather the south end of it till late at night. On the 13th they discovered an island which Tupia called *Maurua*, but said it was small, surrounded by a reef, and without any commodious harbour, but inhabited, and yielded nearly the same produce as the adjacent islands. In the middle is a high round hill which may be seen at eleven or twelve leagues distance. In the afternoon, finding themselves to windward of some harbour that lay on the west side of Ulitea, they intended to put into one of them, in order to stop a leak which they had sprung in the powder-room, and to take in some additional ballast. The wind being right against them, they plied on and off till the afternoon of the first of August, when they came to an anchor in the entrance of the channel, which led into one of the harbours.

Maurua. On Wednesday the 2d, in the morning, when the tide turned, they came into a proper place for mooring in 28 fathom. In the interim many of the natives came off, and brought hogs, fowls, and plantains, which were purchased upon very moderate terms, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore, and spent the day very agreeably; the natives shewing them great respect: being conducted to the houses of the chief people, they found those who had ran hastily before them, standing on each side of a long mat spread upon the ground, and the family sitting at the farther end of it. In one house they observed some very young girls dressed in the neatest manner, who kept their places waiting for the strangers to accost them; these girls were the most beautiful the gentlemen had ever seen.

One of them, who was about seven or eight years old, was dressed in a red gown, and her head was decorated with a great quantity of plaited hair; this ornament is called Tamou, and is held in great estimation among them. She was sitting at the upper end of one of their long mats, on which none of the people present presumed to set a foot; and her head was reclined on the arm of a decent looking woman, who appeared to be her nurse; when Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander approached her, she stretched out her hand to receive some beads, which they presented to her, with an air of such dignity and gracefulness, as would have done honour to the first princess in Europe.

Before their departure, they were entertained with a dance; different from any they had seen before. The performer put upon his head a large piece of wicker-work, about four feet long, of a cylindrical form, covered with feathers, and edged round with shark's teeth. Having this head-dress on, which is called a Whou, he began to dance with a slow motion; frequently moving his head, so as to describe a circle with the top of his wicker cap, and sometimes throwing it so near the faces of the by-standers as to make them jump back: this they considered as an excellent piece of humour, and it always produced a hearty laugh, when practised upon any of the English gentlemen.

On Thursday the 3d, as Mr. Banks and the Doctor were going along the shore to the northward, with a design to purchase stock, they met with a company of dancers, who retarded the progress of their excursion. The company was composed of six men and two women dancers, with three drums. They were informed that these dancers were some of the principal people of the island, and though they were an itinerant troop, they did not, like the strolling parties of Otaheite, receive any gratuity from the by-standers. The women wore a considerable quantity of tamou, or plaited hair, ornamented with flowers of the cape jessamine, which were stuck in with taste, and made an elegant head-dress. The women's necks, breasts, and arms, were naked; the other parts of their bodies were covered with black cloth, which was fastened close round them, and by the side of each breast, next the arms, was a small plume of black feathers, worn like a nosegay.

Thus apparelled, they advanced sideways, keeping time with great exactness to the drums, which beat quick and loud; soon after they began to shake themselves in a very whimsical manner, and put their bodies into a variety of strange postures, sometimes sitting down, and at others falling with their faces to the ground, and resting on their knees and elbows, moving their fingers at the same time with a quickness scarcely to be credited. The chief dexterity, however, of the dances, as well as the amusement of the spectators, consisted in the lasciviousness of their attitudes and gestures.

Between the dances of the women a kind of dramatic interlude was performed by the men, consisting of dialogue as well as dancing; but for want of a sufficient knowledge of their language, they could not learn the subject of this interlude.

Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and some other gentlemen, were present at a more regular dramatic entertainment the next day. The performers, who were all men, were divided into two parties, one dressed in brown, and the other in white, by way of distinction. Tupia being present, informed them that the party in brown acted the parts of a master and his servants, and the party in white, a gang of thieves; the master having produced a basket of meat, which he gave in charge to his servants: which party, exhibited a variety of expedients, in endeavouring to steal this basket, and the brown set as many in preventing the accomplishment of their design. After some time had been spent in this manner, those to whom the basket was intrusted, laying themselves down on the ground round it, pretended to fall asleep; the other party availing themselves of this opportunity, stole gently upon them, and carried off their booty; the servants awaking soon after, discovered their loss, but they made no search after the basket, and began to dance with as much alacrity as before.

On Saturday the 5th, some hogs and fowls, and several large pieces of cloth, many of them being fifty or sixty yards in length, together with a quantity of plantains and cocoa-nuts, were sent to Captain Cook, as a present from the Earee Rahie of the island of Bolabola, accompanied with a message, importing that he was then on the island, and intended waiting on the captain.

On Sunday the 6th, the king of Bolabola did not visit

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visit them agreeable to his promise, his absence, however, was not in the least regretted, as he sent three young women to demand something in return for his present. After dinner, they set out to pay the king a visit on shore, since he did not think proper to come on board. As this man was the Earee Rahie of the Bolabola men, who had conquered this, and were the dread of all the neighbouring islands, they were greatly disappointed, instead of finding a vigorous enterprising young chief, to see a poor feeble old dotard, half blind, and sinking under the weight of age and infirmities. He received them without either that state or ceremony which they had hitherto met with among the other chiefs.

On Wednesday the 19th, having stopped their leak, and taken on board their fresh stock of provisions they sailed out of the harbour. Though they were several leagues distant from the island of Bolabola, Tupia earnestly intreated Captain Cook, that a shot might be fired towards it; which, to gratify him, the captain complied with. This was supposed to have been intended by Tupia as a mark of his resentment against the inhabitants of that place, as they had formerly taken from him large possessions which he held in the island of Ulietea, of which island Tupia was a native, and a subordinate chief, but was driven out by these warriors.

They had great plenty of provisions, as well of hogs, as of vegetables, during the time they continued in the neighbourhood of these islands, so that they were not obliged to use any considerable quantity of the ship's provisions, and they had flattered themselves, that the fowls and hogs would have supplied them with fresh provisions during the course of their voyage to the southward, but in this they were unhappily disappointed, for as the hogs could not be brought to eat any European grain, or any provender whatever, that the ship afforded, they were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of killing them immediately on their leaving those islands; and the fowls all died of a disease in their heads, with which they were seized soon after they had been carried on board.

As they were detained longer at Ulietea in repairing the ship than they expected, they did not go on shore at Bolabola; but after giving the general name of *The Society Islands*, to the islands of Huaheine, Ulietea, Bolabola, Otaha, and Maurua, which lie between the latitude of $16^{\circ} 10'$ and $18^{\circ} 55'$ south, they pursued their course, standing southwardly for an island, to which they were directed by Tupia, at above 100 leagues distant, which they discovered on Sunday the 13th, and were informed by him, that it was called Obiterea.

The next morning they stood in for land, and saw several of the inhabitants coming along the shore. One of the lieutenants was dispatched in the pinnace to sound for anchorage, and to obtain what intelligence could be got from the natives concerning any land, that might be farther to the south. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, went with the lieutenant in the boat. When they approached the shore, they observed, that the Indians were armed with long lances. A number of them were soon drawn together on the beach, and two jumped into the water endeavouring to gain the boat; but she soon left them and some others that had made the same attempt, far enough behind her. Having doubled the point where they intended to land, they opened a large bay, and saw another party of the natives standing at the end of it, armed like those whom they had seen before. Preparations were then made for landing, on which a canoe full of Indians came off towards them. Observing this, Tupia received orders to acquaint them that the English did not intend to offer them violence, but meant to traffic with them for nails, which were produced. Thus informed they came along-side the boat, and took some nails that were given them, being seemingly well pleased with the present. Yet a few minutes after, several of these people boarded the boat, designing to drag her on shore; but some musquets being discharged over

their heads they leaped into the sea, and having reached the canoe, put back with all possible expedition, joining their countrymen who stood ready to receive them. The boat immediately pursued the fugitives, but the crew finding the surf extremely violent, did not venture to land there, but coasted along shore to try if they could not find a more convenient place. Soon after the canoe got on shore, a man opposite the boat flourished his weapon, calling out at the same time with a shrill voice, which was a mark of defiance, as Tupia explained it to the English.—Not being able to find a proper landing-place they returned, with an intention to attempt it where the canoe went on shore; whereupon another warrior repeated the defiance: his appearance was more formidable than that of the other; he had a high cap on made of the tail feathers of a bird, and his body was painted with various colours. When he thought fit to retire, a grave man came forward, who asked Tupia several questions, relating to the place from whence the vessel came, Who were the persons on board? Whither they were bound? &c. After this, it was proposed that the people in the boat should go on shore and trade with them if they would lay aside their weapons; but the latter would not agree to this, unless the English would do the like. As this proposal was by no means an equal one, when it was considered that the hazard must for many reasons be greater to the boat's crew than the Indians, and as perfidy was dreaded, it was not complied with. Besides, since neither the bay which the Endeavour entered, nor any other part of the island furnished good harbour or anchorage, it was resolved not to attempt landing any more, but to sail from hence to the southward. Of the people of the island we have the following account.

“The natives are very tall, well proportioned, and have long hair, which, like the inhabitants of the other islands, they tie in a bunch on the top of their heads, they are likewise tataowed in different parts of their bodies, but not on their posteriors. The isle does not shoot up into high peaks like the others that they visited, but is more level and uniform, and divided into small hillocks, some of which are covered with groves of trees. However, none of those bearing the bread fruit were seen, and not many cocoa-trees, but a great number of those called Etoa, were seen on the sea coast of this island. Both the nature of their cloth, and their manner of wearing it differed in many respects from what had been observed in the progress of our voyagers. All the garments that these people wore, were dyed yellow, and painted with a variety of colours on the outside. One piece formed their whole habit, having a hole in it through which they put their heads. This reached as far as their knees, and was tied close round their bodies with a kind of yellowish sash. Some of them also wore caps of the same kind, as we have already mentioned, and others bound round their heads a piece of cloth which resembled a turban.”

The Endeavour sailed from this island on the 15th of August, with a fine breeze; but on the 16th it was hazy, and they bore away for what resembled several high peaks of land, but the weather clearing up, they were convinced of their mistake, and resumed their course accordingly. They saw a comet on the 30th, about four o'clock, which was then about 60° above the horizon. Land was discovered at west by north, on Thursday the 7th of October, and in the morning of the 8th they came to an anchor opposite the mouth of a small river, not above half a league from the coast.

Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and some other gentlemen, having left the pinnace at the mouth of the river, proceeded a little farther up, when they landed, leaving the yawl to the care of some of their boys, and went up to a few small houses in the neighbourhood. Some of the natives that had concealed themselves in the neighbourhood took advantage of their absence from the boat, and rushed out

Obiterea.

out, advancing towards it, and brandishing their long wooden lances. On this, the boys dropped down the stream, but the savages pursued them closely. The cockswain of the pinnace then fired a musquetoon over their heads, but it did not prevent them from following till they were near enough to discharge their lances, in consequence of which he levelled his piece and shot one of them dead upon the spot. They remained for a short time motionless with astonishment, but retreated precipitately as soon as they had recovered from their fright. In the mean while those in the pinnace and yawl being alarmed at the report of the piece, made haste to return to the vessel.

The Captain, Mr. Banks, and several gentlemen went on shore, with Tupia, on the Monday following, and a proper party, on that side of the river which was opposite to a spot where some Indians were seated on the ground. These latter immediately started up, and began to handle their weapons; but Tupia speaking to them, the gentlemen were agreeably surprised to find that he was understood by them, as they spoke his language, though in a different dialect. It appeared at first, that they had hostile intentions, whereupon it was thought proper to fire a musquet at some distance from them. The ball struck the water; and the effect which it had was visible, in deterring them from farther menacing the English. Afterwards the captain, with some of the gentlemen and Tupia in their company, the mariners being previously drawn up, advanced nearer to the river's side. This friendly Indian spoke again to them, and told them that the English wanted only to trade; to which they readily consented; but the gentlemen would not cross the river unless the natives would lay aside their weapons, which they could not by any means be prevailed upon to do, and without which concession it was thought improper to cross the river. The gentlemen, however, in their turn, intreated the islanders to come over; which one of them consented to. However, they did not seem to value the beads and iron with which the English presented them, nor would they give any thing in return, but proposed to exchange their weapons for those belonging to the English, which being consequently objected to, they endeavoured several times to snatch them out of their hands, but as the English were on their guard, from the information given them by Tupia, that they were still enemies, their attempts to seize their arms were repeatedly frustrated, and Tupia, by the directions of the gentlemen, gave them notice, that any further violence would be punished with instant death. One of them had, nevertheless, the audacity to snatch Mr. Green's hanger, and, retiring a few paces, flourished it over his head; he, however, paid for this temerity with his life, Mr. Monkhouse firing at him with a musquet loaded with ball; and that gentleman afterwards, with some difficulty, recovered the hanger, one of the Indians endeavouring to seize it.

The behaviour of the natives, added to the want of fresh water, induced Captain Cook to continue his course round the head of the bay. He was still in hopes of getting some of the Indians on board, and by presents added to civil usage, to convey through them a favourable idea of the English to their fellow countrymen and thereby settle a good correspondence with them. Soon after an event occurred, though attended with disagreeable circumstances, that promised to facilitate this design. Two canoes appeared, making towards land, and Captain Cook proposed intercepting them with boats. One of them got clear off; but the Indians in the other finding it impossible to escape the boats, began to attack them with their paddles; this compelled the Endeavour's people to fire upon them, when four of the Indians were killed; and the other three, who were youths, jumped into the water, and endeavoured to swim to shore; they were, however, taken up and brought on board. They were at first greatly terrified, thinking they should be killed; but Tupia, by repeated assurances of friendship,

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removed their fears, and they afterwards eat very heartily of the ship's provisions. When they retired to rest, in the evening, they appeared perfectly easy in their minds, and slept very quietly for some hours; but in the middle of the night their fears returned, and they appeared in great agitation, frequently uttering loud and dismal groans. After sometime, however, the friendly promises and kind caresses of Tupia again prevailed over their fears, and they became so calm and resigned as to sing a song, the tune of which was solemn and slow, and at the dead of the night, when an universal silence prevailed throughout the ship, had an awful and pleasing effect. The next morning, after they were dressed and ornamented, according to the mode of their country, with necklaces and bracelets, Captain Cook proposed setting them on shore, that they might give a favourable report to their countrymen of the reception they had met with. They testified much satisfaction on being told they were going to be released, but seemed under great apprehensions of danger, at finding the boat approach Captain Cook's first landing-place, intimating, that the inhabitants were their foes, and that they always killed and eat their enemies. The captain nevertheless, judged it expedient to land near the same spot, which he accordingly did, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, resolving at the same time to protect the youths from any injury that might be offered them, but on seeing two large parties of the Indians advancing hastily towards them, they returned, and again put themselves under their protection. As the Indians drew nearer, one of the boys discovered his uncle amongst them, and a conversation took place between them across the river, in which the lad gave a very just account of the hospitality he had met with; and took great pains to display their cloaths and finery. Soon after, the uncle swam across the river, bringing with him a green bough, as a token of friendship, which was received as such, and several presents were made him. The body of the Indian, who was shot the day before, lay in the same place where he fell; one of the boys had covered it with part of his cloaths, and after the gentlemen had retired, the Indian performed a kind of ceremony over it, by throwing a green bough towards it, and the body was afterwards carried in a raft across the river. Notwithstanding the presence of the uncle of one of the boys, all three of them, by their own desire, returned to the ship, but as the captain intended sailing the next morning, he sent them on shore in the evening, though much against their inclination. The names of these boys were Toahowrange, Koikerange, and Maragovete. They informed Captain Cook that there was a particular kind of deer upon the island, likewise tars, capers, romara, yams, a kind of long pepper, bald coote, and black-birds.

On the 11th, Captain Cook set sail, in hopes of finding a better anchoring place, after giving this bay (called by the natives Toaneora) the name of *Poverty Bay*, and the south-west point he called *Young Nick's head*, on account of its being first perceived by a lad on board, named Nicholas Young. They were becalmed in the afternoon, and several canoes came off from the shore with Indians, who received many presents, and afterwards bartered even their cloaths; and some of their paddles, so eager were they of being possessed of as many European commodities as possible. A single tree formed the bottom of their canoes, and the upper part consisted of two planks sewed together; they sat on thwarts, their paddles were painted red, representing many uncommon figures, and very curiously wrought. They were armed with bludgeons made of wood, and of the bone of a large animal: they called them *Patoo-Patoo*; and they were well contrived for close fighting.

After they had finished their traffic, they set off in such a hurry, that they forgot three of their companions, who remained on board all night. They testified their fears and apprehensions, notwithstanding Tupia took great pains to convince them they

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were in no danger; and about seven o'clock the next morning a canoe came off, with four Indians on board. It was at first with difficulty the Indians in the ship could prevail on those in the canoe to come near them, and it was not till after the former had assured them that the English did not eat men, that they came along side the Endeavour. The chief came on board, whose face was tataowed, with a remarkable patoo in his hand, and in this canoe the three Indians left the ship. Captain Cook gave the name of *Cape Table* to a point of land about seven leagues to the south of Poverty Bay: its figure greatly resembling a table, and the island, called by the natives *Teahowry*, he named *Portland Island*, it being very similar to that of the same name in the British Channel. It is joined to the main by a chain of rocks near a mile in length, partly above water. There are several shoals, called *shambles*, about three miles to the north-east of Portland, one of which the Endeavour narrowly escaped; there is, however, a passage between them with twenty fathom water. Some parts of Portland Island, as well as the main, were cultivated; and pumice-stone in great quantities lying along the shore, within the bay, indicated that there was a volcano in the island. High palings upon the ridges of hills were also visible in two places, which were judged to be designed for religious purposes.

On the 12th several Indians came off in a canoe; they were disfigured in a strange manner, danced and sang, and at times appeared to be peaceably inclined, but at others to menace hostilities. Notwithstanding Tupia strongly invited them to come on board, none of them would quit the canoe. Whilst the Endeavour was getting clear of the Shambles, five canoes full of Indians came off, and seemed to threaten the people on board, by brandishing their lances, and other hostile gestures. A four-pounder, loaded with grape-shot, was therefore ordered to be fired, but not pointed at them. This had the desired effect, and made them drop a-stern. Two more canoes came off whilst the Endeavour lay at anchor, but the Indians on board behaved very peaceably and quiet, and received several presents, but would not come on board.

On Friday the 13th in the morning, they made for an inlet, but finding it not sheltered, they stood out again; and were chased by a canoe filled with Indians, but the Endeavour out-failed them. She pursued her course round the bay, but did not find an opening.

The next morning they had a view of the inland country: It was mountainous, and covered with snow in the interior parts, but the land towards the sea was flat and uncultivated, and in many places there were groves of high trees. Nine canoes full of Indians came from the shore, and five of them, after having consulted together, pursued the Endeavour, apparently with a hostile design. Tupia was desired to acquaint them that immediate destruction would ensue if they persevered in their attempts; but words had no influence, and a four-pounder, with grape-shot was fired, to give them some notion of the arms of their opponents. They were terrified at this kind of reasoning, and paddled away faster than they came. Tupia then hailed the fugitives, and acquainted them that if they came in a peaceable manner, and left their arms behind, no annoyance would be offered them; one of the canoes submitting to the terms, came alongside the ship, and received many presents; but the other canoes returning, and persisting in the same menacing behaviour, interrupted this friendly intercourse.

The following day, Sunday the 15th, they were visited by some fishing-boats, the people in which, conducted themselves in an amicable manner. Though the fish which they had on board had been caught so long that they were not eatable, Captain Cook purchased them merely for the sake of promoting a traffic with the natives. In the afternoon a canoe with a number of armed Indians came up, and one of them,

who was remarkably clothed, with a black skin, found means to defraud the captain of a piece of red baize under pretence of bartering the skin he had on for it. As soon as he had got the baize into his possession, instead of giving the skin in return, agreeable to his bargain, he rolled them up together, and ordered the canoe to put off from the ship, turning a deaf ear to the repeated remonstrance of the captain against his unjust behaviour. After a short time, this canoe, together with the fishing boats which had put off at the same time, came back to the ship, and trade was again begun. During this second traffic with the Indians, one of them unexpectedly seized Tupia's little boy Taiyota, and pulling him into his canoe, instantly put off, and paddled away with the utmost speed; several musquets were immediately discharged at the people in the canoe, and one of them receiving a wound, they all let go the boy, who before was held down in the bottom of the canoe. Taiyota taking the advantage of their consternation, immediately jumped into the sea, and swam back towards the Endeavour; he was taken on board without receiving any harm; but his strength was so much exhausted with the weight of his cloaths, that it was with great difficulty he reached the ship. In consequence of this attempt to carry off Taiyota, Capt. Cook called the cape off which it happened, *Cape Kidnappers*, lying in latitude 39 deg. 43 min. south, and longitude 182 deg. 24 min. west, and is very distinguishable by the high cliffs and white rocks that surrounded it. The distance of this cape from Portland Island is about 13 leagues, and it forms the south point of a bay which was denominated *Hawke's Bay*, in honour of Admiral Hawke.

Cape Kidnappers.

Hawke's Bay.

Taiyota, on recovering from his fright, produced a fish, and informed Tupia that he intended to offer it to his Eatua or God, in gratitude for his happy escape; this being approved of by the other Indian, the fish was cast into the sea. Captain Cook now passed by a small island which was supposed to be inhabited only by fishermen, as it seemed to be barren, and *Bare Island* was the name given to it, and to a head-land in latitude 40° 34' south, and longitude 182° 55' west, because the Endeavour turned, he gave the name of *Cape Turnagain*. It was never certainly known whether New Zealand was an island before this vessel touched there: On this account, the lords of the admiralty had instructed Captain Cook to sail along the coasts as far as 40 degrees south, and if the land extended farther, to return to the northward again. It was for this reason that the captain altered his course, when he arrived at the cape above-mentioned: The wind having likewise veered about to the south, he returned, sailing along the coast nearly in his former track. Between this and Cape Kidnappers Bay, the land is unequal, and somewhat resembles our downs and small villages, and many inhabitants were observed. The ship came abreast of a peninsula, in Portland Island, named *Terakako*, on Wednesday the 19th. At this time a canoe with five Indians came up to the vessel. There were two chiefs among them who came on board, and staid all night. One of these was a very comely person, and had an open and agreeable countenance. They were extremely grateful for the presents which they received, and displayed no small degree of curiosity. They would not eat or drink, but the servants devoured the victuals set before them with a most voracious appetite.

Bare Island.

Cape Turnagain.

They gave the name of *Gable End Foreland* to a remarkable head-land, which they passed on the 19th. Three canoes appeared here, and one Indian came on board to whom they gave small presents before he withdrew.

Gable End Foreland.

Several of these Indians wore pieces of green-stone round their necks which were transparent, and resembled an emerald. These being examined, appeared to be a species of the Nephritic stone. Several pieces of it were procured by Mr. Banks, and it appeared that this furnished the islanders with their principal

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



A Remarkable Animal found on one of the newly discover'd Islands by M^r. Banks, &c.



The VARI, or Maucauco, a native of MADAGASCAR.

principal ornaments. The form of some of their faces was agreeable, and their noses were rather prominent than flat. Their dialect was not so guttural as that of the others, and they spoke like the people of the island of Otaheite. Having anchored in a bay about two leagues to the northward of the foreland, two chiefs came on board here, and the natives invited them ashore. The chiefs received presents of linen; but they did not seem to value spike-nails so much as the inhabitants of the other islands. They were dressed in jackets, the one ornamented with tufts of red feathers, the other with dog's-skin. The natives received Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander courteously on shore; where they did not appear in numerous bodies. In the course of their journey round the bay, fresh water was found. All night they remained on shore, and the next day the Doctor and Mr. Banks discovered several plants and many beautiful birds, among which were large pigeons and quails. Many stages for the purpose of drying fish were observed near the place where the gentlemen landed, and some houses with fences were seen. Some dogs were remarked on the island, which had pointed ears, and were very ugly. Sweet potatoes, like those of North America were found here; and the cloth-plant grew spontaneous. The lands in the neighbouring valleys were laid out in regular plantations. In the bay there is plenty of crabs, cray-fish, and horse-mackerel, larger than those upon our coasts. The woods were almost impassable on account of the number of supple jacks (as they are called) which grow there. As to the flat lands, they were planted with cocoas, as the hollow parts were with gourds. The Doctor and Mr. Banks visited several of the natives houses, and they met with a very civil reception. Fish constituted their principal food at this time; and a root of a sort of fern served them for bread, which, when roasted upon a fire, and divested of its bark, was sweet and clammy; in taste not disagreeable, but unpleasant from its number of fibres. Vegetables were, doubtless, at other seasons very plentiful. The women painted their faces red, which so far from increasing, diminished the very little beauty they had. The mens faces were not in general painted, but rubbed over with red ocre from head to foot, their apparel not excepted. Though they could not be compared to the inhabitants of Otaheite for cleanliness in general, they surpassed them in this respect in some particulars. Every dwelling was supplied with a privy, and they had dunghills for depositing dirt and filth. The women wore a girdle made of the blade of grass under a petticoat, and to this girdle was tied in front a bunch of fragrant leaves. They seemed to hold chastity but in little estimation, many of the young females resorting to the watering-place where they bountifully bestowed every favour that was requested. One of the officers on shore, meeting with an elderly woman, he accompanied her to her house, and having presented her with some cloth and beads, a young girl was singled out, and he was given to understand he might retire with her. Soon after, an elderly man with two women, came in as visitors, and with much formality saluted all the company, according to the custom of the place, which is by gently joining the tips of their noses together. The officer, on his return, was furnished with a guide, who led him a much better road than that he had came, and whenever they came to a brook or rivulet, the Indian took him upon his back to preserve him from being wet; several of the inhabitants were curiously tataowed, and one old man in particular, was marked on the breast with various figures. There was an axe made of the green-stone, already mentioned, which could not be purchased, though many things were offered in exchange. At night they danced in a very uncouth manner, making antic gestures, lolling out their tongues, with other strange grimaces; and in these dances old men with grey beards, as well as the young ones, were capital performers. They carried their civility so far, as to assist Mr. Banks and his company with one of their canoes to carry them on

board, but the Endeavour's people being unacquainted with the method of steering such a vessel, she was overfet; but no one was drowned; and they reached the ship without any farther accident, some of the Indians having voluntarily engaged to conduct her. During the stay of the gentlemen on shore, many of the natives went out in their canoes, and trafficked with the ship's company, preferring at first the cloth of Otaheite to that of Europe; but it soon diminished in its value. Several of the Indians went on board, and testified their curiosity and surprise with regard to the different parts of the ship.

On Sunday the 22d, in the evening, they sailed from this bay, which by the natives is called Tegadoo; and lies in latitude $38^{\circ} 10'$ south. The wind being contrary, they put into another bay a little to the south, called by the natives Toltaga in order to complete their wood and water, and extend their correspondence with the natives: in this bay they came to an anchor in about seven fathom water, with a good sandy bottom. Several canoes appeared with Indians on board, and they trafficked very fairly for glass bottles and cloth. The captain, Mr. Banks, and the Doctor went in the afternoon to examine the water, and found it extremely good; here was also plenty of wood, and the natives behaved with as much civility as those they had just departed from.

On the 24th, Mr. Gore and the marines were sent on shore, to guard the people employed in cutting wood and filling water, Captain Cook, Mr. Banks and the Doctor also went on shore; the two latter employed themselves in collecting plants. In their route they found in the vales many houses uninhabited, the natives residing chiefly in flight sheds on the ridges of the hills, which are very steep. In a valley between two very high hills they saw a curious rock, that formed a large arch, opposite to the sea: this cavity was in length above seventy feet, in breadth 30, and near 50 in height; it commanded a view of the hill and the bay, which had a very happy effect. Indeed, the whole country about the bay being agreeable beyond description, if properly cultivated would be a most fertile spot. The hills are covered with beautiful flowering shrubs, intermixed with a number of tall and stately palms, which perfume the air, and make it most agreeably odoriferous. Mr. Banks and the Doctor found the tree that produces the cabbage, which, when boiled, was very good; and some other trees that yielded a fine transparent gum. Between the hills were fruitful valleys that might have been successfully cultivated or turned into pasturage. Various kinds of edible herbage, were met with in great abundance; and there was reason to believe there were many trees that produced fruit fit to eat, some of which the gentlemen examined. The plant from which the cloth is made, is a kind of Hemerocallis, the leaves of which afford a strong glossy flax, equally adapted to cloathing, and making of ropes. There are sweet potatoes and young plantains near their houses, which are carefully cultivated. These gentlemen, on their return, met an old man who entertained them with the military exercises of the natives, which were performed with the *Patoo-Patoo*, and the lance. The former has already been mentioned, and is used as a battle-axe, the latter is 18 or 20 feet in length, made of extreme hard wood, and sharpened at each end. A stake was substituted for their old warrior's supposed enemy; he first attacked him with his lance, when, having pierced him, the patoo-patoo was used to demolish his head, and the force with which he struck, would at one blow have split any man's skull. This mode of fighting induced the gentlemen to believe no quarter was ever given here in war. The natives in this part are not very numerous, they are tolerably well-shaped, but lean and tall, their faces resemble those of the Europeans, their noses are aquiline, their eyes dark coloured, their hair is black, which is tied up on the top of their heads, and their beards are of a moderate length, their tataowing is done very curiously in various figures, which makes their

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their skin resemble carving; it is confined to the principal men, the females and servants using only red paint, with which they daub their faces, that otherwise would not be disagreeable. Their cloth is white, glossy, and very even, it is worn principally by the men, though it is wrought by the women, who, indeed, are condemned to all drudgery and labour.

On the 25th, the armourer's forge was set up on shore for necessary uses. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went again in search of plants, Tupia, who was with them, engaged in a conversation with one of the priests, and they seemed to agree in their opinions upon the subject of religion. Tupia, in the course of this conference, enquired whether the report of their eating men was founded in truth, to which the priest answered it was, but that they ate none but declared foes, after they were killed in war. This idea so savage and barbarous, proved, however, that they carried their resentment even beyond death. Captain Cook and Dr. Solander went on the 27th to inspect the bay, when the doctor was not a little surprised to find the natives in the possession of a boy's top, which they knew how to spin by whipping it, and he purchased it out of curiosity. Mr. Banks was during this time employed in attaining the summit of a steep hill, that had previously engaged their attention, and near it he found many inhabited houses. There were two rows of poles about fourteen or fifteen feet high, covered over with sticks, which made an avenue of about five feet in width, extending near a hundred yards down the hill, in an irregular line: the intent of this erection was not discovered. When the gentlemen met at the watering place, the Indians, sang their war song, which was a strange medley of shouting, sighing, and grimace, at which the women assisted. The next day Captain Cook and the other gentlemen went upon the island at the entrance of the bay, and met with a canoe that was 67 feet in length, six in breadth, and four in height; her bottom, which was sharp, consisted of three trunks of trees, and the sides and head were curiously carved.

There was a large unfinished house upon this island, the posts which supported it were ornamented with carvings, that did not appear to be done upon the spot, and as the inhabitants seem to set great value upon works of this kind, future navigators might find their advantage in carrying such articles to trade with. Though the posts of this house were judged to be brought here, the people seemed to have a taste for carving, as their boats, paddles, and tops of walking sticks evince. Their favourite figure is a volute or spiral, which is sometimes single, double, and triple, and is done with great exactness, though the only instruments the gentlemen saw were an axe made of stone, and a chisel. Their taste, however, was extremely whimsical and extravagant, scarcely ever imitating nature. Their huts are built under trees, their form is an oblong square: the door low on the side, and the windows are at the ends; reeds covered with thatch compose the walls, the beams of the eaves, which come to the ground are covered with thatch; most of the houses the gentlemen saw had been deserted, through fear of the English, upon their landing. There are many beautiful parrots, and great numbers of birds of different kinds, particularly one whose note resembles the European black-bird; but here is no ground fowl or poultry, nor were there any quadrupeds, except rats and dogs, and these were not numerous. The dogs are considered as delicate food, and their skins serve for ornaments to their apparel. There is a great variety of fish in the bay, shell and cray fish are very plentiful, some of the latter weigh near a dozen pounds.

Sunday, October 19, they set sail from this bay, which was called by the natives *Tolaga*. It is situate in latitude $38^{\circ} 22'$ south, four leagues to the north of Gable-End Foreland; there are two high rocks at the entrance of the bay, which form a cove very good for procuring wood and water. There is a high rocky island off the north point of the bay, which affords

good anchorage; having a fine sandy bottom, and from seven to thirteen fathom water, and is likewise sheltered from all but the north-east wind.

Captain Cook obtained nothing here in trade but some sweet potatoes, and a little fish. This is a very hilly country, though it presents the eye with an agreeable verdure, various woods and many small plantations. Mr. Banks found a great number of trees in the woods, quite unknown to Europeans, the fire wood resembled the maple-tree, and produced a gum of whitish colour; other trees yielded a gum of a deep yellow green. The only roots they met with were yams and sweet potatoes, though the soil appears very proper for producing every species of vegetables.

Sailing to the northward, they fell in with a small island about a mile distant from the north-east point of the main, and this being the most eastern part of it, the captain named it *East Cape*, and the island *East-Island*. *Island*, it was but small, and appeared barren. The cape is in latitude; $37^{\circ} 42' 30''$ south. There are many small bays from Tolaga Bay to East Cape. When the Endeavour had doubled the cape, many villages presented themselves to view, and the adjacent land appeared cultivated. In the evening of the 30th, Lieutenant Hicks discovered a bay to which his name was given. Next morning, about nine, several canoes came off from shore with a number of armed men, who appeared to have hostile intentions. Before these had reached the ship, another canoe, larger than any that had yet been seen, full of armed Indians, came off, and made towards the Endeavour with great expedition. The captain now judging it expedient to prevent, if possible, their attacking him, ordered a gun to be fired over their heads. This not producing the desired effect, another gun was fired with ball, which threw them into such consternation that they immediately returned much faster than they came. This precipitate retreat, induced the captain to give the cape, off which it happened, the name of *Cape Runaway*; it lies in latitude $37^{\circ} 32'$ south, and longitude $181^{\circ} 48'$ west.

At day-break the next morning between 40 and 50 canoes were seen, several of which came off as before, threatening to attack the English. There was one of their chiefs who flourished his pike, and made several harangues, seeming to bid defiance to those on board the vessel. At last, after repeated invitations, they came close along-side; but instead of shewing a disposition to trade, the haranguing chief uttered a sentence, and took up a stone which he threw against the ship, and immediately after they seized their arms. They were informed by Tupia, of the dreadful consequences of commencing hostilities; but this admonition they seemed little to regard. A piece of cloth, however, happening to attract their eyes, they began to be more mild and reasonable. A quantity of cray fish, muscles, and conger eels was now purchased by the gentlemen. No fraud was attempted by this company of Indians, but some others that came after them, took goods from the vessel without making proper returns. As one of them that had rendered himself remarkable for these practices, and seemed proud of his skill in them, was putting off with his canoe, a musquet was fired over his head, which circumstance produced good order for the present. Yet when these savages began to traffic with the sailors, they renewed their frauds; and one of them was bold enough to seize some linen that was hung to dry, and run away with it. In order to induce him to return, a musquet was first fired over his head, but this not answering the end, he was shot in the back with small shot, yet he still persevered in his design. This being perceived by his countrymen, they dropped a stern, and set up the song of defiance. In consequence of their behaviour, though they made no preparations to attack the vessel, the captain gave orders to fire a four pounder, which passed over them; but its effect on the water terrified them so much, that they retreated with precipitation to the shore.

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A high island was seen to the westward in the afternoon, and other rocks and islands appearing in the same quarter, the ship not being able to weather them before night-fall, bore up between them and the main land. In the evening a double canoe, built after the same fashion as those of Otaheite, came up, when Tupia entered into a friendly conversation with them, and was told that the island, close to which the Endeavour lay, was called *Mowtohera*; it was but a few miles from the main land, pretty high, but of no great extent. When it was dark, these Indians began their usual salute, poured a volley of stones into the ship, and then retreated. A high round mountain was seen S. W. by W. of *Mowtohera*, which was called Mount Edgumbe by Captain Cook. Many of the Indian canoes appeared the next morning, and one which appeared to be the same that had given the salute the preceeding night, came up. They once more entered into a peaceable conversation with Tupia, which lasted about an hour, but afterwards discharged another volley of stones at the Endeavour; in consequence of which insult, a musquet was fired, and they took to their paddles with precipitation.

The ship sailed in the afternoon of the same day, between a low flat island and the main. The villages on the latter were more extensive than any that they had yet discovered. They were upon the high land next the sea, and were surrounded by a ditch and a bank with rails on the top of it. Some of the inclosures here resembled a rude sort of fortification, and the whole had the appearance of a number of places calculated for defence. The name of *The Court of Aldermen* was given, on the 3d, to several small islands that lay in the neighbourhood, being distant about twelve miles from the main, between which were many other high islands which were mostly barren, as indeed the main land here appeared to be; and the whole seemed but thinly inhabited. Teratu was the name of the chief that governed the district from Cape Turn-again to this coast.

Three canoes built differently from those above-mentioned came along-side the English vessel on Friday. They were formed of the trunks of whole trees, rendered hollow by burning, which were not ornamented or carved at all. The people on board were of a darker complexion than the others; they were hostile, and their manner of defiance was much the same as that of the other Indians already described.

Captain Cook sailed afterwards towards an inlet, that had been discovered, and anchoring in seven fathoms water, the ship was surrounded soon after by a number of canoes, the crews of which did not seem disposed to commit any act of hostility. A bird being shot by one of the English, the Indians, without shewing any surprise brought it on board, and were rewarded with a piece of cloth for their pains. It might be imagined that this circumstance would have tended to conciliate the affections of those people; but it happened otherwise: as soon as it was dark, they sang one of their songs of defiance, and endeavoured to carry off the buoy of the anchor. Though some musquets were fired at them upon this occasion, they seemed rather to be irritated than frightened, and threatened to return in greater numbers, the next morning. Instead of this, they came back about eleven on the Sunday night, but retired when they found that the ship's crew were upon their guard.

A great number of canoes came off, on the 4th in the morning, on board of which were near 200 men, armed with lances, spears, and stones, who seemed determined to attack the ship and would have boarded her, had they known on what quarter they could best make their attack.

While the crew were watching their motions in the rain, Tupia took all possible pains to dissuade the Indians from attempting any thing against the English; but his arguments had not so good an effect as those that came from the mouths of the musquets, which frightened them effectually, and induced them to begin trading again; yet they could not leave off

their fraudulent practices. They sold two of their weapons; but a third, for which they had received cloth, they would not deliver, and only laughed at those who demanded an equivalent. The offender was wounded; but his countrymen did not seem disposed to take notice of him; and another canoe was hit with shot, the natives behaving in the same manner. The people paddled away whilst a round shot was fired over them.

Searching for an anchoring place, the captain saw a fortified village on a high point near the head of the bay, and came to an anchor when he had found a village fortified like those already noticed. Some Indians came off who behaved better than those that had been on board before. An old man in particular, whose name was Tojava, came with another Indian to whom the captain presented some nails. Being informed that the English had no ill designs, this man said they were often visited by freebooters, from the north, who stripped them of all they could lay their hands on, and often made captives of their children and wives; and that being ignorant who the English were upon their first arrival, the natives had taken the alarm upon the ship's appearing off the coast, but were now satisfied of their good intent. He added, That to secure themselves from these plunderers, their houses were built contiguous to the tops of rocks, where they were more able to defend themselves. Probably their poverty and misery may be ascribed to the ravages of this banditti, who often stripped them of every necessary of life. Whilst they were fishing for mullets in the bay, the Indians who came upon the banks testified their friendship by every possible means, and gave them an invitation to come on shore. The assurances of friendship, which they had received from the gentlemen on board, seemed to have a proper influence upon the natives, who were now very tractable and submissive, and behaved with much civility to the people in the long-boat, which was again dispatched into the bay to fish, but with little success: the Indians, however, brought great quantities of fish dressed and dried; and though they were indifferent, they were purchased, that trade might not be discouraged. In a word, the natives treated the English with great hospitality, supplied them with wood and good water, and the ship being very foul-keeled, scrubbed her bottom in the bay.

On the 8th of November they were visited by several canoes, in one of which was Tojava, who perceiving two strange canoes paddling from the opposite shore, suddenly turned about and acquainted the captain that he was under apprehensions the people in them were freebooters, but soon found his mistake, and returned to the ship. The Indians supplied the ship's crew with as much excellent fish, resembling mackarel, as was sufficient for all their dinners, for which they gave them some pieces of cloth. A great variety of plants was this day collected by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who had never observed any of the kind before. These gentlemen remained on shore till near dark, when they observed the manners of the natives disposing of themselves during the night. They lay under some bushes; the men nearest the sea in a semi-circular form, and the women and children most distant from it: their arms were placed against trees, very near them to defend themselves in case of a surprise from the freebooters. They had no king whose sovereignty they acknowledged, which was a circumstance unparalleled on any other parts of the coast.

Early in the morning of the 19th several canoes brought a prodigious quantity of mackarel, one sort of which was no way different from the mackarel caught on our coast. These canoes were succeeded by many others, equally loaded with the same sort of fish; and the cargoes purchased were so great, that when salted, they might be considered as a month's provision for the whole ship's company. This being a very clear day, the astronomer (Mr. Green) and the other gentlemen landed to observe the transit of Mercury, and whilst the observation was making, a large canoe, with

1769 various commodities on board, came along-side the ship; and Mr. Gore, the officer who had then the command, being desirous of encouraging them to traffic, produced a piece of Otaheitean cloth, of more value than any they had yet seen, which was immediately seized by one of the Indians, who obstinately refused either to return it, or give any thing in exchange: he paid dearly however for his temerity, being shot dead on the spot. The death of this young Indian alarmed all the rest; they fled with great precipitancy, and, for the present, could not be induced to renew their traffick with the English. But when the Indians on shore had heard the particulars related by Tojava, who greatly condemned the conduct of the deceased, they seemed to think that he had merited his fate. His name proved to be Otirreonooe. This transaction happened, as has been mentioned, whilst the observation was making of the transit of Mercury, when the weather was so favourable, that the whole transit was viewed, without a cloud intervening. Mr. Green made the observation of ingress, whilst Captain Cook was engaged in ascertaining the time by taking the sun's altitude. The transit commenced seven hours, 20 min. 58 sec. By Mr. Green's observation the internal contact was at 12 hours, eight min. 57 sec. the external at 12 hours nine min. 54 sec. the latitude 30 deg. 48 min. five sec. In consequence of this observation having been made here, this bay Mercury Bay. was called *Mercury Bay*.

On the 10th, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the captain went in boats to inspect a large river that runs into the bay. They found it broader some miles within than at the mouth, and intersected into a number of streams, by several small islands, which were covered with trees. On the east side of the river the gentlemen shot some shags, which proved very good eating. The shore abounded with fish of various kinds, such as cockles, clams, and oysters; and here were also ducks, shags, and curlews, with other wild fowl in great plenty.—At the mouth of the river there was good anchorage in five fathom water. The gentlemen were received with great hospitality by the inhabitants of a little village on the east side of the river. There are there the remains of a fort called Eppah, on a peninsula that projects into the river, and it was calculated for defending a small number against a greater force. From the remains, it nevertheless seemed to have been taken and partly destroyed.

The Indians sup before sun-set, when they eat fish and birds baked or roasted; they roast them upon a stick, stuck in the ground near the fire, and bake them in the manner the dog was baked, which the gentlemen eat at St. George's Island. A female mourner was present at one of their suppers; she was seated upon the ground, and wept incessantly, at the same time repeating some sentences in a doleful manner, but which Tupia could not explain; at the termination of each period she cut herself with a shell upon her breast, her hands, or her face; notwithstanding this bloody spectacle greatly affected the gentlemen present, yet all the Indians who sat by her, except one, were quite unmoved. The gentlemen saw some, who from the depth of their scars must, upon these occasions, have wounded themselves more violently.

On November the 11th great plenty of oysters were procured from a bed which had been discovered, and they proved exceedingly good. Next day the ship was visited by two canoes, with unknown Indians; after some invitation they came on board, and they all trafficked without any fraud.

Two fortified villages being deserted, the Captain, with Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went to examine them. The smallest was romantically situated upon a rock, which was arched; this village did not consist of above five or six houses, fenced round. There was but one path, which was very narrow, that conducted to it. The gentlemen were invited by the inhabitants to pay them a visit, but not having time to spare, took another route, after having made presents

to the females. A body of men women and children now approached the gentlemen; these proved to be the inhabitants of another town, which they proposed visiting. They gave many testimonies of their friendly dispositions; among others they uttered the word Heromai, which according to Tupia's interpretation, implied peace, and appeared much satisfied, when informed the gentlemen intended visiting their habitations. Their town was named Wharnetouwa. It is seated on a point of land over the sea, on the north side of the bay; it was pale round, and defended by a double ditch. Within the ditch a stage is erected for defending the place in case of an attack; near this stage, quantities of darts and stones are deposited that they may always be in readiness to repel the assailants. There is another stage to command the path that leads to the town; and there were some out-works. The place seemed calculated to hold out a considerable time against an enemy armed with no other weapons than those of the Indians. It appeared however deficient in water for holding out a siege. Instead of bread, they ate fern root, which was here in great plenty, with dried fish. Very little of the land was cultivated, and sweet potatoes and yams were the only vegetables to be found. There are two rocks near the fort of this fortification, both separated from the main land; they are very small, nevertheless they are not without dwelling-houses and little fortifications. In their engagements they throw stones with their hands, being destitute of a sling, and those and lances are their only missible weapons; they have, besides the patoo-patoo, already described, a staff about five feet in length, and another shorter. The English sailed from this bay, after having taken possession of it in the name of the king of Great Britain, on the 15th of November. Tojava, who visited them in his canoe just before their departure, said he should prepare to retire to his fort as soon as the English were gone, as the relations of Otirreonooe had threatened to take his life, as a forfeit for that of the deceased. Tojava being judged partial in this affair to the English.

A number of islands of different sizes appeared towards the north-west, which were named *Mercury Islands*, Mercury Bay lies in latitude 36° 47' south; longitude 184° 4' west, and has a small entrance at its mouth. On account of the number of oysters found in the river, the Captain gave it the name of *Oyster River*: *Mangrove River* (which the captain so called from the great number of those trees that grew near it) is the most secure place for shipping, being at the head of the bay. The north-west side of this bay and river appeared much more fertile than the east side. The inhabitants, though numerous, have no plantations. Their canoes are very indifferently constructed, and are not ornamented at all. They lie under continual apprehensions of Terratu, being considered by him as rebels. Shore iron sand is to be found in plenty on this coast, which proves that there are mines of metal up the country, it being brought down from thence by a rivulet.

In the morning of the 18th, the Endeavour steered between the main, and an island which seemed very fertile, and as extensive as Ulietea. Several canoes filled with Indians, came along-side here, and the Indians sang their war song, but the Endeavour's people paying them no attention, they threw a volley of stones, and then paddled away; however they presently returned their insults. Tupia spoke to them, making use of his old argument, that inevitable destruction would ensue if they persisted; they answered by brandishing their weapons, intimating, that if the English durst come on shore, they would destroy them all. Tupia still continued in expostulating with them, but to no purpose; and they soon gave another volley of stones; but upon a musquet being fired at one of their boats, they made a precipitate retreat. Captain Cook cast anchor in 23 fathom water in the evening, and early the next morning he sailed up an inlet. Soon after two canoes came off, and

and some of the Indians came on board. They claimed an acquaintance with Tojava, and knew Tupia's name; and after they had received some presents, they retired peaceably. The Endeavour was now in the bay called by the natives Orahauragee, and Captain Cook, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and others, went in boats to the bottom of the bay to examine it, and they did not return till next morning. They had been up a fresh-water river in three fathoms water, which would make a good harbour, and had met with an Indian town, and a hippah, or place of refuge, the inhabitants of which invited them to land, and gave them a friendly reception. At the entrance of a wood they met with a tree 98 feet high from the ground to the first branch, quite strait, and 19 feet in circumference; and they found still larger trees of the same kind as they advanced into the

Thames River

wood. The captain called this river *Thames*, as it resembled our river of that name. They also found several young cabbage-trees, and a new species of the palm-nut. They weighed anchor the same afternoon, sailing down the river with the tide, the wind blowing fresh from north-north-west. The next morning the flood obliged them to cast anchor again; and the captain, with Dr. Solander, went on shore to the westward, but made no observation worth relating. The ship at their departure from it, was surrounded with canoes, which induced Mr. Banks to remain on board, that he might trade with the Indians. The chief object of these people was paper, for which they exchanged their arms and cloaths, and took no unfair advantages. Though these traders were in general honest in their dealings, there was one amongst them who took a fancy to a half-minute glass, but was detected in secreting it, and he was punished with a cat of nine tails. The other Indians endeavoured to save him, but being opposed, they got their arms from the canoes, and some of the people in them attempted to get on board. Mr. Banks and Tupia now coming upon deck, the Indians applied to the latter, but he having no influence upon Mr. Hicks, the commanding officer, informed them of the nature of the offender's intended punishment, which pacified them, as they supposed that death would have been the consequence of his crime. However he received twelve lashes, and also a beating from an old man who was conceived to be his father, or some near relation. After this, the canoes went off, and the Indians said they should be afraid to return. Tupia, notwithstanding, prevailed on them to come back; but they seemed to have lost much of that confidence which they had before reposed in Captain Cook and his people. The wind continuing still unfavourable, the vessel was forced to go down the river with the tide on the

Point Rodney.

23d, and passed a point called *Point Rodney*, to the north-west. During a course of near 30 miles, as they could not approach the land, they had but a distant view of the main. Under the name of the River Thames, the captain comprehended the whole bay; and he gave the name of *Cape Colville* to the promontory at the north-easternmost extremity, in honour of Lord Colville. This cape is to be distinguished by a high rock, and lies in $36^{\circ}26'$ of south latitude, longitude $194^{\circ}27'$ west. The river runs south by east from the southern point of the cape. In some parts, it is three leagues over, for about fourteen leagues, after which it becomes narrower. Abundance of fish were supposed to lie in this river, as there appeared many instruments proper for carrying on a fishery.

Cape Colville.

In some places the water was 26 fathoms deep, and the depth diminished gradually, and the anchorage is good in all parts of the bay. Captain Cook gave the name of *Barrier Islands* to some isles which shelter it from the sea. The country seemed to be thinly inhabited. As to the natives they were a short and active people. Their bodies were painted all over with a red colour. Their canoes were well constructed, and ornamented with carved work.

Captain Cook still continued steering along shore between the islands and the main, and an-

chored on the 12th in 14 fathom water, in an open bay, where a number of fish of the bream kind being taken, *Bream Bay* was the name given to it by our voyagers. It lies in $35^{\circ}46'$ of south latitude, being about 17 leagues north-west of Cape Colville. A number of rocks were seen off this bay which they called the Hen and Chickens. The land extending for about 30 miles between Point Rodney and this place is low and woody. The English saw none of the natives, but concluded from the fires which they perceived at night, that this place was not uninhabited. Early in the morning the ship sailed out of the bay, keeping near the shore to the northward. Soon after they discovered some islands about three leagues to the north-north-east, where there were cultivated lands and a few towns that appeared to be fortified. To these they gave the appellation of *The Poor Knights*. A number of Indians approached the vessel towards night, and two of their chiefs coming on board, gave the English to understand that they were not ignorant of their arrival in that part of the world. Other Indians came, in order to trade after they were gone; but these beginning to pilfer, were fired upon, and retreated with precipitation.—

The Poor Knights.

The English continued sailing slowly along to the northward; and on the 26th, some more of the Indians in two canoes, came on board, and carried on a fair traffic. They were followed by two larger canoes, the people on board of which, after having held a conference with them came along-side of the vessel. These last were adorned with carving. The people who seemed to be of the higher order were armed with various weapons. Their patoo-patoos, which were made of stone and whale-bone, were held in high estimation, and they were ornamented with dog's hair. The complexion of these people was darker than that of those to the south, and their faces were stained with amoco. They were given to pilfering, of which one of them gave an instance, pretending to barter a weapon for a piece of cloth, which latter he ran away with, without fulfilling his agreement, nor was he at all disposed to do, till a musquet being fired brought him back again.

The vessel passing a remarkable high point of land, it was called *Cape Brett*, in honour of the baronet of that name. There is a curious rocky island to the north-east by north, which is arched, and at a distance, has a pleasing effect. This is called Motuyogo by the natives, and lies in $35^{\circ}10'30''$ south, and longitude $185^{\circ}23''$ west. It forms a bay to the west, which contains many small islands, and Captain Cook named the point at the north-west entrance *Point Pococke*. There are many villages on the main as well as on the islands, which appeared well inhabited, and several canoes filled with Indians, made to the ship; and after coming along-side to trade, shewed the same desire of cheating as the others. One of the midshipmen was so nettled at being imposed upon, that he had recourse to a whimsical expedient by way of recovery: he took a fishing-line, and threw the lead with so much dexterity, that the hook caught the Indian who had imposed upon him by the buttocks, when the line breaking, the hook remained in his posteriors. These Indians were strong and well-proportioned; their hair was black, and tied up in a bunch stuck with feathers; the chiefs among them had garments made of fine cloth, ornamented with dog-skin; and they were tataowed like those who had last appeared. On the 27th the Endeavour was among a number of small islands, from which several canoes came off, but the Indians, from their frantic gestures, seemed disordered in their minds; they threw their fish into the ship by handfuls, without demanding any thing by way of barter. Some other canoes also came up, who saluted the ship with stones. One of the Indians, who was particularly active, threw a stick at one of the Endeavour's men. It was then judged time to bring them to reason, and a musquet with small shot was fired at him, when he fell in the canoe. A general terror was now spread among them, and they all

Cape Brett.

Point Pococke

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all made a very precipitate retreat. Among the fish obtained from these canoes were *cavalles* in great plenty, and for this reason the captain called these islands by the same name. For several days the wind was so very unfavourable, that the vessel rather lost than gained ground. On the 29th, having weathered Cape Brett, they bore away to leeward, and got into a large bay, where they anchored on the south-west side of several islands, and suddenly came into four fathoms and a half water. Upon sounding, they found they had got upon a bank, and accordingly weighed and dropped over it, and anchored again in ten fathoms and a half, after which they were surrounded by thirty-three large canoes, containing near three hundred Indians all armed. Some of them were admitted on board, and Captain Cook gave a piece of broad cloth to one of the chiefs, and some small presents to the other. They traded peaceably for some time, being terrified at the fire-arms, with the effects of which they were not unacquainted; but whilst the captain was at dinner, on a signal given by one of the chiefs, all the Indians quitted the ship, and attempted to tow away the buoy; a musquet was now fired over them, but it produced no effect; small shot was then fired at them, but it did not reach them. A musquet loaded with ball, was therefore ordered to be fired, and Otegoowgoow (son of one of the chiefs) was wounded in the thigh by it, which induced them immediately to throw the buoy overboard. To complete their confusion, a round shot was fired, which reached the shore, and as soon as they landed, they ran in search of it. If these Indians had been under any kind of military discipline, they might have proved a much more formidable enemy; but acting thus, without any plan or regulation, they only exposed themselves to the annoyance of the fire-arms, whilst they could not possibly succeed in any of their designs. The Captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, landed upon the island, and the Indians in the canoes soon after came on shore. The gentlemen were in a small cove, and they were presently surrounded by near 400 armed Indians; but the captain not suspecting any hostile design on the part of the natives, remained peaceably disposed. The gentlemen, marching towards them, drew a line, intimating that they were not to pass it: they did not infringe upon this boundary for some time; but at length, they sang the song of defiance, and began to dance, whilst a party attempted to draw the Endeavour's boat on shore, these signals for an attack being immediately followed by the Indians breaking in upon the line; the gentlemen judged it time to defend themselves, and accordingly the captain fired his musquet, loaded with small shot, which was seconded by Mr. Banks's discharging his piece, and two of the men followed his example. This threw the Indians into confusion, and they retreated, but were rallied again by one of the chiefs, who shouted and waved his patoo-patoo. The Doctor now pointed his musquet at this hero, and hit him: this stopped his career, and he took to flight with the other Indians. They retired to an eminence in a collected body, and seemed dubious whether they should return to the charge. They were now at too great a distance for a ball to reach them, but these operations being observed from the ship, she brought her broadside to bear, and by firing over them, soon dispersed them. The Indians had in their skirmish two of their people wounded, but none killed: peace being thus restored, the gentlemen began to gather celery and other herbs, but suspecting that some of the natives were lurking about with evil designs, they repaired to a cave, which was at a small distance. Here they found the chief, who had that day received a present from the Captain; he came forth with his wife and brother, and solicited their clemency. It appeared, that one of the wounded Indians was a brother of this chief, who was under great anxiety lest the wound should prove mortal, but his grief was in a great degree alleviated, when he was made acquainted with the dif-

ferent effects of small shot and ball; he was at the same time assured, that upon any farther hostilities being committed, ball would be used. This interview terminated very cordially, after some trifling presents were made to the chief and his companions. "The prudence of the gentlemen (says our author) cannot be much commended: for had these 400 Indians boldly rushed in upon them at once with their weapons, the musquetry could have done very little execution; but supposing twenty or thirty of the Indians had been wounded, as it does not appear their pieces were loaded with ball, but only small shot, there would have remained a sufficient number to have massacred them, as it appears they do not give any quarter, and none could have been expected upon this occasion. It is true, when the ship brought her broadside to bear, she might have made great havock amongst the Indians; but this would have been too late to save the party on shore.—Being in their boats, the English rowed to another part of the same island, when landing and gaining an eminence, they had a very agreeable and romantic view of a great number of small islands, well inhabited and cultivated."

The inhabitants of an adjacent town approached unarmed, and testified great humility and submission. Some of the party on shore who had been very violent for having the Indians punished for their fraudulent conduct, were now guilty of trespasses equally reprehensible, having forced into some of the plantations, and dug up potatoes. The captain, upon this occasion shewed strict justice in punishing each of the offenders with twelve lashes: one of them being very refractory upon this occasion, and complaining of the hardship, thinking an Englishman had a right to plunder an Indian with impunity, received six additional lashes for his reward.

As it was quite a dead calm on the 30th day of this month, two boats were sent to sound the harbour; when many canoes came up and traded with great probity; the gentlemen went again on shore and met with a very civil reception from the natives; and this friendly intercourse continued all the time they remained in the bay, which was several days. Being upon a visit to the old chief, he shewed them the instruments used in tataowing, which were very like those employed at Otaheite upon the like occasion. They saw the man who had been wounded by the ball, when the attempt was made to carry off the ship's buoy; and though it had gone through the fleshy part of his arm, it did not seem to give him the least pain or uneasiness. On Tuesday the 5th, in the morning, they weighed anchor, but were soon becalmed, and a strong current setting towards the shore, they were driven in with such rapidity, that they expected every moment to be run upon the breakers, which appeared above water not more than a cable's length distance, and they were so near the land, that Tupia, who was totally ignorant of the danger, held a conversation with the Indians, who were standing on the beach. They were happily relieved however, from this alarming situation by a fresh breeze suddenly springing up from the shore. The bay which they had left was called *The Bay of Islands*, on account of the numerous islands it contains; they caught but few fish while they lay there, but procured great plenty from the natives, who were extremely expert in fishing, and displayed great ingenuity in the form of their nets, which were made of a kind of grass; they were two or three hundred fathoms in length, and remarkably strong, and they have them in such plenty, that it is scarcely possible to go a hundred yards without meeting with numbers lying in heaps. These people did not appear to be under the government of any particular chief or sovereign, and they seemed to live in a perfect state of friendship, notwithstanding their villages were fortified. According to their observations upon the tides, the flood comes from the south, and there is a current from the west. December 7, several canoes

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nees put off and followed the Endeavour, but a breeze arising, Captain Cook did not wait for them. On the 8th they tacked, and stood in for the shore, and on the 9th they were about seven leagues to the westward of the Cavalles, and soon after came to a deep bay, which the captain named *Doubtless Bay*. The wind prevented their putting in here, and being soon after becalmed, they were visited by several canoes from shore, with whom they trafficked. From these Indians they learned, that they were about two days sail from *Moore Whennua*, where the land changed its shape, and instead of extending to the westward, turned to the south; and that to the north-north-west there was an extensive country, named *Ulimaroah*, where the inhabitants lived upon hogs, which they called *Booah*, which was the same name given them by the inhabitants of the islands in the South Seas. They saw upon the coast several plantations of the Eaowte, or cloth trees, and some of the Koomarra. They beat to windward four days, and made but little way.

On the 10th, the land appeared low and barren, but was not destitute of inhabitants; the next morning they stood in with the land, which forms a peninsula, and which the Captain named *Knuckle Point*. Another bay, that lies contiguous, Captain Cook called *Sandy Bay*, in the middle of it is a high mountain, which was named *Mount Camel*, on account of its resembling that animal; several canoes put off, but could not reach the ship, which now tacked and stood to the northward, till the afternoon of the 12th, when she stood to the north-east. Towards night it began to rain and blow, and in the morning it was so tempestuous as to split the main-top sail, and the fore-mizen-top sails. Early in the morning of the 14th they saw land to the southward, and on the 15th they tacked and stood to the westward; next day they discovered land from the mast-head to the south-south-west, and on the 16th came off the northern extremity of New Zealand, which the captain called *North Cape*. It lies in lat. $34^{\circ} 22'$ south, and long. $186^{\circ} 55'$ west, and forms the north point of Sandy Bay. Their situation varied but little till the 24th, when they discovered land, which they judged to be the islands of *The Three Kings*, though they did not resemble the description of them in Dalrymple's account. The chief island is in lat. $34^{\circ} 12'$ south, and long. $187^{\circ} 48'$ west, between 14 and 15 leagues from North Cape. Mr. Banks went out in the small boat, and caught some birds that greatly resembled geese, and they were very good eating. On the 27th it blew very hard from the east all day, accompanied with heavy showers of rain, and they brought the ship under a reefed main-sail. On the 30th they saw land, bearing north-east, which was thought to be Cape Maria Van Diemen, but the sea being very boisterous, they did not venture to approach it, but tacked about and stood to the north-west.

January 1st, 1770, they tacked and stood to the eastward, and on the 3d they saw land again; it was high and flat, and tended away to the south-east, beyond the reach of the naked eye. It is remarkable, that the Endeavour was three weeks in making ten leagues to the westward, and that she met with a violent gale of wind in lat. 35° south, at Midsummer. On the morning of the 4th they stood along the shore, the coast appeared sandy and barren, dreary and inhospitable. Steering northward on the 6th they saw land again, which they imagined to be Cape Maria: on the 7th they had light breezes, and were sometimes becalmed, when they saw a sun-fish, short and thick in figure, with two large fins, but scarcely any tail, resembling a shark in colour and size. They continued steering east till the 9th, when they perceived land, and were soon after abreast off a point, which Captain Cook named *Woody Head*. From the south-west there is a small island, which the captain called *Gannet Island*. Another point remarkably high to the east-north-east, the captain named *Albetrofs Point*, on the north-side of which a bay is formed that promises good anchorage. At about two leagues dis-

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tance from Albetrofs Point, to the north-east they discovered a remarkable high mountain, equal in height to that of Teneriffe, the summit of which was covered with snow, and it was named Mount Egmont. It is in lat. $39^{\circ} 16'$ south, and long. $185^{\circ} 15'$ west, and the country round it is pleasant, presenting an agreeable verdure, intersected with woods. The coast forms an extensive cape, which the captain likewise called *Cape Egmont*, in honour of the nobleman of that name. It is about 27 leagues to the south-south-west point of Albetrofs Point, having two small islands to the north, near a very high point of a conic figure. This day some very heavy showers of rain fell, accompanied with thunder and lightening.

"The captain (says my author) proposed careening the ship here, and taking in wood and water, and accordingly, on the 15th steered for an inlet, when it being almost a calm, the ship was carried very near the shore, but got clear with the assistance of the boats. Whilst this was doing, a sea-lion made its appearance; a very curious creature, and answering the description given of it in Lord Anson's voyage. The captain sent the pinnace to examine a small cove that appeared, but soon after recalled her, on seeing the natives launch and arm their canoes. The Endeavour anchored in a commodious part of the bay. In sailing towards this spot an Indian town was descried, when the inhabitants waved their hands, seemingly to invite the Endeavour's people to land. In passing the point of the bay, they observed an armed centinel on duty, who was twice relieved. Four canoes came from the shore to visit the ship, but none of the Indians would venture on board, except an old man, who seemed of elevated rank; his countrymen took great pains to prevent his coming on board, but they could not divert him from his purpose, and he was received with the utmost civility and hospitality. Tupia and the old man joined noses, according to the custom of the country, and after receiving several presents, he returned to his associates, when they began to dance and laugh, and soon after retired. The captain and the other gentlemen now went on shore, where they met with plenty of wood and water, and were very successful in fishing, catching some hundred weight in a short time.

"On the 16th the Endeavour's people were engaged in careening her, when three canoes came off with a great number of Indians, and brought several of their women with them. This circumstance was judged a favourable presage of their peaceable disposition, but they soon gave proofs of the contrary, by attempting to stop the long-boat that was sent on shore for water, when Captain Cook had recourse to the old expedient of firing some shot, which intimidated them for the present; but they soon gave fresh proofs of their insidious designs. One of them snatched some paper from the Endeavour's people, who were trading with them, and brandishing his patoo-patoo, put himself in a threatening posture, upon which it was judged expedient to fire some shot at him, which wounded him in the knee. This step put an end to the correspondence with regard to trade; but Tupia still continued conversing with them, and making enquiries concerning the curiosities of New Zealand; he also asked them, if they had ever before seen a ship as large as the Endeavour, to which they replied, they had not, nor ever heard such a vessel had been upon the coast: though Tasman certainly touched here, which was only fifteen miles south of Murderer's Bay. There is great plenty of fish in all the coves of this bay, among others here are cuttle-fish, large breams, small grey breams, small and large baracootas, flying gurnard, horse mackrel, dog-fish, soles, dabs, mullets, drums, scorpeneas, or rock-fish, cole-fish, shags, chimeras, &c. The inhabitants catch their fish as follows: their net is cylindrical, extended by several hoops at the bottom, and contracted at the top; the fish going in to feed upon what is put into the net, are caught in great abundance; there are also birds of various kinds, and in great numbers, particularly parrots, wood-pigeons,

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pigeons, water hens, hawks, and many different singing birds. An herb, a species of *Philadelphus*, was used here instead of tea, and a plant called Teegoomme, resembling rug-cloaks, served the natives for garments. The environs of the cove where the Endeavour lay is covered entirely with wood, and the supple jacks are so numerous, that it is with difficulty that passengers can pursue their way; here is a numerous sand fly, that is very disagreeable. The tops of many hills were covered with fern. The air of the country is very moist, and has some qualities that promote putrefaction, as birds that had been shot but a few hours were found with maggots in them. The women who accompanied the men in the canoes, wore a head-dress, which the gentlemen had no where met with before, it was composed of black feathers, tied in a bunch on the top of the head, which greatly increased its height. The manner of their disposing of their dead is very different to what is practised in their southern islands, they tie a large stone to the body, and throw it into the sea. The gentlemen saw the body of a woman which had been disposed of this way, but which, by some accident had disengaged itself from the stone, and was floating upon the water. The Captain, Mr. Banks, and the Doctor visited another cove, about two miles from the ship. There was a family of Indians who were greatly alarmed at the approach of these gentlemen, all running away except one; but upon Tupia's conversing with him, the others returned. They found, by the provisions of this family, that they were cannibals, here being several human bones that had been lately dressed and picked, and it appeared that a short time before, six of their enemies having fallen into their hands, they had killed four and eaten them, and that the other two were drowned in endeavouring to make their escape. They made no secret of this abominable custom, but answered Tupia, who was desired to ascertain the fact, with great composure, that his conjectures were just, that they were the bones of a man, and testified by signs, that they thought human flesh delicious food. Upon being asked, Why they had not eaten the body of the woman that had been floating upon the water? they answered, She died of a disorder, and that moreover she was related to them, and they never ate any but their enemies. Upon Mr. Banks still testifying some doubts concerning the fact, one of the Indians drew the bone of a man's arm through his mouth, and this gentleman had the curiosity to bring it away with him. There was a woman in this family whose arms and legs were cut in a shocking manner, and it appeared she had thus wounded herself because her husband had lately been killed and eaten by the enemy. Some of the Indians brought four skulls one day to sell, which they rated at a very high price. The brains had been taken out, and probably eaten, but the skull and hair remained. They seemed to have been dried by fire, in order to preserve them from putrefaction. The gentlemen likewise saw the bail of a canoe, which was made of a human skull. On the whole their ideas were so horrid and brutish, that they seemed to pride themselves upon their cruelty and barbarity, and took a particular pleasure in shewing the manner in which they killed their enemies, it being considered as very meritorious to be expert at this destruction. The method used was to knock them down with their patoo-patoos, and then tip up their bellies.

"Great numbers of birds usually began their melody about two o'clock in the morning, and serenaded the gentlemen till the time of their rising. This harmony was very agreeable, as the ship lay at a convenient distance from the shore to hear it. These feathered choristers, like the English nightingales, never sing in the day-time.

"On the 17th, the ship was visited by a canoe from the hippah, or village; it contained, among others, the aged Indian, of superior distinction, who had first visited the English upon their arrival. In a conference which Tupia had with him, he testified his apprehen-

sions, that their enemies would very soon visit them, and repay the compliment, for killing and eating the four men. On the 18th they received no visit from the Indians; but going out in the pinnace to inspect the bay, they saw a single man in a canoe fishing, in the manner already described. It was remarkable, that this man did not pay the least attention to the people in the pinnace, but continued to pursue his employment even when they came along-side of him, without once looking at them. Some of the Endeavour's people being on shore, found three human hip bones, close to an oven; these were brought on board, as well as the hair of a man's head, which was found in a tree. The next day a forge was set up to repair the iron-work; and some Indians visited the ship with plenty of fish, which they bartered very fairly for nails.

"On the 20th, Mr. Banks purchased of the old Indian a man's head, which he seemed very unwilling to part with; the skull had been fractured by a blow, and the brains were extracted, and like the others, it was preserved from putrefaction. From the care with which they kept these skulls, and the reluctance with which they bartered any, it was imagined they were considered as trophies of war, and testimonials of their valour. In this day's excursion they did not meet with a single native; the ground on every side was quite uncultivated; but they discovered a very good harbour. The succeeding day the ship's company were allowed to go on shore for their amusement, and the gentlemen employed themselves in fishing, in which they were very successful. Some of the company in their excursion met with fortifications that had not the advantage of an elevated situation, but were surrounded by two or three wide ditches, with a draw-bridge, such as, though simple in its structure, was capable of answering every purpose against the arms of the natives. Within these ditches is a fence, made with stakes, fixed in the earth. A decisive conquest or victory over the besieged, occasions an entire depopulation of that district, as the vanquished, not only those who are killed, but the prisoners likewise are devoured by the victors.

The 22d was employed by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in collecting of plants, whilst Captain Cook made some observations on the main land on the south-east side of the inlet, which consisted of a chain of high hills, and formed part of the south-west side of the strait; the opposite side extended far to the east. He also discovered a village, and many houses that had been deserted, and another village that appeared to be inhabited. There were many small islands round the coast, that seemed entirely barren, and what few inhabitants were upon them lived principally upon fish. On the 24th they visited a hippah, which was situated on a very high rock, hollow underneath, forming a fine natural arch, one side of which joined to the land, and the other rose out of the sea. The inhabitants received the gentlemen with great civility, and very readily shewed them every thing that was curious. This hippah was partly surrounded with palisades, and it had a fighting stage, like that already described. Here they met with a cross resembling a crucifix, which was erected as a monument for a deceased person; but they could not learn how his body was disposed of. From a conversation that Tupia had with these people, a discovery was made that an officer being in a boat near this village, and some canoes coming off, made him imagine they had hostile designs, and he fired upon them with ball, which made them retire with much precipitation, but they could not effect their retreat, before one of them was wounded. What made this rash action the more to be lamented was, that the Indians gave afterwards every possible assurance that their intentions upon this occasion were entirely friendly. On the 25th the captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went on shore to shoot, when they met with a numerous family, who were among the creeks catching fish: they behaved very civilly, and received some trifling presents.

sents from the gentlemen. The next day they went to take a view of the strait, that passed between the eastern and western seas, they accordingly attained the summit of a hill, but it being cloudy weather, they could not see at a considerable distance. Here, however, they erected a pile, leaving in it musquet balls, small shot, beads, &c. as a testimonial of this place having been visited by Europeans. Upon their return they met with another Indian family, who behaved to them very respectfully, and assisted in procuring them water. They also visited another hippah upon a rock that was almost inaccessible: it consisted of about 90 houses, and a fighting stage. The gentlemen made the inhabitants some small presents, and they in return furnished them with dried fish.

"The ship's company were, on the 27th and 28th engaged in making necessary repairs, and getting her ready for sea. The next day they were visited by Topoa, their old friend, and some other Indians. They said, That the man who had received a wound from the officer near the hippah, was dead; but this assertion proved afterwards groundless. The Doctor and Mr. Banks often went on shore whilst the ship was preparing for sea, and made several observations on the coast to the north-west; they perceived an island at about 10 leagues distance, between which and the main there were several smaller islands. The captain also went on shore, and erected another pyramid of stones, in which he put some bullets, beads, &c. as before, with the addition of a piece of silver coin, and placed part of an old pendant on the top, to distinguish it. Some of the people who had been sent out to gather celery, met with several of the natives, among whom were some women, whose husbands had lately fallen into the hands of the enemy, and they were cutting many parts of their bodies in a most shocking manner with sharp stones, in testimony of their excessive grief. What made this ceremony appear ridiculous as well as shocking, was, that the male Indians, who were with them, paid not the least attention to it, but with the greatest unconcern imaginable employed themselves in repairing some empty huts upon the spot.

"On Thursday the 30th, two posts were erected, inscribed with the ship's name, &c. as usual, one was placed at the watering place, with the union flag upon it; and the other in the same manner as on the island of Motuara; and the inhabitants being informed, that these posts were meant as memorials of the Endeavour's having touched at this place, promised never to destroy them. The captain then named this inlet *Queen Charlotte's Island*; and took possession of it in the name, and for the use of his majesty, and a bottle of wine was drank to the queen's health.

"The captain made the old man some presents: among others there were a silver three-pence, and some spike-nails, with the broad arrow upon them. Topoa being questioned concerning a passage into the eastern sea, answered, that there was certainly such a passage; and he also informed the captain, that the land to the south-west of the strait, where he then was, consisted of two islands named Tovy Poennamoo, and that it would take about two days to sail round them; he added, that there was a third island to the east, Eaheinomauwee, which was of a considerable extent, and that the land contiguous to this inlet was called Tiera Witte. Towards night, on the 31st, a brisk gale arose, attended with heavy showers, and the next morning the weather was so very tempestuous, that the Endeavour had her hawser broke, and several casks of water that had been left on shore were washed away with the rain. The 2d, 3d, and 4th of February, were chiefly spent in preparing for their departure, and purchasing fish of the natives, who confirmed the accounts that Topoa had given, respecting an eastern passage, and the adjacent islands. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were in the mean while chiefly engaged in collecting seeds and shells of different kinds. They got under sail the 5th, but the wind not continuing, they came again to anchor.

Topoa visited the gentlemen again, to bid them farewell, and being questioned, whether he had ever heard that such a vessel as the Endeavour had touched there, he answered in the negative; and added, there was a tradition of a small vessel coming from a place called Ulimaroa, (a distant country to the north) that there were only four men in her, and that they were all put to death.

"Mr. Banks and the Doctor went again on shore in search of natural curiosities, when they met with a very amiable family of Indians, among whom was a widow and a pretty youth about ten years of age. She had just lost her husband, and was performing the ceremony of the country upon the occasion. They behaved with the utmost hospitality and courtesy, and endeavoured to prevail with the gentlemen to stay all night, but they expecting the ship to sail, could not accept the invitation. This family seemed the most enlightened and intelligent set of Indians the gentlemen had as yet met with, which made them regret they had not fallen into their company before, as they would probably have derived much information from them. On the 6th of February in the morning, the Endeavour sailed out of the bay, which the ship's company, from an abhorrence of the brutish custom that prevails here of eating men, called *Canibal Bay*. They bent their course to an opening to the east, in the evening; being in the mouth of the straits, they were becalmed in latitude 41° south, longitude $184^{\circ} 45'$ west. The two points which form this entrance, were named Cape Koomaroo, and Point Jackson. The natives called the land about it, Totarranue, and the harbour, which the captain named *Ship Cove*, is very safe and commodious; a ship may enter it either between Motuara and the island of Hamote, or between the western shore and Motuara. Care, however, must be taken to attend to the tides; when there is a little wind they flow about nine or ten o'clock at the full change of the moon, and rise and fall about seven feet and a half, passing through the strait from the south-east."

About this sound the number of the natives did not seem to be above four hundred, who lived on fern-root and fish, and are scattered along the coast. Fish, which was the only commodity that they traded in, they bartered for nails, often giving them the preference to any other things that were presented them. When they found that paper was not water-proof, they soon rejected that article, nor did they set much value upon the cloth of Otaheite, but were well pleased with that of English manufacture. Very good timber was found here, fit for almost every purpose but that of making masts. They found abundance of wild fowl in these parts.

Leaving the sound, the Endeavour steered eastward, and her people were carried by the current very close to one of the two islands that lie off Cape Hoamaroe, at the entrance of the sound. At this time the vessel was in the greatest danger; so that they expected nothing but destruction. However, after veering out 160 fathoms of cable, she was brought up when the rocks were not above two cables length from them. Thus situated, they were obliged to wait for the tide's ebbing, which did not take place till after midnight. They weighed anchor at eight o'clock in the morning, and a fresh breeze afterwards carried them through the strait with great swiftmess. There is a small island at the mouth of it, which the English called *English Island*; and to the narrowest part of this strait between Cape Tierrawitte and Cape Koomaroo, they gave the name of *Cook's Island*, which was about thirteen miles broad, and fourteen long. The former of these lies in $41^{\circ} 44'$ of south latitude, and $183^{\circ} 45'$ of west longitude, and the latter in $41^{\circ} 34'$ south, and $183^{\circ} 30'$ west longitude. They were now facing a deep bay, which was called *Cloudy Bay*, at the distance of about three leagues from land.

As some of the gentlemen doubted whether Eaheinomauwee were an island, the vessel steered south-east, in order to clear up this doubt. The wind shifting,

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Canibal Bay.

Cape Koomaroo and Point Jackson.
Ship Cove.

Queen Charlotte's Island.

English Island

Cook's Island.

Cloudy Bay.

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the stood eastward, and steered north-east by east all night. The next morning they were off Cape Palliser, and found that the land stretched away to the north-eastward of Cape Turnagain. In the afternoon, three canoes came off, having several Indians on board. These made a good appearance, and were ornamented like those on the northern coast. There was no difficulty in persuading them to come on board, where they demeaned themselves very civilly, and a mutual exchange of presents took place. As they asked for nails it was concluded that they heard of the English by means of the inhabitants of some of the other places at which they had touched.

Their dress resembled that of the natives of Hudson's Bay. One old man was tataowed in a very particular manner, he had likewise a red streak across his nose; and his hair and beard were remarkable for their whiteness. The upper garment that he wore was made of flax, and had a wrought border: under this was a sort of petticoat of a cloth called Aoorée Waow. Teeth and green stones decorated his ears: he spoke in a soft and low key, and it was concluded, from his deportment, that he was a person of distinguished rank among his countrymen, and these people withdrew greatly satisfied with the presents that they had received.

Captain Cook having parted from them, steered coastwise, till on the 9th in the morning they discovered that Eahienomauwee was really an island. About sixty Indians in four double canoes came within a stone's throw of the ship, on the 14th of February. As they surveyed her with surprise, Tupia endeavoured to persuade them to come nearer, but this they could not be prevailed on to do. On this account the island was denominated *The Island of Lookers on*. Five leagues distant from the coast of Tovey Poenumoo, they saw an island which was called after Mr. Banks's name; a few Indians appeared on it, and in one place they discovered a smoke, so that it was plain the place was inhabited. Mr. Banks going out in his boat for the purpose of shooting, killed some of the Port Egmont hens, which were like those found on the isle of Faro, and the first that they had seen upon this coast. A point of land was observed on Sunday the 25th in lat. 45° 35' south, to which Captain Cook gave the name of *Cape Saunders*, in honour of Admiral Saunders. They kept off from the shore, which appeared to be interspersed with trees, and covered with green hills, but no inhabitants were discovered.

On the 4th of March, several whales and seals were seen; and, on the 9th they saw a ledge of rocks, and soon after another ledge at three leagues distance from the shore, which they passed in the night to the northward, and at day-break observed the others under their bows which was a fortunate escape; and in consideration of their having been so nearly caught among these, they were denominated the *Traps*. They called the southernmost point of land, the *South Cape*, and found it to be the southern extremity of the whole coast. Proceeding northward, the next day they fell in with a barren rock about fifteen miles from the main land, which was very high, and appeared to be about a mile in circumference; and this they denominated Solander's Island.

They discovered a bay containing several islands, on the 13th where they concluded if there was depth of water, shipping might find shelter from all winds. *Dusky Bay* was the appellation given to it by the captain, and five high peaked rocks, for which it was remarkable, caused the point to be called *Five Fingers*. The westernmost point of land upon the whole coast, to the Southward of Dusky Bay, they called *West Cape*. The next day they passed a small narrow opening, where there seemed to be a good harbour formed by an island, the land behind which exhibited a prospect of mountains covered with snow. They passed a point on the 16th which consisted of high, red cliffs, and received the name of *Cascade Point*, on account of several small streams which fell down it. In the morning of the 18th the valleys were observed covered with

snow as well as the mountains, which seemed to have fallen the night before, when they had rain at sea. Thus they passed the whole north-west coast of Tovey Poenumoo, which had nothing worth the observation of our voyagers but a ridge of naked and barren rocks covered with snow, some of which they conjectured might probably have remained there ever since the creation. As far as the eye could reach, the prospects were in general wild, craggy, and desolate; scarcely any thing but rocks to be seen, the most of which Dr. Hawkesworth describes as having nothing but a kind of hollows, and dreadful fissures instead of valleys between them. From this uncomfortable country they determined to depart, having sailed round the whole country, by the 27th of this month. Captain Cook therefore went on shore in the long-boat, and having found a place proper for mooring the ship, and a good watering-place, the crew began to fill their casks, while the carpenter was employed in cutting wood. The captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went in the pinnace to examine the bay, and the neighbouring country. Landing there, they found several plants of a species which was before unknown to them; no inhabitants appeared; but they saw several huts which seemed to have been deserted a long time before: all the wood and water being taken on board, the vessel was ready to sail by the time that they returned in the evening, and it was now resolved at a council of war to steer for the coast of New Holland, in the course of their return by the way of the East Indies.

They took their departure on the 31st of March, from an eastern point of land, to which they gave the name of *Cape Farewel*, denominating the bay out of which they sailed, *Admiralty Bay*, and two capes *Cape Stephens*, and *Cape Jackson*, (the names of the two secretaries of the Admiralty board.) They called a bay between the island and Cape Farewel, *Blind Bay*, which was supposed to have been the same that was called Murderers Bay, by Tasman, the first discoverer of New Zealand, but though he named it Staten Island, wishing to take possession of it for the States General, yet being attacked here by the Indians he never went on shore to effect his purpose. Of this coast, now more accurately examined by our English voyagers and discovered to consist of two islands,* we have the following account.

"They are situate between the 34th and 48th deg. of south latitude, and between 181° and 194° west longitude. The northern island is called Eahienomauwee, and the southern is named Tovey Poenumoo, by the natives.

"The former, though mountainous in some places, is stored with wood, and in every valley there is a rivulet. The soil in those valleys is light, but fertile and well adapted for the plentiful production of all the fruits, plants and corn of Europe. The summer, though not hotter, is in general of a more equal temperature than in England; and from the vegetables that were found here it was concluded, that the winters were not so severe. The only quadrupeds that were discovered were dogs and rats, and of the latter very few, but the former the inhabitants (like those of Otaheite) breed for food. There are seals and whales on the coasts, and the English once saw a sea-lion. The birds are hawks, owls, quails, and some melodious song birds. There are ducks, and shags of several sorts, like those of Europe, and the gannet, which is of the same sort. Albatrosses, sheerwaters, penguins, and pintados, also visit the coast. The insects found here are, butterflies, flesh-flies, beetles, sand-flies, and musquitos.

"Tovey Poenumoo is barren and mountainous, and appeared to be almost destitute of inhabitants.

"The sea that washes these islands abounds with delicate and wholesome fish. Whenever the vessel came

* It was before thought to be a part of the southern continent so much sought after.

came to an anchor, enough were caught with hook and line only, to supply the whole ship's company; and when they fished with nets, every mess in the ship, where the people were industrious, salted as much as supplied them for several weeks. There were many sorts of fish here which they had never before seen, and which the sailors named according to their fancies. They were sold on moderate terms to the crew: among the rest, fish like the skate, eels, congers, oysters, flat-fish resembling soles and flounders, cockles, and various sorts of mackarel were found in abundance upon the coast.

"Here are forests abounding with trees producing large, straight and clean timber. One tree, about the size of our oak, was distinguished by a scarlet flower, composed of several fibres, and another which grows in swampy ground, very straight and tall, bearing small bunches of berries, and a leaf resembling that of the yew-tree. About 400 species of plants were found, all of which are unknown in England, except garden night-shade, sow-thistle, two or three kinds of fern, and one or two sorts of grass. They found wild celery, and a kind of cress, in great abundance, on the sea-shore; and of eatable plants raised by cultivation, only cocoas, yams, and sweet potatoes. There are plantations of many acres of these yams and potatoes. The inhabitants likewise cultivate the gourd; and the Chinese paper mulberry-tree is to be found, but in no abundance.

"There is only one shrub or tree in the country which produces fruit, which is a kind of berry almost tasteless; but they have a plant which answers all the uses of hemp and flax. There are two kinds of this plant, the leaves of one of which are yellow, and the other a deep red, and both of them resemble the leaves of flax. Of these leaves they make lines and cordage, and much stronger than any thing of the kind in Europe. These leaves they likewise split into breadths, and tying the slips together, form their fishing nets. Their common apparel, by a simple process, is made from the leaves, and their finer, by another preparation, is made from the fibres. This plant is found both in high and low ground, in dry mould and in deep bogs; but as it grows largest in the latter, that seems to be its proper soil.

"The natives here are as large as the largest Europeans. Their complexion is brown, but little more so than that of a Spaniard. They are full of flesh, but not lazy and luxurious; and are stout and well shaped. The women possess not that delicacy, which distinguishes the European ladies; but their voice chiefly distinguishes them from the men. The men are active in a high degree; their hair is black, and their teeth are white and even. The features of both sexes are regular; they enjoy perfect health, and live to an advanced age. It is said they appeared to be of a gentle disposition, and treat each other with the utmost kindness: but they are perpetually at war, every little district being at enmity with all the rest. This is owing most probably, to the want of food in sufficient quantities at certain times. As they have neither black cattle, sheep, hogs, nor goats; so their chief food was fish, which being not always to be had, they are in danger of dying through hunger. They have a few dogs; and when no fish is to be gotten, they have only vegetables, such as yams and potatoes, to feed on; and if by any accident these fail them, their situation must be deplorable. Notwithstanding the custom of eating their enemies, the circumstances and temper of these people is described to be in favour of those who might settle among them as a colony.

"The inhabitants of New Zealand, are as modest and reserved in their behaviour and conversation as the most polite nations of Europe. The women, indeed, were not dead to the softer impressions; but their mode of consent was in their idea as harmless as the consent to marriage with us, and equally binding for the stipulated time. If any of the English addressed one of their women, he was informed, that the

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consent of her friends must be obtained, which usually followed, on his making a present. This done he was obliged to treat his temporary wife as delicately as we do in England. A gentleman who sailed in the Endeavour, having addressed a family of some rank, received an answer, of which the following is an exact translation. "Any of these young ladies will "think themselves honoured by your addresses, but "you must first make me a present, and you must "then come and sleep with us on shore, for day-light must by no means be a witness of what passes "between you."

"These Indians anoint their hair with oil melted from the fat of fish or birds. The poorer people use that which is rancid, so that they smell very disagreeable; but those of superior rank make use of that which is fresh. They wear combs both of bone and wood, which is considered as an ornament when stuck upright in the hair. The men tie their hair in a bunch on the crown of the head, and adorn it with feathers of birds, which they likewise sometimes place on each side of the temples. They commonly wear short beards. The hair of the women sometimes flows over the shoulders, and sometimes is cut short. Both sexes, but the men more than the women, mark their bodies with black stains, called Amoco. In general the women stain only the lips, but sometimes mark other parts with black patches: the men on the contrary put on additional marks from year to year, so that those who are very ancient are almost covered. Exclusive of the amoco, they mark themselves with furrows. Those furrows make a hideous appearance, the edges being indented, and the whole quite black. The ornaments of the face are drawn in the spiral form with equal elegance and correctness, both cheeks being marked exactly alike; while paintings on their bodies resemble fillagree work, and the foliage in old chased ornaments; but no two faces or bodies are painted exactly after the same model. The people of New Zealand frequently left the breech free from these marks; which the inhabitants of Otaheite adorned beyond any other. These Indians likewise paint their bodies by rubbing them with red oker, either dry or mixed with oil.

"Their dress is formed of the leaves of the flax split into slips, which are interwoven and made into a kind of matting, the ends, which are seven or eight inches in length, hanging out on the upper side. One piece of this matting being tied over the shoulders, reaches to the knees: the other piece being wrapped round the waist falls almost to the ground. These two pieces are fastened to a string, which by means of a bodkin of bone is passed through, and tacks them together. The men wear the lower garment only at particular times.

"They have two kinds of cloth besides the coarse matting or flax above-mentioned; one of which is as coarse, but beyond all proportion stronger than the English canvas; the other which is formed of the fibres of a plant, drawn into threads which cross and bind each other, resembles the matting on which we place our dishes at table.

"They make borders of different colours to both these sorts of cloth, resembling girls' samplers, and finished with great neatness and elegance. What they consider as the most ornamental part of their dress is the fur of dogs, which they cut into stripes, and sew on different parts of their apparel. As dogs are not plenty, they dispose these stripes with economy. They have a few dresses ornamented with feathers; and one man was seen covered wholly with those of the red parrot.

"The women never tie their hair on the top of their head, nor adorn it with feathers; and are less anxious about dress than the men. Their lower garment is bound tight round them, except when they go out fishing, and then they are careful that the men shall not see them. It once happened that some of the ship's crew surprised them in this situation, when some of them hid themselves among the rocks, and

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the rest kept their bodies under water till they had formed a girdle and apron of weeds; and their whole behaviour manifested the most refined ideas of female modesty.

"The ears of both sexes were bored, and the holes stretched so as to admit a man's finger. The ornaments of their ears are feathers, cloth, bones, and sometimes bits of wood; a great many of them made use of the nails which were given them by the English, for this purpose, and the women sometimes adorned their ears with white down of the albatross, which they spread before and behind the hole in a large bunch. They likewise hung to their ears by strings, chisels, bodkins, the teeth of dogs, and the teeth and nails of their deceased friends. The arms and ankles of the women are adorned with shells and bones, or any thing else through which they can pass a string. The men wear a piece of green talc or whalebone, with the resemblance of a man carved on it, hanging to a string round the neck. They saw one man who had the gristle of his nose perforated, and a feather passed through it, projecting over each cheek.

"These people shew less ingenuity in the structure of their houses, than in any thing else belonging to them; they are from sixteen to twenty-four feet long, ten or twelve wide, and six or eight in height. The frame is of slight sticks of wood, and the walls and roof are made of dry grass pretty firmly compacted. Some of them are lined with bark of trees, and the ridge of the house is formed by a pole which runs from one end to the other. The door is only high enough to admit a person crawling on hands and knees, and the roof is sloping. There is a square hole near the door, serving both for window and chimney, near which is the fire-place. A plank is placed over the door, adorned with a sort of carving, and this they consider as an ornamental piece of furniture. The side-walls and roof projecting two or three feet beyond the walls at each end form a sort of portico where benches are placed to sit on. The fire is made in the middle of a hollow square in the floor, which is inclosed with wood or stone. They sleep near the walls, where the ground is covered with straw for their beds. Some who can afford it, whose families are large, have three or four houses, inclosed in their court-yard. Their clothes, arms, feathers, some ill-made tools, and a chest, in which all these are deposited, form all the furniture of the inside of the house. Their hammers to beat fern-root, gourds to hold water, and baskets to contain provisions, are placed without the house. One house was found near 40 feet long, 20 wide, and 14 high. Its sides were adorned with carved planks of workmanship superior to the rest; but the building appeared to have been left unfinished."

Though the people sleep warm enough at home, they seem to despise the inclemency of the weather, when they go in search of fish or fern-roots. Sometimes, indeed, they place a small defence to windward, but frequently sleep undressed with their arms placed round them, without the least shelter whatever.

Besides the fern-root, which serves them for bread, they feed on albatrosses, penguins, and some other birds. Whatever they eat is either roasted or baked, as they have no vessel in which water can be boiled. The English saw no plantations of cocoas, potatoes, and yams, to the southward, though there were many in the northern parts. The natives drink no other liquor than water, and enjoy perfect and uninterrupted health. When wounded in battle, the wound heals in a very short time without the application of medicine; and the very old people carry no other mark of decay about them than the loss of their hair, and teeth, and a failure of their muscular strength:—but enjoy an equal share of health and cheerfulness with the youngest.

The canoes of this country are not unlike the whale-boats of New-England, being long and narrow. The larger sort seem to be built for war, and will hold from 30 to 100 men. One of these at Tolaga mea-

ured near 70 feet in length, six in width, and four in depth. It was sharp at the bottom, and consisted of three lengths, about two or three inches thick, and tied firmly together with strong plaiting; each side was found of one entire plank, about twelve inches broad, and about an inch and a half thick, which was fitted to the bottom part with equal strength and ingenuity. Several thwarts were laid from one side to the other, to which they were securely fastened, in order to strengthen the canoes.

Some few of their canoes at Mercury-Bay and Opoorage, are all made entirely of one trunk of wood, which is made hollow by fire; but by far the greater part are built after the plan above described. The smaller boats which are used chiefly in fishing, are adorned at head and stern with the figure of a man, the eyes of which are composed of white shells:—a tongue of enormous size, is thrust out of the mouth, and the whole face a picture of the most absolute deformity. The grander canoes, which are intended for war, are ornamented with open work, and covered with fringes of black feathers, which gives the whole an air of perfect elegance; the side-boards which are carved in a rude manner, are embellished with tufts of white feathers.

These vessels are rowed with a kind of paddles, between five and six feet in length, the blade of which is a long oval, gradually decreasing till it reaches the handle; and the velocity with which they row with these paddles is very surprising. Their sails are composed of a kind of mat or netting, which is extended between two upright poles, one of which is fixed on each side. Two ropes, fastened to the top of each pole, serve instead of sheets. The vessels are steered by two men, having such a paddle, and sitting in the stern; but they can only sail before the wind, in which direction they move with considerable swiftness.

These Indians use axes, adzes, and chisels, with which last they likewise bore holes. The chisels are made of jasper, or of the bone of a man's arm; their axes and adzes of a hard black stone. They use their small jasper tools till they are blunted, and then throw them away, having no instrument to sharpen them with. The Indians at Tolaga having been presented with a piece of glass, drilled a hole through it, and hung it round the neck. A small bit of jasper was thought to have been the tool they use in drilling it.

Their tillage of the ground is excellent, owing to the necessity they are under of cultivating or running the risque of starving. At Tegadoo their crops were just put into the ground, and the surface of the field was as smooth as a garden, the roots were ranged in regular lines, and to every root there remained a hillock. A long narrow stake, sharpened to an edge at bottom, with a piece fixed across a little above it, for the convenience of driving it into the ground with the foot, supplies the place both of plough and spade. The soil being light, their work is not very laborious, and with this instrument alone they will turn up ground of six or seven acres in extent.

The seine, the large net which has been already noticed, is produced by the united labour, and is probably the joint property of a whole town. Their fish-hooks are of shell or bone; and they have baskets of wicker-work to hold the fish. Their warlike weapons are spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo. The spear, which is pointed at each end, is about sixteen feet in length, and they hold it in the middle, so that it is difficult to parry a push from it. Whether they fight in boats or on shore the battle is hard to hand, so that they must make bloody work of it. They trust chiefly in the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrists, by means of a strong strap, that it may not be wrested out of their hands. These are worn in the girdles of people of a superior rank, as a military ornament. They have a kind of staff of distinction, which is carried by the principal warriors. It is formed of a whale's rib, is quite white, and

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and adorned with carving, feathers, and the hair of their dogs; and they sometimes carried a stick six feet long, inlaid with shells, and otherwise adorned like the military staff. This honourable mark of distinction was commonly borne by the old men.

When they came to attack the English, there was usually one or more thus distinguished in each canoe. It was their custom to stop at about 50 or 60 yards distance from the ship, when the commanding officer arising, and putting on a dog-skin garment, used to direct them how to proceed. When they were too far from the ship to reach it with stones or lances, they used to cry out in their language, "Come on shore to us, and we will kill you all with our patoo-patoos."

While they threatened thus, they approached the vessel, yet talking in a peaceable manner at intervals; but afterwards, supposing the English to be afraid of them, they renewed their menaces, and an engagement generally terminated the matter, in which they were repulsed by the superior arms of their European adversaries.

When these savages exhibit their war dance, all their limbs are distorted, and their faces drawn into various contortions. Their tongues hang out of their mouths, and their eye-lids are drawn in such a manner as to form a circle round the eye. At the same time they shake their darts, brandish their spears, and wave their patoo-patoos. A song accompanies this dance, which song is sung in concert, a deep sigh ending every stanza. In this dance they are very active; and it is generally observed that they have just ideas of keeping time to music; as an instance of which, we are told that sixty or eighty paddles will strike at once against the sides of their canoes, and like the firing of regular soldiers, one report only will be heard from the whole number. In times of peace they sometimes sing the war song; but the dance is omitted: the women sing likewise in a melodious but mournful strain. A shell which produces a sound resembling that of the common horn, and a pipe of no more compass than a child's whistle, are their instruments of music. The following description will conduce to give the reader a just idea of these people.—

Their hippahs or villages, of which there are several between the bay of Plenty and Queen Charlotte's Sound, are all fortified. It is in these that the inhabitants of those parts constantly reside, but near Tolaga, Hawk's Bay, and Poverty Bay, there are no towns, only single houses being seen, at a considerable distance from each other. On the sides of the hills were discovered long stages, supplied with darts and stones; and these were concluded to be intended for retreats in time of danger; as it appeared that from such places they could combat their enemies to great advantage. A sort of magazine of provisions, consisting of dried fish, and fern roots, was found in these fortifications.

It appeared that the inhabitants of this part of the country were subject to Teratu, who resided near the Bay of Plenty, and being thus united under a single chief, they enjoyed a security unknown to the inhabitants of the other parts of the country. There were several inferior governors in Teratu's dominions, to whom the most implicit obedience was paid. One of the inhabitants having robbed the English, complaint was made to a chief, who chastised him by kicking and striking him, while the thief bore his punishment with unresisting humility.

The inhabitants of the southern parts appeared to be co-partners in their fishing-nets and fine apparel. The latter, which probably was obtained in war, were kept in a little hut, destined for that use, in the centre of the town, and the several parts of the nets, being made by different families, were afterwards joined together for the common use. The gentlemen imagined that the employment of the men consisted in cultivating the ground, making nets, catching birds, and fishing, while the women were engaged in weaving cloth, procuring fern roots, and shell fish,

and dressing food. With regard to religion, they acknowledged one superior being, and several subordinate. Their mode of worship could not be learned; nor was any place proper for that purpose to be seen. There was indeed, a small square area, encompassed with stones, in the middle of which hung a basket of fern roots on one of their spades. This they said was offered to the gods, in hopes of a plentiful crop of provisions. The inhabitants of the southern district said they disposed of their dead by throwing them into the sea; but those of the northward, buried them in the ground. Our adventurers however saw not the least sign of any grave or monument; but the body of almost every inhabitant bore the marks of wounds which they had given themselves, in token of grief for the loss of their friends and relations. Some of the scars were newly made, which is a proof that their friends had died while the ship's crew were there; yet no one saw any thing like a funeral, as those islanders conceal every thing respecting the dead, with the utmost caution. A great similitude was observed between the dress, furniture, boats, and nets, of the New Zealanders, and those of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, which furnished a strong proof that the common ancestors of both were natives of the same country. Indeed the inhabitants of these different places have a tradition, that their ancestors originated from another country many years since; and they both agree, that this country was called *Heawige*. But perhaps a yet stronger proof that their origin was the same, will arise from the similitude of their language, of which the following is a specimen.

<i>New Zealand.</i>	<i>Otaheite.</i>	
Whahine,	Aheine,	<i>A woman.</i>
Taata,	Tata,	<i>People.</i>
Heoo-oo,	Eroowroo,	<i>The hair.</i>
Erai,	Irai,	<i>The brow.</i>
Mata,	Matau,	<i>The Eyes.</i>
Aheioh,	Eahoo,	<i>The nose.</i>
Paparinga,	Paparea,	<i>The cheeks.</i>
Ateraboo,	Eobo,	<i>The belly.</i>
Apeto,	Pito,	<i>The navel.</i>
Heromai,	Harremai,	<i>Come hither.</i>
Taro,	Taro,	<i>Cocoas.</i>
Tahai,	Tohe,	<i>One.</i>
Rua,	Rooa,	<i>Two.</i>
Torou,	Torhoo,	<i>Three.</i>
Ha,	Ha,	<i>Four.</i>
Etu,	Hitoo,	<i>Seven.</i>
Ioä,	Ioä,	<i>Nine.</i>
Heneaho,	Enecho,	<i>The teeth.</i>

The vessel left Cape Farewell on the 31st of March, 1770, and had fine weather and a fair wind, till the 9th of April, when they saw a tropic bird, in the latitude of 38° 29' south, a sight very unusual in so high a latitude. On the 15th, they saw an egg bird, and a gannet; and on the following day a small land-bird perched on the rigging, from which they concluded they were near the land; but they found no ground at 120 fathom. On the 18th, in the morning, they saw a Pintado bird, and some Port-Egmont hens, an infallible sign that land was not very distant; at six o'clock in the morning of the 19th, they discovered land four or five leagues distant, the southernmost part of which was called *Point Hicks*, in compliment to Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, who made the discovery of it. At noon they discovered another point of the same land, rising in a round hillock, extremely like the Ram-Head at the entrance of Plymouth Sound, for which reason Captain Cook gave it the same name. What they had yet seen of the land was low and even, and the inland parts were green, and covered with wood. They now saw three water spouts at the same time, one of which continued a quarter of an hour; at six in the evening the northernmost point of the main land, which was distant about two leagues, was named *Cape Howe*. On the following day they had a distant view of the country,

Point Hicks.

Ram Head.

Cape Howe.

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Mount Dromedary.
Point Dromedary.

Point Upright

Pigeon-House

Cape George.

Long-Nose.

Red Point.

try, which was in general covered with wood, and interspersed with several small lawns. It appeared to be inhabited, as smoke was seen in several places. At four o'clock the next morning they saw a high mountain, which, from its shape, they called *Mount Dromedary*, under which there is a point which received the name of *Point Dromedary*. In the evening they were opposite a point of land which rose perpendicular, and was called *Point Upright*. On Sunday the 22d, they were so near the shore, as to see several of the inhabitants on the coast, who were of a very dark complexion, if not perfect negroes. At noon they saw a remarkably peaked hill, to which the captain gave the name of the *Pigeon-House*, from its resemblance of such a building. The trees on this island were both tall and large, but they saw no place fit to give shelter even to a boat.—

“The captain, (says our author) gave the name *Cape George* to a point of land discovered on St. George's day, two leagues to the north of which the sea formed a bay, which, from its shape, was called *Long Nose*; eight leagues from which lies *Red Point*, so called from the colour of the soil in its neighbourhood. On the 27th they saw several of its inhabitants walking along the shore, four of them carrying a canoe on their shoulders, but as they did not attempt to come off to the ship, the Captain took Messrs. Banks and Solander, and Tupia in the yawl, and employed four men to row them to that part of the shore where they saw the natives, near which four small canoes laid close in land. The Indians sat on the rocks till the yawl was a quarter of a mile from the shore, and then they ran away into the woods. The surf beating violently on the beach, prevented the boat from landing; the gentlemen were therefore obliged to make what observations they could at a distance. The canoes resembled generally the smaller sort of those of New Zealand. They saw a great number of cabbage trees on shore; the other trees were of the palm kind, and there was no underwood among them. At five in the evening they returned to the ship, and a light breeze springing up, they sailed to the northward, where they discovered several people on shore, who, on their approach, retired to an eminence, soon after which two canoes arrived on the shore, and four men, who came in them, joined the others. The pinnace having been sent a-head to sound, arrived near the spot where the Indians had stationed themselves, on which one of them hid himself among the rocks near the landing-place, and the others retreated farther up the hill. The pinnace keeping along shore, the Indians walked near in a line with her; they were armed with long pikes, and a weapon resembling a scymitar, and, by various signs and words, invited the boat's crew to land; those who did not follow the boat, having observed the approach of the ship, brandished their weapons, and threw themselves into threatening attitudes. The bodies, thighs, and legs of two of these, were painted with white streaks, and their faces were almost covered with a white powder. They talked together with great emotion, and each of them held one of the above-mentioned weapons. The ship having come to an anchor, they observed a few huts, in which were some of the natives; and saw some canoes, in each of which was a man employed in striking fish with a kind of spear. They had anchored opposite a village of about eight houses, and observed an old woman and three children come out of a wood, laden with fuel for a fire; they were met by three smaller children, all of whom, as well as the woman, were quite naked. The old woman frequently looked at the ship with the utmost indifference, and, as soon as she had made a fire, the fishermen brought their canoes on shore, and they set about dressing their dinner with as much composure, as if a ship had been no extraordinary sight. Having formed a design of landing, they manned the boats, and took Tupia with them, and they had no sooner come near the shore, than two men advanced, as if to dispute their setting foot on land. They were each of them armed with

different kinds of weapons. They called out aloud in a harsh tone, *warra warra wai!* the meaning of which Tupia did not understand. The captain threw them beads, nails, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed very well pleased with. He then made signals that he wanted water, and used every possible means to convince them that no injury was intended. They made signs to the boat's crew to land, on which they put the boat in, but they had no sooner done so, than the two Indians came again to oppose them. A musquet was now fired between them, on the report of which, one of them dropped a bundle of lances, which he immediately snatched up again in great haste. One of them then threw a stone at the boat, on which the captain ordered a musquet loaded with small shot to be fired, which wounding the eldest of them on the legs, he retired hastily to one of the houses, that stood at some little distance. The people in the boats now landed, imagining that the wound which this man had received would put an end to the contest. In this, however, they were mistaken, for he immediately returned with a kind of shield, of an oval figure, painted white in the middle, with two holes in it to see through. They now advanced with great intrepidity, and both discharged their lances at the boat's crew, but did not wound any of them. Another musquet was fired at them, on which they threw another lance, and then took to their heels. The English now went up to the huts, in one of which they found the children, who had secreted themselves behind some bark. They looked at them, but left them without its being known they had seen them, and having thrown several pieces of cloth, ribbands, beads, and other things into the hut, they took several of their lances, and then re embarked in the boat. The canoes on this coast were about 13 feet in length, each made of the bark of a single tree, tied up at the ends, and kept open in the middle by the means of sticks placed across them; their paddles were very small, and two were used at a time.

“They now sailed to the north point of the bay, where they found plenty of fresh water. On taking a view of the hut where they had seen the children, they had the mortification to find that every Indian was fled, and that they had left all the presents behind them. The captain now went in the pinnace to inspect the bay, and saw several of the natives, who all fled as he approached them. Some of the men having been sent to get wood and water, they no sooner went on board to dinner, than the natives came down to the place, and examined the casks with great attention, but did not offer to remove them. When the people were on shore in the afternoon, about 20 of the natives, all armed, advanced within a trifling distance of them, and then stopped, while two of their number approached still nearer. Mr. Hicks, the commanding officer on shore, went towards them, with presents in his hands, and endeavoured, by every possible means to assure them of his friendly intentions, but to no purpose, for they retired before he came up to them. In the evening, Messrs. Banks and Solander, went with the captain to a cove north of the bay, where they caught between three and four hundred weight of fish, at four hauls.

“On Monday the 30th, the natives came down to the huts before it was light, and were repeatedly heard to shout very loud, and soon after day-break they were seen on the beach, but quickly retired about a mile, and kindled several fires in the woods. This day some of the ship's crew being employed in cutting grass at a distance from the main body, while the natives pursued them, but stopping within fifty of sixty yards of them, they shouted several times, and retreated to the woods. In the evening they behaved exactly in the same manner, when the captain followed them alone and unarmed for some time, but they still retired as he approached. On Tuesday, May the first, the south point of the bay was named *Sutherland Point*, one of Sutherland the seamen, of the name of Sutherland, having died that day, who was buried on shore; and more presents

were left in the huts, such as looking-glasses, combs, &c. but the former ones had not been taken away. — Making an excursion about the country, they found it agreeably variegated with wood and lawn, the trees being strait and tall, and without underwood. The country might be cultivated without cutting down one of them. The grass grows in large tufts, almost close to each other, and there is a great plenty of it. In this excursion they met with many places where the inhabitants had slept without shelter, but they saw one man, who ran away the moment they beheld them. More presents were left in their huts, and at their sleeping-places, in hopes of producing a friendly intercourse. They saw the dung of an animal which fed on grass, and traced the foot-steps of another, which had claws like a dog, and was about the size of a wolf: they also discovered the track of a small animal, whose foot was like that of a pole-cat, and saw one animal alive, about the size of a rabbit. They found some wood that had been felled, and the bark stript off by the natives, and saw several growing trees, in which steps had been cut, for the convenience of ascending them. The woods abound with a vast variety of beautiful birds, among which were cockatooes, and parroquets, which flew in large flocks. The second lieutenant, Mr. Gore, having been with a boat in order to drudge for oysters, saw some Indians, who made signs for him to come on shore, which he declined: having finished his business, he sent the boat away, and went by land with a midshipman, to join the party that was getting water. In their way they met with more than 20 of the natives, who followed them so close as to come within a few yards of them; Mr. Gore stopped and faced them, on which the Indians stopped also, and when he proceeded again, they followed him; but they did not attack him, though they had each man a lance. The Indians coming in sight of the water-casks, stood at the distance of a quarter of a mile, while Mr. Gore and his companions reached their ship-mates in safety. Two or three of the waterers now advanced towards the Indians, but observing they did not retire, they very imprudently turned about, and retreated hastily; this apparent sign of cowardice inspired the savages, who discharged four of their lances at the fugitives, which flying beyond them, they escaped unhurt. They now stopped to pick up the lances; on which the Indians retired in their turn. At this instant the captain came up, with Messrs. Banks and Solander, and Tupia, advancing, made signs of friendship; but the poor natives would not stay their coming up to them. On the following day they went again on shore, where many plants were collected by Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks. They saw several parties of the Indians, who all ran away on their approach. Tupia having learnt to shoot, frequently stayed alone to shoot parrots, and the Indians constantly fled away from him with as much precipitation as from the English. On the 3d of May, fourteen or fifteen Indians, in the same number of canoes, were engaged in striking fish within half a mile of the watering-place. At this time, a party of the ship's crew were shooting near the fishermen, one of whom Mr. Banks observed to haul up his canoe on the beach, and approach the people who were shooting. He watched their motions unobserved by them, for more than a quarter of an hour, then put off his boat and returned to his fishing. At this time the captain, with Dr. Solander and another gentleman, went to the head of the bay to try to form some connection with the Indians. On their first landing they found several of the Indians on shore, who immediately retreated to their canoes, and rowed off. They went up the country, where they found the soil to be a deep black mould, which appeared to be calculated for the production of any kind of grain. They saw some of the finest meadows that were ever beheld, and met with a few rocky places, the stone of which is sandy, and seemed to be admirably adapted for building. In the woods they found a tree bearing cherries, if shape and colour may intitle them to

that name, the juice of which was agreeably tart. They now returned to their boat, and seeing a fire at a distance, rowed towards it; but the Indians fled at their coming near them. Near the beach they found seven canoes, and as many fires, from which they judged that each fisherman had dressed his own dinner. There were oysters lying on the spot, and some muscles roasting on the fire. They ate of these fish, and left them some beads and other trifles in return. They now returned to the ship, and in the evening Mr. Banks went out with his gun, and saw a great number of quails, some of which he shot, and they proved to be the same kind as those of England.

On the following day a midshipman having stayed from his companions, came suddenly to an old man and woman, and some children, who were sitting naked under a tree together: they seemed afraid of him but did not run away. The man wore a long beard, and both he and the woman were grey-headed; but the woman's hair was cut short. This day likewise, two of another party met with six Indians on the border of a wood, one of whom calling out very loud, a lance was thrown from a wood, which narrowly missed them. The Indians now ran off, and, in looking round they saw a youth descend from a tree, who had doubtless been placed there for the purpose of throwing the lance at them. This day the captain went up the country on the north side of the bay, which he found to resemble the moory grounds of England; but the land was thinly covered with plants about 16 inches high. The hills rise gradually behind each other, for a considerable distance, and between them is marshy ground. Those who had been sent out to fish this day, met with great success, and the second lieutenant struck a fish called the Stingray, which weighed near two hundred and fifty pounds. The next morning a fish of the same kind was taken, which weighed three hundred and fifty pounds. The name of *Botany Bay* was given to this place from the large number of plants collected by Messrs. Banks and Solander. This country produces two kinds of wood which may be deemed timber, one of which is tall and strait like the pine, and the other is hard, heavy, and dark-coloured, like *lignum vitae*; it yields a red gum, like *dragon's blood*, and bears some resemblance of the English oak. There are mangroves in abundance, several kinds of palm, and a few shrubs. Among other kinds of birds, crows were found here, exactly like those of England. There is great plenty of water-fowls, among the flats of sand and mud; one of which is shaped like a pelican, is larger than a swan, and has black and white feathers. These banks of mud abound with cockles, muscles, oysters, and other shell-fish, which greatly contribute towards the support of the natives, who sometimes dress them on shore, and at other times in their canoes. They likewise caught many other kinds of fish with hooks and line.

While the captain remained in the harbour, the English colours were displayed on shore, daily, and the name of the ship, with the date of the year, was carved on a tree near the place where they took in their water.

They sailed from Botany Bay on the 6th of May, 1770, at noon, when off a harbour, which they called *Port Jackson*, and in the evening, near a bay, to which they gave the name of *Broken Bay*. The next day at noon, the northernmost land in sight projected so as to justify the calling it *Cape Three Points*. On Wednesday the 9th, they saw two exceeding beautiful rainbows, the colours of which were strong and lively, and those of the inner one so bright, as to reflect its shadow on the water. They formed a complete semicircle, and the space between them was much darker than the rest of the sky. On Thursday they passed a rocky point, which was named *Point Stephens*. Next day they saw smoke in several places on shore, and in the evening they discovered three remarkably high hills near each other, which the captain named the *Three Brothers*.

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Smoky Cape

On Sunday the 13th, they saw the smoke of many fires on a point of land, which was therefore called *Smoky Cape*. As they proceeded northward, from *Botany Bay*, the land appeared high and well covered with wood. On Tuesday morning, by the assistance of their glasses, they discovered about a score of the Indians; each loaded with a bundle, which they imagined to be palm-leaves, to thatch their houses. They traced them for more than an hour, during which time they took no notice of the ship: at length they left the beach, and were lost behind a hill, which they gained by a gentle ascent. At noon the captain discovered a high point of land, which he called *Cape Byron*. In the evening they perceived breakers at a considerable distance from the shore, so that they were obliged to tack, and get into deeper water, which having done, they lay with the head of the vessel to the land till the next morning, when they were astonished to find themselves farther to the southward than they had been the preceding evening, notwithstanding they had a southerly wind all night. In the morning they passed the breakers, near a peaked

Mount Warning.
Point Danger.

mountain, which was named *Mount Warning*, and the point off which they lay was called *Point Danger*. The next day they saw more breakers, near a point which was distinguished by the name of *Point Look out*, to the north of which lies a bay, which Captain Cook called *Moreton's Bay*, and the north point Captain Cook named *Cape Moreton*. Near this place are three hills, which were called *The Glass-Houses*, from the very strong resemblance they bore to such buildings.

Moreton's Bay.
Cape Moreton
Glass Houses.

On the 18th they descried a point so unequal, that it looks like two small islands lying under the land, and it was therefore called *Double Island Point*. At noon, by the help of the glasses, they discovered some sands, which lay in spots of several acres, which they observed were moveable, and that some of them had not long been in their present situation, as they saw trees half buried, and the tops of others still green, likewise the naked trunks of some that had been destroyed by the sands. At this time two beautiful water snakes swam by the ship, which seemed to be distinguished from land-snakes, only by their broad and flat tails, which it was thought were useful to them in swimming. On the 19th they sailed by a point of land, on which a large number of Indians were assembled, from whence it was called *Indian Head*. They soon afterwards saw many more of the natives, and observed smoke in the day-time, and fire by night. The next day they saw a point, which was named *Sandy Cape*, from two large tracts of white sand that were on it. They next passed a shoal which was called *Break-Sea Spit*, because they had now smooth water, after having long encountered a high sea. They had for some days past, seen the sea-birds, called boobies, none of which they had met with before, and which, from half an hour before sun-rising, to half an hour after, were continually passing the ship in large flights, from which it was conjectured, that there was a river or inlet of shallow water to the southward, where they went to feed in the day, returning in the evening to some islands to the northward. In honour of Captain Harvey, this bay was called *Harvey Bay*.

Double Island Point.

Indian Head.

Sandy Cape.

Break Sea Spit

Harvey Bay.

On the 22d, by the help of their glasses, they discovered that the land was covered with palm-nut trees, none of which they had seen since they quitted the islands within the tropics. The next morning early, the Captain took a party of men, and being attended by Tupia and the several gentlemen on board, went on shore to examine the country. They landed a little within the point of a bay, that led into a large lagoon, by the sides of which grows the mangrove, as it also does on some bogs, and swamps of salt-water, which they discovered. There were many nests of a singular kind of ant, as green as grass; when the branches of these mangroves were disturbed they came forth in great numbers, and bit the disturber most severely. These trees likewise afforded

shelter for a great number of green caterpillars; their bodies were covered with hairs, which, on the touch, gave a pain similar to the sting of a nettle, but much more acute. These insects ranged themselves side by side on the leaves, thirty or forty together, in a very singular manner. They saw among the sandbanks, many birds larger than swans, which they imagined were pelicans, and they shot a kind of bustard, which weighed seventeen pounds. This bird proved very delicate food, and gave name to the place which was called *Bustard-Bay*. They likewise shot a duck of a most beautiful plumage, with a white back. They found vast numbers of oysters of various sorts, and, among the rest, some hammer oysters of a curious kind. While the English were in the woods, several of the natives came down and took a survey of the ship, and then departed. The gentlemen on shore saw fires in many places, and repairing to one of them, they found about a dozen of small fires burning near each other; but the people were gone, and had left some shells and bones of fish they had just eaten. They likewise saw several pieces of soft bark, about the length and breadth of a man, which they judged had been used as beds. This kind of encampment was in a thicket well defended from the wind; and, as the place was much trodden, and there was no appearance of a house, it was imagined that they spent their nights, as well as days, in the open air, even Tupia shook his head, and exclaimed, *Taata Enos!* "Poor wretches!" They sailed the next morning, and on the day following were abreast of a point, which lying immediately under the tropic, the captain called *Cape Capricorn*, on the west side of which they saw an amazing number of large birds resembling the pelican, some of which were five feet high.

Bustard Bay.

Cape Capricorn.

On the 26th they stood between a range of almost barren islands, and the main land, which is mountainous. They had here very shallow water, and anchored in sixteen feet, which was not two feet more than the ship drew. Mr. Banks tried to fish from the cabin windows, but the water was too shallow. The ground, indeed, was covered with crabs, which greedily seized the bait, and held it till they were above water. These crabs were of two kinds, one of a very fine blue, with a very white belly, and the other marked with blue on the joints, and having three remarkable brown spots on the back. The captain having sent some men in a boat ahead to sound, they returned with an account, that there was not water enough for the ship to pass through; upon which they tacked about and stood back again. In the morning they sailed to the northward, and to the northernmost point of the land the captain gave the name of *Cape Manifold*, from the number of high hills appearing above it. Between this cape and the shore is a bay called *Keppel's Bay*, and some islands bearing the name of the same gentleman. On the 28th, being determined to keep the main-land close aboard, which continued to tend away to the west, they got among another cluster of islands; they were here again greatly alarmed, having on a sudden but three fathom water, in a rippling tide. They immediately put the ship about, and hoisted out the boats in search of deeper water, after which they stood to the west with an easy sail, and, in the evening, came to the entrance of a bay. On the 29th in the morning, the master sent two boats to sound the bay; and the ship was no sooner under sail than the boats made the signal, and the ship accordingly came to an anchor. As they observed the tide to flow and ebb considerably, they imagined this bay to be the entrance of a river that ran up the country. In this place the captain intended to lay the ship ashore, and clean her bottom; and accordingly landed in search of a proper place for that purpose.

Cape Manifold.
Keppel's Bay.

In this excursion, Messrs. Banks and Solander attended Captain Cook. They found walking extremely incommodious, the ground being covered with grass, the seeds of which were sharp, and bearded, so that they

they were continually sticking in their cloaths, whence they worked forward to the flesh, by means of the beard. They were likewise tormented with the perpetual stinging of the musquitos. Several places were found convenient to lay the ship ashore but they could meet with no fresh water; in the interior parts of the country they found gum-trees, on the branches of which were white ants nests formed of clay, as big as a bushel. On the other trees they found black ants, which formed their lodging in the body of it, after they had eaten away the pith, yet the trees were in a flourishing condition. They found butterflies in such incredible numbers, that which ever way they looked, many thousands were to be seen in the air, while every bough and twig was covered with multitudes. They likewise discovered on the ground, where it was supposed to have been left by the tide, a fish, about the size of a minnow having two strong breast fins, with which it leaped away as nimbly as a frog, it did not appear to be weakened by being out of water, nor even to prefer that element to the land; for when seen in the water it leaped on shore, and pursued its way. It was likewise remarked, that where there were small stones projecting above the water, it chose rather to leap from one stone to another, than to swim through the water.

On the 30th, the captain went on shore very early, and having gained the summit of a hill took a survey of the coast, and adjacent islands, which being done, he took Dr. Solander up an inlet which had been discovered the preceding day. The weather proving unfavourable, they returned early to the ship, having seen only two Indians, who followed the boat a considerable way along the shore, but the tide running strong, they did not think it prudent to wait for them. This day Mr. Banks went with a party on shore, and having met with a piece of swampy ground, covered with mangroves, they resolved to pass it, which they did, up to the knees in mud, and sometimes crawling on their hands, when they had slipped between branches of trees, which were interwoven on the surface of the swamp. Having performed this disagreeable task, they arrived at a spot where the natives appeared to have slept on the grass, and where there were the remains of a fish supper, which had been roasted by four small fires. The second lieutenant, at another place, saw the track of a large animal, near a gulley of water; he likewise heard the voice of the Indians, but did not see any. Two turtles were seen at this place, some water-fowls, and a few small land birds.

As no water was to be found, the captain called the inlet *Thirsty Sound*, which they left on the 31st of May, and having sailed round three small islands, anchored in fifteen fathom water. On the first of June they got under sail, having a number of islands in sight, as far the eye could reach. On the 2d at noon they saw a high promontory, which was called *Cape Hillsborough*, and seemed to abound in wood and herbage, distributed on hills, plains, and valleys. There are numbers of small islands in this neighbourhood, on some of which they saw smoke arising in different places. On Sunday the 3d, they discovered a point, which was named *Cape Conway*, and between that and *Cape Hillsborough* a bay, which took the name of *Repute Bay*. The land about *Cape Conway* is diversified by hills and dales, lawns and woods, and forms a delightful appearance. By the help of their glasses they discovered three persons on one of the islands, and a canoe, with an out-rigger, like those of *Otaheite*; they this day named the islands *Cumberland Islands* in honour of the Duke, and a passage which they discovered, was called *Whitsunday's Passage*, from the day on which it was seen. At day-break, they were a-breast of a point, which took the name of *Cape Gloucester*. Names were likewise given to three other places, viz. *Holborne Isle*, *Edgecumbe Bay*, and *Cape Upstart*, which latter was so called, because it rises abruptly from the low lands that surround it.

On Tuesday, when near the shore, they saw very

large columns of smoke rising from the low lands. This day they gave name to *Cleveland Bay*, the east point of which was called *Cape Cleveland*, and the west *Magnetical Isle*, because the compass did not traverse well when they were near it. The points, as well as the main land within them, lie high, and form a barren, rugged, and rocky coast. On the afternoon of Thursday they saw several large columns of smoke, likewise some canoes, and several natives, with some trees, that they thought were of cocoa-nut, in search of which fruit Messrs. Banks and Solander went a-shore with Lieutenant Hicks; but they returned in the evening with a few plants, which they had gathered from the cabbage palm, and which had been mistaken for the cocoa-tree. On Friday they gave the name of *Point Hillock* to a point of land, between which and *Magnetical Isle* the shore forms *Hallifax Bay*, which affords shelter from all winds: at six this evening they were a-breast of a point of land which was named *Cape Sandwich*, near which lies *Rockingham Bay*. Hence they ranged northward along the shore, toward the cluster of islands, on one of which about 40 men, women and children were standing together, and looking at the ship with a curiosity never observed among these people before. The north point of *Rockingham Bay* was called *Dunk Isle*, which is scarcely to be distinguished from the shore, it lies so very near it. On Saturday morning they were a-breast of some small islands which were named *Frankland's Isles*, near which lie two places, which were called *Cape Grafton*, and *Green Island*. Here Messrs. Banks and Solander went ashore with the captain, whose chief views were to procure water, which not being easy to be got, they soon returned on board, and the next day arrived near *Trinity Bay*, which was so called because it was discovered on Trinity Sunday.

As no accident remarkably unfortunate had befallen our adventurers during a navigation of more than 1300 miles, along coasts every where abounding with the most dangerous rocks and shoals, no name expressive of distress had hitherto been given to any cape or point of land which they had seen. But they now gave the name of *Cape Tribulation* to a point which they had just discovered, as they here became acquainted with misfortune. This cape is in $16^{\circ} 6'$ south lat. and $214^{\circ} 39'$ west long.

At six in the evening they shortened sail, to avoid the danger of some rocks, which were seen a-head, and to observe whether any islands lay in the offing, as they were now near the latitude of those islands said to have been discovered by Quiros. They kept standing off from six o'clock till near nine, with a fine breeze and bright moon. They had got from fourteen into twenty-one fathom water; when suddenly they fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathom, in a few minutes. Every man was instantly ordered to his station, and they were on the point of anchoring, when, on a sudden, they had again deep water, so that they thought all danger at an end, concluding they had sailed over the tail of some shoals which they had seen in the evening. They had twenty fathom and upwards before ten o'clock, and this depth continuing some time, the gentlemen who had hitherto been upon duty, retired to rest; but in less than an hour the water shallowed at once from twenty to seventeen fathom, and before soundings could be taken, the ship struck against a rock, and remained fixed, but from the motion given her by the beating of the surge. Every one was instantly on deck, with countenances fully expressive of the agitation of their minds. As they knew they were not near the shore, they concluded they had struck against a rock of coral, the points of which being sharp, and the surface so rough as to grind away whatever is rubbed against it, though with a gentle motion, they had reason to dread the horror of their situation.

The sails being taken in, and boats hoisted out to examine the depth of water, they found that the ship had been carried over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it. Finding the water was deepest a-stern,

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Cleveland Bay.
Cape Cleveland.
Magnetical Isle.

Point Hillock.

Hallifax Bay.

Cape Sandwich.
Rockingham Bay.

Dunk Isle.

Frankland's Isles.

Cape Grafton.
Green Island.

Cape Tribulation.

1770

a-stern, they carried out the anchor from the starboard quarter, and applied their whole force to the capstern, in hopes to get the vessel off, but in vain. She now beat so violently against the rock, that the crew could scarcely keep on their legs. The moon now shone bright, by the light of which they could see the sheathing-boards float from the bottom of the vessel, till at length the false keel followed, so that they expected instant destruction. Their best chance of escaping seemed now to be by lightning her, but as they had struck at high water, they would have been out in their present situation after the vessel should draw as much less water as the water had sunk; but their anxiety abated a little, on finding that the ship settled on the rocks as the tide ebbed. They, however, flattered themselves, that if the ship should keep together till next tide, they might have some chance of floating her. They therefore instantly started the water in the hold, and pumped it up. The decayed stores, oil-jars, casks, ballast, six of their guns, and other things, were thrown over-board, in order to get at the heavier articles; and in this business they were employed till day-break, during all which time not an oath was sworn, so much were the minds of the sailors impressed with a sense of their danger. At day-light they saw land at eight leagues distance, but not a single island between them and the main, on which part of the crew might have been landed, while the boat went on shore with the rest; so that the destruction of the greater part of them would have been inevitable had the ship gone to pieces. It happened that the wind died away to a dead calm before noon. As they expected high water about eleven o'clock, every thing was prepared to make another effort to free the ship, but the tide fell so much short of that in the night, that she did not float by 18 inches, though they had thrown over-board near fifty tons weight: they now, therefore, renewed their toil, and threw over-board every thing that could possibly be spared; as the tide fell, the water poured in so rapidly, that they could scarce keep her free by the constant working of two pumps. Their only hope now depended on the mid-night tide, and preparations were accordingly made for another effort to get the ship off. The tide began to rise at five o'clock, when the leak likewise encreased to such a degree, that two pumps more were manned, but only one of them would work; three, therefore, were kept going till nine o'clock, at which time the ship righted; but so much water had been admitted by the leak, that they expected she would sink as soon as the water should bear her off the rock. Their situation was now deplorable beyond description, almost all hope being at an end. They knew that when the fatal moment should arrive, all authority would be at an end. The boats were incapable of conveying them all on shore, and they dreaded a contest for the preference, as more shocking than the shipwreck itself: yet it was considered, that those who might be left on board, would eventually meet with a milder fate than those who, by gaining the shore, would have no chance but to linger out the remains of life among the rudest savages in the universe, and in a country, where fire-arms would barely enable them to support themselves in a most wretched situation.

At twenty minutes after ten, the ship floated, and was heaved into deep water, when they were happy to find that she did not admit more water than she had done before; yet as the leak had for a considerable time gained on the pumps, there was now three feet nine inches water in the hold. By this time the men were so worn by fatigue of mind and body, that none of them could pump more than five or six minutes at a time, and then threw themselves, quite spent, on the deck, amidst a stream of water which came from the pumps. The succeeding man being fatigued in his turn, threw himself down in the same manner, while the former jumped up and renewed his labour, thus mutually struggling for life, till the following accident had like to have given them up a prey to absolute despair, and thereby insured their destruction.

Between the inside lining of the ship's bottom, which is called the cieling, and the outside planking, there is a space of about seventeen or eighteen inches. The man who had hitherto taken the depth of water at the well, had taken it no farther than the ceiling, but being now relieved by another person, who took the depth of the outside plank, it appeared, by this mistake, that the leak had suddenly gained upon the pumps, the whole difference between the two planks. This circumstance deprived them of all hopes, and scarce any one thought it worth while to labour, for the longer preservation of a life which must so soon have a period: but the mistake was soon discovered: and the joy arising from such unexpected good news inspired the men with so much vigour, that before eight o'clock in the morning, they had pumped out considerably more water than they had shipped. They now talked of nothing but getting the ship into some harbour, and set heartily to work to get in their anchors; one of which, and the cable of another, they lost; but these were now considered as trifles. Having a good breeze from sea, they got under sail at eleven o'clock, and steered for land. As they could not discover the exact situation of the leak, they had no prospect of stopping it within side of the vessel, but the following expedient, which one of the midshipmen had formerly seen tried with success, was adopted. They took an old studding-sail, and having mixed a large quantity of oakum and wool, chopped small, it was stitched down in handfuls on the sail, as lightly as possible, the dung of their sheep and other filth being spread over it. Thus prepared, the sail was hauled under the ship by ropes, which kept it extended till it came under the leak, when the suction carried in the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail. This experiment succeeded so well, that, instead of three pumps, the water was easily kept under with one.

They had hitherto no farther view than to run the ship into some harbour, and build a vessel from her materials, in which they might reach the East Indies; but they now began to think of finding a proper place to repair her damage, and then to pursue their voyage on its original plan. At six in the evening they anchored seven leagues from the shore; and found that the ship made 15 inches water an hour during the night; but as the pumps could clear this quantity, they were not uneasy. At nine in the morning they passed two islands, which were called *Hope Islands*, because the reaching of them had been the object of their wishes at the time of the shipwreck. In the afternoon the master was sent out with two boats to sound and search for a harbour where the ship might be repaired. They anchored at sun-set, in four fathoms water, two miles from the shore. One of the mates being sent out in the pinnace, returned at nine o'clock, reporting, that he had found such a harbour as was wanted, at the distance of two leagues.—

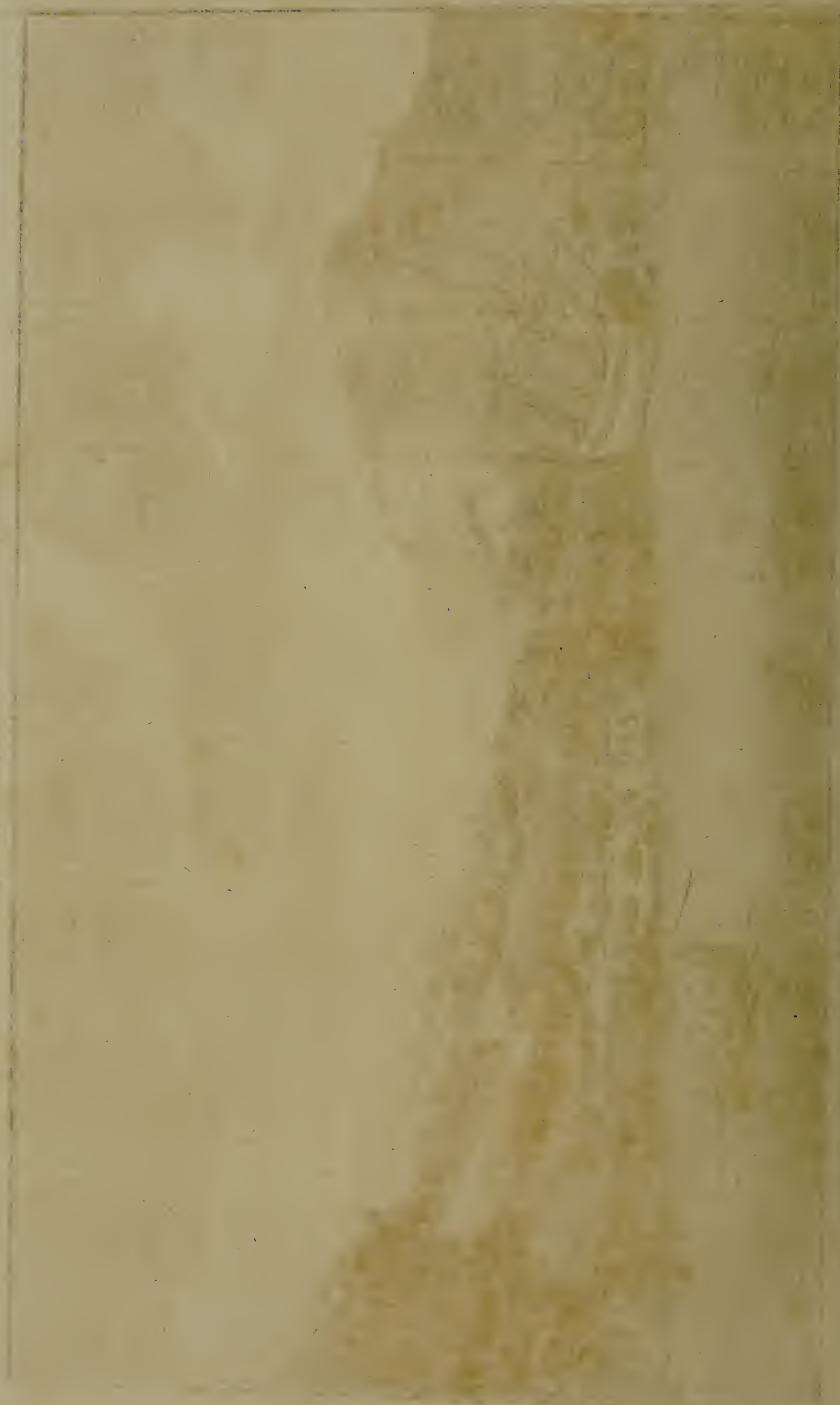
At six o'clock the next morning they sailed, having previously sent two boats a-head, to point out the shoals that they saw in their way. They soon anchored about a mile from the shore, when the captain went out, and found the channel very narrow, but the harbour was better adopted to their present purpose, than any place they had seen in the whole course of their voyage. As it blew very fresh this day and the following night, they could not venture to run into the harbour, but remained at anchor during the two succeeding days, in the course of which they observed four Indians on the hills, who stopped and made two fires.

The men by this time began to be afflicted with the scurvy; and their Indian friend Tupia, was so ill with it, that he had livid spots on both his legs. Mr. Green the astronomer was likewise ill of the same disorder; so that their being detained from landing was every way disagreeable. The wind continued fresh till the 17th, but they then resolved to push in for the harbour, and twice ran the ship a-ground;—the second time she stuck fast, on which they took

Engraved for Hoare's Voyages and Travels.



Capt. Cook having been shipwrecked in his voyage round the World, has the
ENDEAVOUR *repaired in an Harbour on one of the HOPE ISLANDS.*



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took the booms, fore-yard, and fore-top masts down, and made a raft on the side of the ship; and as the tide happened to be rising, she floated at one o'clock. She was now soon got into the harbour where she was moored along the side of a beach, and the anchors, cables, &c. immediately taken out of her.

On Sunday morning they erected a tent for the sick, several of whom were brought on shore as soon as it was ready for their reception. They likewise built a tent to hold the provisions and stores which were landed the same day. Though the boat was dispatched in quest of fish for provision for the sick, she returned without success; but Tupia employed himself in angling, and the sick subsisted on what he caught, and recovered very fast. The high land up the country was stony and barren, and near the river over-run with mangroves, among which at every tide the salt-water came up. Mr. Banks in an excursion saw the frames of several houses, which appeared to have been some time abandoned.

The forge was now set up, and preparations were made for repairing the vessel. And this day Mr. Banks, crossing the river to view the country, found it to be little else but sandy hills. He perceived vast flocks of pigeons and crows, and shot several of the former which proved most beautiful. The ship having sprung a leak, it was thought necessary to carry her higher up the harbour, to find a station proper for her to be laid in while this was stopped.

On examining her on the 22d, it appeared that the rocks had cut through four planks into the timbers, and that three other planks were damaged; but not a splinter was to be seen in all those breaches, the whole being as smooth as if it had been cut with an instrument of iron. One of these holes was large enough to have sunk her even with eight pumps going; but the fissure was in a great measure stopped by a fragment of the rock being left sticking in it. Some pieces of oakum, wool, &c. having gotten between the timber had likewise contributed to stop several parts which the stone had left open. The vessel was besides otherwise damaged.

The carpenters continued working on the ship, while the smiths were busied in making bolts and nails, and some went across the river to shoot pigeons for the sick. They found a stream of fresh water, saw several Indian houses, and observed a mouse-coloured animal that was very swift. As to fish, though they saw plenty, they caught but three of them. Many of the crew seeing the animal just mentioned, declared they had seen the devil, describing this creature in the most terrible manner, such as they apprehended must be the figure of the grand foe of mankind. It seems these men had seen a bat which had thus struck them with fear and astonishment.

The repairs of the ship were now going forward, the carpenters began to work on her starboard side on the 24th. Some palm cabbages and a bunch or two of wild plantains were obtained by Mr. Gore for the refreshment of the sick; and the captain and Mr. Banks saw the above-mentioned animal, which had a long tail that it carried like a grey-hound; the point of its foot resembled that of a goat, and it leaped like a deer.—When the vessel was examined abaft, it was found that she had not received much injury in that quarter. The carpenters, however, continued their work whenever the tide would allow them. The vessel was now in a position that threw all the water abaft, in consequence of which, Mr. Banks's collection of plants which had been removed into the bread-room were found under. Some of them were totally spoiled, but the greater part were restored by proper care and attention. They now endeavoured to float the ship by throwing water-casks under her bottom; but this not succeeding, they were obliged to wait till

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the next spring-tide. They now found more cabbage-trees, and a fruit of a deep colour, which was about the size of a golden pippin, and when kept a few days tasted like a damocen. And a plant was discovered which resembled our English spinach.

Some of the crew went up the country with Mr. Banks, on the 28th, who shewed them a plant that served for greens, which was of the sort that the West-Indians call Indian kale. They saw here a tree notched for climbing in the same manner as had been observed in Botany Bay. They also met with nests of white ants, from the height of seven inches to five feet. Prints of mens feet, and the tracks of several animals were discovered up the country. The next day a wolf was seen similar to those found in America.

Fish were taken in such a quantity the first day as to allow a pound and a half to each man.

The captain ascended a hill on the 30th, in order to take a view of the sea, which presented no agreeable prospect, as there were shoals and sand banks, almost on every side, but as the wind blew constantly from the south he thought he might get clear by a passage that appeared to open to the northward. This day Mr. Gore saw two animals of a straw colour, shaped like a dog, but about the size of a hare. And now so much fish was taken, and such a plenty of greens gathered, that the ships company had no reason to complain of their provisions.

All the men were allowed to go on shore on the 1st of July one excepted from each mess, who went on the fishing party, which succeeded very well. On Tuesday the master, who had been sent in the pinnace to look for a channel, returned, and brought word that he had found a passage between the shoals. He found some cockles so large that one of them was sufficient for two men, besides plenty of shell-fish, and of these he brought a supply. In his return to the vessel he landed in a bay where some Indians were at supper, who fled: they found some sea eggs and a fire ready to dress them.

The attempt to float the ship succeeded this day, but finding that by the position she had lain in she had sprung a plank, it was judged necessary to lay her ashore, which was accordingly done on the 4th, and the next day she was floated at high water, and moored off the beach, in order to receive the stores. Mr. Banks crossed the harbour the same day, and found a great number of fruits, such as they had not seen before, among which there was a cocoa-nut, that as Tupia said, had been opened by a crab. All the vegetables picked up here were interspersed with marine productions. This gentleman having taken a boat for the purpose went up the river on the 6th, and returned on the 8th. Having examined the country they found it little different from what they had already seen, and following the course of the river, found it to be at length contracted within a narrow channel which was bounded by steep banks adorned with beautiful trees, and the bark tree among the rest. The land was low and covered with verdure, and seemed capable of cultivation. Several animals were seen, one of which they judged to be a wolf.

At night, says my author, they made a fire and took up their quarters on the bank of the river, but the night was rendered extremely disagreeable by the stings of the musquitos, which pursued them into the smoke and almost into the fire. At break of day they set out in search of game, and saw four animals, two of which were chased by Mr. Banks's greyhound; but they greatly outstripped him in speed, by leaping over the long thick grass, which incommoded the dog in running. It was observed of this animal, that he leaped or bounded forward on two legs, instead of running on four. Having returned to the boat, they proceeded up the river, till it contracted to a brook

K k k

of

Strange animals.

* This poor fellow observed that he was as large as a gallion and had horns and wings; "yet (added he) crept so slowly through the grass that if I had not been afraid I might have

touched him. As to the horns that existed only in his fancy which was just then filled with frightful images.

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of fresh water, but in which the tide rose considerably. When they stopped for the night, they saw a smoke at a distance, on which three of them approached it, but the Indians were gone. They saw the impressions of feet on the sand, below high-water mark, and found a fire still burning in the hollow of an old tree. At a small distance they saw several huts, and observed ovens dug in the ground: the remains of a recent meal were likewise apparent. They now retired to their resting-place, and slept on plantain leaves, with a bunch of grass for their pillows, on the side of a sand-bank under the shelter of a bush. The tide favouring their return in the morning, they lost no time in getting back to the ship. The master, who had been seven leagues at sea, returned soon after Mr. Banks, bringing with him three turtles, which he took with a boat-hook, and which together weighed near eight hundred pounds. He was sent out next morning, and Mr. Banks accompanied him with proper instruments for catching turtle: but not being successful, he would not go back that night, so that Mr. Banks, after collecting some shells and marine productions, returned in his own small boat.

In the morning the second lieutenant was sent to bring the master back, soon after which four Indians, in a small canoe, were within sight. The captain now determined to take no notice of these people, as the most likely way to be noticed by them. This project answered; two of them came within musquet shot of the vessel, where they conversed very loud; in return, the people on board shouted, and made signs of invitation. The Indians gradually approached, with their lances held up; not in a menacing manner, but as if they meant to intimate that they were capable of defending themselves. They came almost along-side, when the captain threw them cloth, nails, paper, &c. which did not seem to attract their notice, at length one of the sailors threw a small fish, which so pleased them, that they hinted their designs of bringing their companions, and immediately rowed for the shore. In the interim, Tupia and some of the crew landed on the opposite shore. The four Indians now came quite along-side the ship, and having received farther presents, landed where Tupia and the sailors had gone. They had each two lances, and a stick with which they threw them. Advancing towards the English, Tupia persuaded them to lay down their arms, and sit by him, which they readily did. Others of the crew now going on shore, the Indians seemed jealous, lest they should get between them and their arms, but care was taken to convince them that no such thing was intended, and more trifles were presented to them. The crew staid with them till dinner-time, and then made signs of invitation for them to go to the ship and eat; but this they declined, and retired in their canoe. These men were of the common stature, with very small limbs; their complexion was of a deep chocolate; their hair black, either lank or curled, but not of the woolly kind; the breasts and upper lip of one of them were painted with streaks of white, which he called *carbanda*, and some part of their bodies had been painted red. Their teeth were white and even, their eyes bright, and their features rather pleasing; their voices musical, and they repeated several English words with great readiness.

The visit of three of these Indians was renewed the next morning, and they brought with them a fourth, whom they called *Yaparico*, who appeared to be a person of some consequence. The bone of a bird, about six inches long, was thrust through the gristle of his nose; and indeed all the inhabitants of this place had their noses bored, for the reception of such an ornament. These people being all naked, the captain gave one of them an old shirt, which he bound round his head like a turban, instead of using it to cover any part of his body. They brought a fish to the ship, which was supposed to be in payment for that given them the day before: after staying some time, with apparent satisfaction, they suddenly leaped

into their canoe, and rowed off, from a jealousy of some of the gentlemen who were examining it.

Three Indians visited Tupia's tent on the 12th of July, and after remaining some time, went for two others, whom they introduced by name. Some fish was offered them, but they seemed not much to regard it; and after eating a little, they gave the remainder to Mr. Banks's dog. Some ribbands which had been given them, to which medals were suspended round their necks, were so changed by smoke, that it was difficult to judge what colour they had been, and the smoke had made their skins look darker than their natural colour, from whence it was thought that they had slept close to their fires, as a preventative against the sting of the musquitos. Both the strangers had bones through their noses, and a piece of bark tied over their foreheads; and one of them had an ornament of strings round his arm; and an elegant necklace made of shells. Their canoe was about ten feet long, and calculated to hold four persons, and when it was in shallow water they moved it by the help of poles. Their lances had only a single point, and some of them were barbed with fish bones. On the 14th Mr. Gore shot one of the mouse-coloured animals above-mentioned. It chanced to be a young one, weighing more than 38 pounds; but when they are full grown, they are as large as a sheep. The skin of this beast, which is called *Kangaroo*, is covered with short fur, and is of a dark mouse colour; the head and ears are somewhat like those of a hare; this animal was dressed for dinner, and proved fine eating. The ship's crew fed on turtle almost every day, which were finer than those eaten in England, owing to their being killed before their natural fat was wasted, and their juices changed.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went with the captain into the woods on the 17th, and saw four Indians in a canoe, who went on shore, and walked up without sign of fear. They accepted some beads, and departed, intimating that they did not chuse to be followed. The natives being now become familiar with the ship's crew, one of them was desired to throw his lance, which he did with such dexterity and force, that though it was not above four feet from the ground at the highest, it penetrated deeply into a tree at the distance of fifty yards. The natives now came on board the ship, and were well pleased with their entertainment. On the 19th, they saw several of the women, who, as well as the men, were quite naked. They were this day visited by ten of the natives, who seemed resolved to have one of the turtles that was on board, which they repeatedly made signs for, and being as repeatedly refused, they expressed the utmost rage and resentment, one of them in particular, having received a denial from Mr. Banks, he stamped, and pushed him away in a most violent manner. At length they laid hands on two of the turtles, and drew them to the side of the ship where the canoe lay, but the sailors took them away. They made several similar attempts, but being equally unsuccessful, they leaped suddenly into their canoe, and rowed off. At this instant the captain, with Mr. Banks, and five or six of the seamen, went on shore, where they arrived before the Indians, and where many of the crew were already employed. As soon as the Indians landed, one of them snatched a fire brand from under a pitch-kettle, and running to the windward of what effects were left on shore, set fire to the dry grass, which burned rapidly, scorched a pig to death, burned part of the smith's forge, and would have destroyed a tent of Mr. Banks, but that some people came from the ship just in time to get it out of the way of the flames. In the mean while the Indians went to a place where the fishing-nets lay, and a quantity of linen was laid out to dry, and there again set fire to the grass, in spite of all persuasion, and even of threats. A musquet loaded with small shot was fired, and one of them being wounded, they ran away, and this second fire was extinguished; but the other burned far into the woods.

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The natives still continuing in fight, a musquet charged with ball was fired near them, upon hearing which they soon got out of fight: but their voices being heard in the wood, and seeming to come nearer, the captain with a few people, went to meet them. When they were in sight of each other both parties stopped, except an old Indian, who advanced before the rest a little way, but soon halted, and speaking a few words, retreated to his brethren, and they all retired slowly together. The English having seized some of their darts, followed them about a mile, and then sat down, the Indians sitting about a hundred yards from them.

The old man again came forward, having in his hand a lance with a point. He stopped and spoke several times, on which the captain made signs of friendship. The old Indian now turned to his companions, and having spoken to them, they placed their lances against a tree, and came forward as in friendship, whereupon their darts, which had been taken, were returned, and the whole quarrel seemed at an end. The Indians having accepted some trinkets, walked amicably towards the coast, intimating by signs that they would not fire the guns again. They sat down opposite the ship, but would not go on board; and they accepted a few musquet-balls, the use and effect of which the captain endeavoured to explain to them. When Captain Cook got on board, he saw the woods burning at the distance of two miles.

The master having been sent to search for a passage to the northward, returned with an account that he could not find any. By the night of the 20th, the fire had extended many miles round them on the hills, which at night formed an appearance that was very striking. On the 22d they killed a turtle, through both shoulders of which stuck a wooden harpoon, which the Indians had striken it with, and the wound was quite healed. The next day, one of the seamen, who had strayed from his company, met with four Indians at dinner; he was alarmed at this unexpected meeting, but had prudence enough to conceal his apprehensions, and sitting down by them gave them his knife, which having all looked at, they returned; he then would have left them, but they chose to detain him till, by feeling his hands and face, they were convinced he was made of flesh and blood like themselves: they then dismissed him, directing him the nearest way to the ship. Mr. Banks having gone on shore in search of plants, found the cloth that had been distributed among the natives, lying in a heap, as a commodity of no value. On the 24th, Messrs. Solander and Banks found several marking-nuts on the ground; but their search for the tree that bore them was intirely fruitless. On the 26th Mr. Banks caught a female animal, called the *Opoffum*, with two young ones.

By the 29th the ship was ready for sea, but there was not water sufficient for her to pass the bar. On the first of August they found that the pumps were all rotten; but as the vessel admitted only an inch of water in an hour, they hoped she would be stout enough to hold out the voyage. On the fourth of this month they put to sea, the pinnae going a-head to keep sounding, and at noon came to an anchor, when the captain gave the name of *Cape Bedford* to the northernmost point of land in sight, and that of *Endeavour River* to the harbour which they had quitted.

The provisions they obtained while in the harbour, consisted of turtle, which they went some miles to sea to catch, oysters of three different sorts, large calvalhe or scomber, large mullets, some flat fish, a great number of small scomber, and skait, or ray fish; purslain, wild beans, the tops of cocoas, and cabbage palms. Of quadrupeds there are goats, wolves, and pole-eats; there are many serpents, only some of which are venomous; dogs are the only tame animals; the land fowls are kites, crows, hawks; loriquets, cockatoos, parrots, pigeons, and small birds of various kinds, the names of which are not known: the water

fowls are wild geese, curlews, hens, whistling ducks, which perch on trees, and some few others. The soil produces the gum-tree, and various other kinds of wood, and coarse grass. The whole of the country is well watered, and ant-hills abound in every part of it.

The captain went to the mast-head on the 4th to look at some shoals which threatened great danger; and he saw several of them above the water. This day such a quantity of fish was caught, as allowed a dividend of two pounds to each man. During the six following days they struggled ineffectually to sail safely past the shoals and breakers, by which they were every way surrounded; but, for the present, their attempts were vain. On the 10th, they were between a head-land, and three islands, which had been discovered on the preceding day; and began to conceive hopes that they were out of danger; but this not proving to be the case, the head-land received the name of *Cape Flattery*. Some land was now seen from the mast-head, which was generally taken for the main, but the captain judged it to be a cluster of islands; and during this diversity of opinion, the ship came to an anchor. The captain now landed, and ascending a high point, took a survey of the sea-coast, by which he was confirmed in his opinion, that what they had seen was not any part of the main, but a number of islands. On the point where he stood were seen the prints of human feet, in white sand of an exquisite fineness, and the spot was denominated *Point Look Out*.

Early on the 11th, Mr. Banks and the captain went to visit the largest of the three islands, which had been seen from the point the preceding day. Having gained the summit of the highest hill, they beheld a reef of rocks, on which the sea broke in a frightful manner, but the thickness of the weather prevented a perfect view; they lodged under a bush during the night, in hopes of having a better prospect in the morning: but the weather proved worse than on the preceding day: yet, as they saw what had the appearance of a channel between the reefs, a person was sent to examine it, who found it very narrow. They now set out to return to the ship, after giving the name of *Lizard Island* to this place, from their having seen no animals but lizards on it. Upon their return they landed on a low sandy island, which abounded in birds of various kinds, among which were eagles, a nest of the young of which they took, and called the place *Eagle Island*. On this spot they saw the nest of some birds, which was built with some sticks on the ground: it was near three feet in height, and twenty-six round.

During the interval of their absence from the ship, the master had landed on several low islands, where he had seen great heaps of turtle shells, and found the fins of them which the Indians had left hanging on the trees, so fresh that they were dressed and eaten by the boats crew. After a conversation held among the officers, it was their concurrent opinion, that it would be best to leave the coast, and stand out to sea, and in consequence of these sentiments they sailed on the 13th of August, 1770, and got through one of the channels in the reef; happy to be once more in an open sea, after having been surrounded by dreadful shoals and rocks for near three months. They had now sailed above 1000 miles, during all which run they were obliged to keep sounding, without the intermission of a single minute; a circumstance which it is supposed, never happened to any ship but the *Endeavour*.

The islands, from one of which the passage to the open sea had been observed, were called the *Islands of Direction*. They abound in turtle and other fish, and on the beach were found bamboos, cocoa-nuts, pumice-stone, and seeds of plants, which were supposed to be carried thither by the trade winds, as the plants themselves do not grow in the country. Having anchored on the 14th, they steered a westerly course on the following day, to get sight of the land, that a passage

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between that land and new Guinea, might not be missed, if there were any such passage; early in the afternoon they had sight of land, which had the appearance of hilly islands, but it was judged to be part of the main; and they saw breakers between the vessel and the land, in which there was an opening, to get clear of which they set all their sails, and stood to the northward till midnight, and then went on a southward tack for about two miles, when the breeze died away to a dead calm. When day-light came on they saw a dreadful surf break at a vast height, within a mile of the ship, towards which the rolling waves carried her with great rapidity. Thus distressed, the boats were sent a-head to tow, and the head of the vessel was brought about, but not till she was within a hundred yards of the rock, between which and her there was nothing left but the chasm, and which had risen and broke to a wonderful height on the rock;—but in the moment they expected instant destruction, a breeze, hardly discernable, aided the boats in getting the vessel in an oblique direction from the rock. The hopes, however, afforded by this providential circumstance, were destroyed by a perfect calm, which succeeded in a few minutes; yet the breeze once more returned, before they had lost the little ground which had been gained. At this time a small opening was seen in the reef, and a young officer being sent to examine it, found that its breadth did not much exceed the length of the ship, but that there was smooth water on the other side of the rocks. Animated by the hope of preserving life, they now attempted to pass the opening; but this was impossible; for it having become high water in the interim, the ebb tide rushed through it with amazing impetuosity, carrying the ship about a quarter of a mile from the reef, and she soon reached the distance of near two miles, by the help of the boats. When the ebb tide was spent, the tide of flood again drove the vessel very near the rocks, so that their prospect of destruction was renewed, when they discovered another opening, and a light breeze springing up, they entered it, and were driven through it with a rapidity that prevented the ship from striking against either side of the channel. The ship now came to an anchor, and her crew were grateful for having regained a station, which they had been very lately most anxious to quit. The name of *Providence Channel* was given to the opening through which the ship had thus escaped the most imminent dangers. A high promontory on the main land in sight, was denominated *Cape Weymouth*, and a bay near it *Weymouth Bay*. This day the boats went out to fish, and met with great success, particularly in catching cockles, some of which were of such an amazing size, as to require the strength of two men to move them. Mr. Banks likewise succeeded in his search for rare shells, and different kinds of coral.

On the 8th, they discovered several small islands, which were called *Forbes's Islands*, and had a sight of a high point of land on the main, which was named the *Bolt Head*. On the 19th they discovered several other small islands, the land of which was low, barren, and sandy. A point was seen, and called *Cape Grenville*, and a bay which took the name of *Temple Bay*. In the afternoon many other islands were seen, which were denominated *Bird Isles*, from their being frequented by numerous flocks of birds. On the 20th many more small islands were seen, on one of which were a few trees, and several Indian huts, supposed to have been erected by the natives of the main land, as temporary habitations during their visit to these islands. On the 21st they sailed through a channel, in which was a number of shoals; and gave the name of *York Cape* to a point of the main land which forms the side of the channel. A large bay is formed to the south of the cape, which was called *Newcastle Bay*, and in which are several little islands; on the north side of the cape the land is rather mountainous, but the low parts of the country abound with trees; the islands discovered in the morning of this day, were called *York Isles*. In the afternoon they anchored between

some islands, and observed, that the channel now began to grow wider; they perceived two distant points, between which no land could be seen, so that the hope of having at length explored a passage into the Indian Sea, began to animate every breast; but, to bring the matter to a certainty, the captain took a party, and being accompanied by Messrs. Solander and Banks, they landed on an island, on which they had seen a number of Indians, ten of whom were on a hill, one of them carrying a bow and a bundle of arrows, the rest armed with lances; and round the necks of two of them hung strings of mother of pearl. Three of these Indians stood on shore, as if to oppose the landing of the boat, but they retired before it reached the beach. The captain and his company now ascended a hill, from whence they had a view of near forty miles, in which space there was nothing that threatened to oppose their passage, so that the certainty of a channel seemed to be almost indubitable. Previous to their leaving the island, Captain Cook displayed the English colours, and took possession of all the eastern coast of the country, from the 38th deg. of south latitude, to the present spot, by the name of *New South Wales*, for his sovereign, the King of Great Britain; and three volleys of small arms being fired, and answered by an equal number from the *Endeavour*, the place received the name of *Possession Island*. The next morning they saw three naked women collecting shell-fish on the beach; and weighing anchor, gave the name of *Cape Cornwall* to the extreme point of the largest island on the north-west side of the passage; some low islands near the middle of the channel receiving the name of *Wallis's Isle*; soon after which the ship came to an anchor, and the long boat was sent out to sound.

Towards evening they sailed again, and the captain landed with Mr. Banks, on a small island which was frequented by immense numbers of birds, the majority of which being boobies, the place received the name of *Booby Island*. They were now advanced to the northern extremity of New Holland, and had the satisfaction of viewing the open sea to the westward. The north-east entrance of the passage is formed by the main land of New Holland, and by a number of islands which took the name of the *Prince of Wales's Islands*, and which Captain Cook imagines may reach to New Guinea; these islands abound with trees and grass, and were known to be inhabited, from the smoke that was seen ascending in many places.

To the passage they had sailed through, Captain Cook gave the name of *Endeavour Straights*. New South Wales is a much larger country than any hitherto known which is not deemed a continent, being larger than all Europe, which is proved by the *Endeavour's* having coasted more than 2000 miles, even if her tract were reduced to a strait line. Northward of the latitude of 33 degrees, the country is hilly, but not mountainous; but to the southward of that latitude it is mostly low and even ground. The hills in general are diversified by lawns, and woods, and many of the valleys abound with herbage, though, on the whole, it cannot be deemed a fertile country. To the northward the grass is not so rich, nor the trees so high as in the southern parts, and almost every where, even the largest trees grow at a distance of not less than thirteen yards asunder. In all these places where the land forms a bay, the shore is covered with mangroves, which grow about a mile in land, in a swampy ground, which the spring tides always overflow; in some parts there are bogs, covered with thick grass, and there is plenty of under wood in the valleys; the soil in general seems unfit for cultivation, though there are many spots where the arts of tillage might be attended with success.

There are several salt creeks running in many directions, through the country, where there are also brooks of fresh water, but there are no rivers of any considerable extent; yet it seemed to be well watered, as the time when the ship was on the coast, was reckoned the driest season of the year. The gum-tree which yields

Providence Channel.

Cape Weymouth.
Weymouth Bay.

Forbes's Island

Bolt Head.

Cape Grenville.
Temple Bay.

Bird's Isles.

York Cape.
Newcastle Bay

York Isles.

New South Wales.

Possession Island.

Cape Cornwall.

Wallis's Isle.

Booby Island.

Prince of Wales Islands.

Endeavour Straights.

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yields a resin like the dragon's blood. Here are three kinds of palm trees, two of which are found only in the northern district. Nuts somewhat resembling chestnuts are produced by one of these, which were supposed to be eatable, yet some of the seamen having made free with them were taken very ill; two of whom died within a week, and it was not without difficulty that the third was recovered. The second sort of palm is much like the West Indian cabbage-tree, which yields a cabbage of an agreeable taste. The third sort abounds in the southern part, produces a small cabbage of a very agreeable flavour, and bears many nuts, which furnish food for hogs. There is likewise a tree on which grows a purple apple that tastes like a damascen, as we have before observed. Besides these there is a fig-tree, producing figs, but not of the finest sort, and they have another which bears a sort of plumb that is flat on the sides like a cheese. A plant was found here, the leaves of which were like those of the bulrush; it yields a bright yellow resin, that resembles gumbouge, but does not stain—it had a very agreeable smell.

There are two sorts of yams, the one round and covered with stringy fibres, and the other in shape like a radish; both of which are of a pleasant taste. A fruit of a disagreeable flavour was found, in shape resembling a pine-apple; and another that was much like a cherry, but had a soft kernel. The country produces purslain and wild parslly.

The English saw here besides the beast already mentioned one that was called a quall, the belly of this animal was quite white, its back was brown with white spots; and it was like a pole-cat. Vast numbers of beautiful pigeons were observed here, and the seamen shot many of them. There are also eagles, hawks, cranes, herons, bustards, crows, parrots, parroquets, cockatoos, and some other birds of fine plumage; besides quails and doves.

There are but few insects in this country, and the ants and musquitos are the chief among them. There are four kinds of the former which deserve particular notice. The first of these are entirely green, and live on trees, where they build their nests in a very curious manner, bending down the leaves, and gluing them together with an animal juice, supposed to proceed from their own bodies. While several of these animals were busied in this employ, thousands were joined to keep the leaf in its proper situation, which, when they were disturbed in their work, flew back with a force that any one would have imagined to be superior to their united strength: at the same time they avenged themselves by severely stinging their disturbers. The second species of ants here are black, and live in the inside of the branches, after they have worked out the pith. The third sort lodged themselves in the root of a plant that twines round the trunks of other trees. This they made hollow, and cut into a great number of passages that ran across each other, yet there was no appearance of the plants having been injured. They were not above half the size of the red ants of this country. As to the fourth sort, they were like the East-Indian white ants, and had one sort of nests as big as a half-peck loaf which hung from the boughs of trees, and were composed of several minute parts of vegetables, which appeared to be stuck together by the glutinous juice before-mentioned. There was a communication between the cells, and there were passages to other nests upon the same tree, they had also a hollow covered passage to another nest on the ground, at the root of a different tree. The height of the ground nests was found to be about six feet, and the breadth nearly the same: and the outside was plastered with clay almost two inches thick. These had a subterraneous passage leading to the roots of the trees near which they were constructed, from whence these creatures ascended the trunk and branches by covered ways, calculated for the purpose. It was concluded that the ants resorted to these ground-nests during the wet season, as they were water proof.

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Variety of fish is supplied by the seas in these parts; among which are mullets, cray-fish and crabs. Upon the shoals are found the rock, pearl, and other oysters; as well as the most delicate green turtle, besides those enormous cockles which have been already mentioned. Alligators are found in the rivers and salt creeks. The country does not appear to be inhabited by numbers any way proportioned to its great extent; not above thirty being ever seen together but once; which was when those of both sexes and all ages got together on a rock off Botany Bay, to view the ship. None of their villages consisted of more huts than would afford shelter for fourteen or fifteen men, and these were the largest numbers that were assembled with a view to attack the English. No part of the country appeared to be cultivated, whence there must necessarily be fewer inhabitants on the inland parts than on the sea-coast. The men are well made, of the middle size, and active, in a high degree; but their voices are soft, even to effeminacy. Their colour is chocolate; but they were so covered with dirt, as to look almost as black as negros. Their hair is naturally long and black, but they commonly cropped it short; in some few instances it is slightly curled, but in common quite straight; it is always matted with dirt, yet wholly free from lice; their beards are thick and bushy, but kept short by singeing. The women were seen only at a distance, as the men constantly left them behind when they crossed the river. The chief ornament of these people is the bone that is thrust through the nose, which the sailors whimsically called their sprit-sail yard; but besides this they wore necklaces formed of shells, a small cord tied twice or thrice round the arm between the elbow and shoulder, and a string of plaited human hair round the waist. Some few of them had an ornament of shells hanging across the breast. Besides these ornaments they painted their bodies and limbs white and red, in stripes of different dimensions; and they had a circle of white round each eye, and spots of it on the face. Their ears were bored, but they did not wear ear-rings.

These people accepted whatever was given them; but seemed to have no idea of making an adequate return; and they would not part with their ornaments for any thing that was offered in exchange. Their bodies were marked with scars, which they signified were in remembrance of the deceased. Their huts were built with small rods, the two ends of which were fixed into the ground, so as to form the figure of an oven; they are covered with pieces of bark and palm-leaves. The door of this building, which is only high enough to fit upright in, is opposite to the fire-places. They sleep with their heels turned up towards their heads; and even in this posture the hut will not hold more than four people. In the northern parts, where the weather was warmer, one side of the houses was left open, and the other opposed to whatever wind might blow at the time there; huts were only built for temporary use, and left behind when they removed to other parts of the country; but if their stay was only for a night or two, they had no other protection from the weather than what the grass and bushes afforded. While the huts on the main land were turned from the wind, those on the islands were towards it: a kind of proof that they visit the islands in fine weather, and enjoy the refreshing breeze while they slept. These huts are furnished with a kind of bucket for fetching water, made of an oblong piece of bark tied up at each end with the twig of a tree; and this is the only furniture of the house. On their backs they have a kind of bag, of the size and form of a cabbage-net, in which they carry their fish-hooks and lines, of the shells of which they make these hooks; the ornaments which they wear consist of some points of darts, and two or three bits of paint; and in this narrow compass lie all their riches.

They feed on the kangaroo, and several kinds of birds when they can catch them; they likewise eat yams, and various kinds of fruit; but the principal article

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of their existence is fish. They were frequently observed with the leaves of a tree in their mouths, but whether it had the qualities of either tobacco or beetle could not be known; but it was observed not to discolour the teeth or lips.

From the notches that were seen in a great number of trees, for the purpose of climbing them, it was imagined that their method of taking the kangaroo, was by striking it with their lances as it passed under the tree. In these likewise, it is probable, that they took birds, while they were roosting, as they seemed too shy to be otherwise caught. Their method of producing fire, and extending the flames of it is very singular: having wrought one end of a stick into an obtuse point, they place this point upon a piece of dry wood, and turning the upright stick very fast backward and forward between their hands, fire is soon produced, nor is it encreased with less celerity. One of the natives was frequently observed to run along the sea coast, leaving fire in various places. The method taken to do this was as follows: before he set off, he wrapped up a little spark of fire in dry grass, and the quickness of his motion soon fanning it into a flame, he then placed it on the ground, and putting a spark of it in another bit of grass ran on again, and encreased the number of his fires at pleasure. These fires were supposed to be intended for the taking of the kangaroo, as that animal was so very shy of fire, that when pursued by the dogs, it would not cross places which had been newly burnt, even when the fire was extinguished.

The natives of New South Wales make use of spears or lances, but these are very differently constructed: those that were seen in the southern parts of the country had four prongs, pointed with bone, and barbed, and the points were rubbed with a kind of wax, the smoothness of which made an easier passage into what was struck by them. On the contrary, the lances in the northern parts have only one point; the shafts of them are of different lengths, from eight to fourteen feet, are made of the stalk of a plant not unlike a bulrush, and consists of several joints let into each other, and tied together. The points of these lances are sometimes made of fish-bone, and sometimes of a hard heavy wood; they are barbed with other pieces of wood or stone, so that when they have entered any depth in the body, they cannot be drawn out without tearing the flesh in a shocking manner, or leaving splinters behind them. When the natives intend to wound at a considerable distance, they discharge this instrument with a throwing stick, but if the object be near them, it is thrown from the hand only. The throwing-stick is a piece of smooth, hard, red wood, half an inch thick, two inches broad, and

about three feet in length, having a cross piece near four inches long at one end, and a small knob at the other. A small hollow is made in the shaft of the lance, near the point, and in this hollow the knob is received, but, on being forced forward, it will easily slip from it. The lance being placed on this throwing-stick, the Indian holds it over his shoulder, shakes it, and then throws both lance and stick with his utmost power; but as the cross-piece strikes the shoulder, the sudden jerk stops the stick, while the lance is driven forward with amazing rapidity, and is generally so well aimed, that a mark at the distance of fifty yards is more certainly struck with it than by a bullet from a gun. These people make use of shields made of the bark of trees, of about eighteen inches broad, and three feet long. Many trees were seen from whence the bark had been taken, and others on which the shields were cut out but not taken away. In the northern parts of this country, the canoes are formed by hollowing the trunk of a tree, and it was conjectured, that this operation must have been performed by fire, as the natives did not appear to have any instruments proper for the purpose. The canoes are in length about fourteen feet, and so narrow, that they would be frequently overset, but that they are provided with an out-rigger. The natives row them with paddles, using both hands in that employment. The canoes in the southern parts are formed only of a piece of bark four yards long, fastened together at each end, and the middle kept open by pieces of wood, passing from side to side. In deep water these are rowed by paddles, of about a foot and an half in length, the rower having one in each hand, but in shallow water they are pushed forward by means of a long stick. As these vessels are extremely light, and draw very little water, the Indians run them on the mud banks in search of shell-fish, some of which, it is probable, they broil and eat as soon as they are taken, as it was remarked that in the centre of these vessels there was usually a fire burning on a quantity of sea-weed. The natives have no tools but a wooden mallet, a kind of wedge, and an adze, made of stone, with some pieces of coral and shells, which may possibly be applied to the purposes of cutting. They polish the points of their lances, and their throwing-sticks, with the leaves of a tree that appears to be the wild fig, which bites with a sharpness, almost equal to that of a rasp. Four people are the greatest number that a canoe will contain: and when more than this number were to pass a river, three were landed out of the first freight, and one man went back for the rest. Though it appeared evident that the natives of these islands waged war with each other by the weapons they possessed, yet not a wound

* The following may serve as a specimen of their language.

Aco,	The arms.
Aibudje,	To yawn.
Bamma,	A man.
Bonjoo,	The nose.
Boota,	To eat.
Chucula,	To drink.
Cotta,	A dog.
Coyor,	The breast.
Doomboo,	The neck.
Dunjo,	A father.
Eboorbalga,	The thumbs.
Edamal,	The feet.
Eiyamoac,	The crown of the head.
Eya & ba,	That or this.
Galan,	The sun.
Garbar,	The Eye-brows.
Gippa,	The belly.
Kere,	The sky.
Kolke,	The nails.
Mailelel,	To swim.
Maianang,	Fire.
Marra,	To go.
Mangal,	The hands.
Meul,	The eyes.
Melea,	The ears.
Mingoore,	To dance.
Mocoo,	The back.
Morcol,	The throat.

Moree,	The hair of the head.
Mootjel,	A woman.
Mulere,	The teeth.
Nakil,	The little finger.
Peegoorga,	The legs.
Peete,	The forehead.
Poapoa,	Earth.
Pongo,	The knees.
Poona,	To sleep.
Poorai,	Water.
Poreea,	Fish.
Putai,	A turtle.
Tabugga,	A fly.
Tacal,	The chin.
Te,	A, or she.
Tennapuke,	The hole made in the nostrils for the bone ornament.
Tocaya	Sit down.
Tumurree.	A son.
Unjar,	The tongue.
Wagegee,	The head.
Walloo,	The temples.
Waller,	The beard.
Walboolbool,	A butterfly.
Wonanania,	Asleep.
Wulgar,	The clouds.
Yembe,	The lips.
Zoocoo,	Wood.

a wound received from their enemies appeared on any of their bodies.

In attempting to weigh anchor in the morning of the 24th of August, 1770, the cable broke near the ring, on which another anchor was dropped in order to prevent the vessel from driving. In the afternoon the lost anchor was found, and the ship brought up to it; just as they were going to ship it, the hawser slipped; and thus their labour was for that time rendered useless. However their attempt being renewed the next morning, succeeded to their wish, and soon after the anchor was weighed, the ship got under sail steering north-west.

A few hours afterwards, one of the boats a-head made the signal for shallow water. On this the vessel brought too immediately, with all her sails standing, when on surveying the sea around her, it appeared that she had had a most fortunate escape, being almost compassed with shoals, between which she was so situate; that had she been half a cable's length on either side the track which they had followed, they would most certainly have struck before the signal was made which was to warn them of their danger.

Captain Cook now determined to alter his course, and sailing again the next morning, he soon got into deep water. After this he steered westerly, and no land being within sight, held on till the dusk of the evening, when they shortened sail, making opposite tacks during the night. They pursued their voyage the next morning, shortening sail at night as before, and tacking till the 28th at day-break, when they steered due north, in pursuance of their former plan.

As they proceeded, the sea was observed in many parts, covered like a scum, which the sailors called Spawn. On examination, this was found to consist of a vast number of minute particles, each of which being observed through a microscope, was found to consist of a considerable number of tubes, which were subdivided into little cells. On burning this scum, it did not yield the smell of an animal substance, but was concluded to be of the vegetable kind; and it was afterwards called Sea Saw-dust, instead of Spawn by the sailors.

In the evening a bird called the Noddy, was found among the rigging; As land was seen from the mast-head, they stood on and off all night; and at day-break they sailed towards it with a brisk gale of wind. Between six and seven o'clock they saw a small island at about three miles distance from the main land, distinguished by the names of *Whermoyson* and *St. Bartholomew*. This island is very flat, and it is clothed with trees, and among them is that which bears the cocoa. By the smoke seen on various parts of it, it was judged to be inhabited. As the water was shallow, boats had been sent out to sound; but signals were made for them to return, as no increase was found in the depth after sailing two leagues. The captain then stood out to sea till midnight, after which he tacked and stood in for land till the morning. They saw land from the deck about the distance of four leagues, and observed its appearance to be still flat and woody. A great quantity of the scum already mentioned was now again seen upon the surface of the sea.

They proceeded on a northward course just in sight of land, till the 3d of September, but the water being barely deep enough to navigate the vessel, it proved impossible to bring her near enough to gain the shore, for which reason it was determined to land in one of the boats.

Accordingly the captain, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, the boat's crew, and Mr. Banks's servants, set out in the pinnace, but, on account of the shallow water, were obliged to wade on shore, when they came within about two hundred yards of the land. From the prints which they had seen of human feet on the land, between high-water mark, they concluded that some of the natives had been there very lately. They saw a thick wood about a hundred yards

from the beach, and walked on the borders of it till they arrived on the banks of a brook, which was shaded with cocoa-nut trees; at a little distance from which stood an Indian hut, thatched with leaves; and many cocoa nut-shells were scattered round it, the fruit of which appeared to have been lately gathered. Here were also found plantains, and the bread fruit-tree.

The gentlemen were at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from the pinnace, when three of the Indians ran out of the woods, about an hundred yards behind them, shouting loudly. These people ran towards the English, and the first of the three threw something which flew on one side of him, and burned like gun-powder; though it made no noise: at the same time the others cast their lances. The English firing they stopped, and threw another lance; but the musquets being loaded with ball and fired at them, the Indians retired with precipitation. The captain not willing to prolong this contest, returned with his people towards the boat, whose crew made signals that more of the natives were coming down: several of them were presently discovered, who stopped, seeming to wait for their main body, while the gentlemen having reached their boat, rowed a-breast of them. It was observed that their stature was nearly the same with that of the people of South-Wales; but their colour was not quite so dark. Like them, however, these wore their hair short. While they were thus taking a survey of the natives, the latter let off their fires in a regular manner a few at a time: They seemed to be discharged by means of a piece of stick, almost like a hollow cane, which being swung sideways, produced fire and smoke exactly like that occasioned by the firing of small arms. The crew on board the ship saw this strange phenomenon, and thought the natives had fire-arms. The gentlemen having satisfied their curiosity by attentively looking at these people fired some musquets above their heads, the balls from which being heard to rattle among the trees, the natives deliberately retired. The lances which had been thrown soon after the gentlemen landed, were made of a reed or bamboo cane, and the points were of hard wood, barbed in several places.—It was imagined these lances were discharged by means of a throwing-stick, as they flew with great swiftness above sixty yards. When this party returned to the ship, some of the officers entreated the captain to send men on shore to cut down the cocoa-nut trees, in order to procure the nuts; but this, with equal wisdom and humanity he refused; sensible that the poor Indians, who would ill brook even the landing of a small party on their coast, would risque their lives, and of course sacrifice them, in defence of their property. The whole coast of this country is low land, but clothed with a richness of trees and herbage, which is beyond description beautiful.

On Monday, the 3d of September, the ship got under sail, and early in the morning of the 8th passed two small islands, on the latter of which Captain Cook would have landed, but as they had then only ten fathom water, and as the ground was rocky, and the wind blew fresh, he might have endangered the safety of the ship. They now sailed at a moderate rate, with various soundings, till three o'clock the next morning; after which they had no ground with 120 fathom. Before noon, they had sight of land, which was conjectured to be either the Arrou Islands, or Timor Laoet; but they are not accurately laid down in any of the charts hitherto published.

On the evening of the 9th they saw what had the appearance of land, and the next morning were convinced that the first land they had seen was Timor; and the last Timor Laoet. The ship stood off and on during the night, when a number of fires were seen on this island, and the next morning smoke was seen in several places, from whence it was conjectured that the place was well peopled. The land near the shore was covered with high trees, not unlike pines; farther back were cocoa-trees and mangroves; there were

many

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Rotte.
Semaui Island.

many salt-water creeks, and several spots of ground which appeared to have been cleared by art; and the whole country rose, by gradual slopes, into hills of a very considerable height. The land and sea breezes being now very slight, they continued in sight of the island for two days, when it was observed that the hills reached in many places quite to the sea-coast, and where that was not the case, there were large and noble groves of the cocoa-nut tree, which ran about a mile up the country, at which distance great numbers of houses and plantations were seen; the plantations were surrounded with fences, and extended nearly to the summits of the most lofty hills, yet neither the natives nor cattle were seen on any of them, which was thought a very extraordinary circumstance. Fine groves of the fan-palm shaded the houses from the rays of the sun. On the 16th they had sight of the little island called *Rotte*; and the same day saw the *Island Semaui*, at a distance to the southward of Timor. The Island of Rotte is chiefly covered with bushy wood without leaves; but there are a number of fan-palm trees on it, growing near the sandy beaches; and the whole consists of alternate hills and valleys. The island of Semaui is not so hilly as Timor, but resembles it greatly in other respects.

At ten o'clock this night a dull reddish light was seen in the air, many parts of which emitted rays of a brighter colour, which soon vanished and were succeeded by others of the same kind. This phenomenon, which reached about ten degrees above the horizon, bore a considerable resemblance to the *Aurora Borealis* only that the rays of light which it emitted had no tremulous motion: it was surveyed for two hours, during which time its brightness continued undiminished. As the ship was now clear of all the islands which had been laid down in such maps as were on board, they made sail during the night, and were surprised the next morning at the sight of an island to the west-south-west, which they flattered themselves was a new discovery. Before noon they had sight of houses, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and large flocks of sheep. This was a welcome sight to people whose health was declining for want of refreshment, and it was instantly resolved to attempt the purchase of what they stood so much in need of. The second lieutenant was immediately dispatched in the pinnace, in search of a landing place; and he took with him such things as it was thought might be acceptable to the natives.—During Mr. Gore's absence, the people on board saw two men on horseback upon the hills, who frequently stopped to take a view of the vessel. The lieutenant soon returned with an account that he had entered a little cove, near which stood a few houses; that several men advanced and invited him to land; and that they conversed together so well as they could by signs. He reported that these people were very like the Malays, both in person and dress; and said they had no other arms but a knife which each of them wore in his girdle.

The lieutenant not being able to find any place in which the ship might come to anchor, he was dispatched again with money and goods to buy such necessities as were immediately wanted for the sick. Dr. Solander attended the lieutenant, and during their absence, the ship stood on and off the shore. Soon after the boat had put off, two other horsemen were seen from the ship, one of whom had a laced hat on, and was dressed in a coat and waistcoat, of the fashion of Europe. These men rode about on shore taking little notice of the boat, but regarding the ship with the utmost attention. As soon as the boat reached the shore, some other persons on horseback, and many on foot hastened to the spot, and it was observed that some cocoa-nuts were put into the boat, from whence it was concluded, that a traffick had commenced with the natives. A signal being made from the boat that the ship might anchor in a bay at some distance, she immediately bore away for it. When the lieutenant came on board, he reported, that he could not

purchase any cocoa-nuts, as the owner of them was absent, and that what he had brought were given him, in return for which he had pressed the natives with some linen. The method by which he learned that there was a harbour in the neighbourhood, was by the natives drawing a kind of rude map on the sand, in which the harbour, and a town near it, was represented; it was likewise hinted to him, that fruit, fowls, hogs, and sheep might be there obtained in great abundance. He saw several of the principal inhabitants of the island, who had chains of gold about their necks, and wore fine linen. The word *Portuguese* being frequently repeated by the Indians, it was conjectured that some natives of Portugal were in the island, and one of the boat's crew being of that kingdom, he spoke to the islanders in his own language, but soon found that they had only learned a few words, of which they did not know the meaning. While the natives were endeavouring to represent the situation of the town near the harbour, one of them, in order to be more particular in directions, informed the English that they would see something which he endeavoured to describe by placing his fingers across each other; and the Portuguese sailor took it for granted, that he could mean nothing but a cross. When the boat's crew were on the point of returning to the ship, the gentleman who had been seen on horseback in the dress of Europe, came down to the beach; but the lieutenant did not think it proper to hold a conference with him, because he had left his commission on board the ship.

When the ship had entered the bay, in the evening, according to the directions received, an Indian town was seen at a distance; upon which a jack was hoisted on the fore-top-mast head, presently afterwards three guns were fired, and Dutch colours were hoisted in the town; the ship, however, held on her way, and came to an anchor at seven in the evening. The colours being seen hoisted on the beach the next morning, the captain concluded, that the Dutch had a settlement on the island, he therefore dispatched the second lieutenant to acquaint the governor, or other principal resident, who they were, and that the ship had put in for necessary refreshments. The lieutenant having landed, he was received by a kind of guard of something more than twenty Indians, armed with musquets, who after they had taken down the colours from the beach, proceeded without the least military order; and thus escorted him to the town, where the colours had been hoisted the preceding evening. The lieutenant was now conducted to the Raja, or king of the island, to whom, by means of a Portuguese interpreter, he made known his business. The Raja said, he was ready to supply the ship with the necessary refreshments, but that he could not trade with any other people than the Dutch, with whom he was in alliance, without having first obtained their consent; he added, however, that he would make application to the Dutch agent, who was the only white man among them. To this agent, whose name was Lange, and who proved to be the person that was seen from the ship in the European dress, a letter was dispatched, and in a few hours he came to the town, behaved politely to the lieutenant, and told him he might buy what he thought proper of the inhabitants of the island. This offer being freely made, and readily accepted, the Raja and Mr. Lange intimated their wishes to go on board the ship, and that two of the boat's crew might be left as hostages for their safe return. The lieutenant gratified them in both these requests, and took them on board just before dinner was served. It was thought that they would have sat down without ceremony; but now the Raja intimated his doubts, whether, being a black, they would permit him to sit down with them. The politeness of the officers soon removed his scruples, and the greatest good humour and festivity prevailed among them. As Dr. Solander and another gentleman on board, were tolerable proficient in Dutch, they acted as interpreters between Mr. Lange and the officers,

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officers, while some of the sailors, who understood Portuguese, conversed with such of the Raja's attendants as spoke that language. The chief part of the dinner was mutton, which the Raja having tasted, he begged an English sheep and the only one which they had left was given him; he then asked for a dog, and Mr. Banks gave him his greyhound; and a spying glass was presented to him, on Mr. Lange's intimating that it would be acceptable. The visitors now told Captain Cook, that there was great plenty of fowls, hogs, sheep, and buffalos, on the island, numbers of which should be conveyed to the sea shore on the following day, that he might purchase what was necessary for the recovery of the sick and for sea stores. This welcome news gave great spirits to the company, and the bottle went so briskly round, that Mr. Lange and his companions became almost intoxicated; they had, however, the resolution to express a desire to depart, before they were quite drunk. When they came upon deck, the mariners were under arms to receive them; and the Raja intimating that he should be glad to see them exercise, the captain gave orders that he should be indulged, and three rounds were fired. He was equally pleased and surprized at their manœuvres, and particularly charmed when they cocked their firelocks, exclaiming violently, "That all the locks made but one click." This being ended, Messrs. Solander and Banks went on shore with the visitors, who were saluted at their departure with nine guns, which they returned with three cheers.

When they came to the town, the English tasted their palm wine, which was sweet, and not unpleasant; it is made of the fresh juice of the trees, without being fermented. The houses of the natives consisted of nothing more than a floor of boards, over which was a roof of thatch, supported by pillars about four feet in height.

On the following day the captain, attended by several gentlemen, went on shore to return the Raja's visit; but their principal intention was to buy the refreshments which had been mentioned the preceding day. When they landed they were chagrined to find the cattle had not been driven down to the beach. They went on to the town, where they observed that the house of assembly, and some few other houses which had been built by the Dutch East India Company, were distinguished from the houses of the natives by having a piece of wood, almost in the shape of cows horns, fixed at each end of the roof; and these they concluded were what the Portuguese sailor had imagined to be crosses, from the Indian's having crossed his fingers when he was describing the town. The Raja was at the place of assembly, surrounded by many of his principal subjects, and Mr. Lange also attended. Captain Cook having informed them, that he had loaded his boat with goods, which he wished to exchange for necessary refreshments, permission was given him to land his effects. The Captain now endeavoured to make an agreement for the hogs, sheep, and buffalos which were to be paid for in cash; but this business was no sooner hinted at than Mr. Lange took his leave, having first told the captain, that he had received a letter from the governor of Concordia, in Timor, the contents of which should be disclosed at his return. As they had now no fresh provisions on board, the gentlemen were unwilling to return to the ship before they had dined, they therefore requested the Raja's permission to buy a small hog and some rice, and hoped he would order his people to dress the dinner. To this the Raja very obligingly replied, That if the gentlemen had stomach to eat of Indian cookery, he would have the honour of considering them as his guests. A dinner being thus procured, the captain sent off the boat to bring liquors from the ship. Late in the afternoon the company sat down on mats, which had been spread for them on the floor, having been first conducted to a servant, who had a vessel made of the leaves of the fan-palm, containing water to wash their hands, in which the Indian assisted them. Having waited some time

for the Raja, they enquired the reason of his absence, and were informed, that the person who gave the entertainment never partook of it; but that the Raja was ready to come and taste of what was provided, if the gentlemen entertained any idea that the meat was unwholesome. They assured the natives that they did not harbour any such suspicion, and began their dinner, which consisted of pork and rice, very excellent of their kinds, served up in thirty-six dishes, and three earthen bowls, filled with a kind of broth in which the pork had been boiled; the spoons were formed of leaves, but were so small, that the hunger of the guests would scarcely allow them patience to use them. When dinner was ended, the captain invited the Raja to drink wine with him, but this he declined, saying that the man who entertained company should never get drunk with his guests, and that the surest way to avoid drunkenness, was to refrain from tasting the liquor. The gentlemen left the remains of the dinner, to their servants, and the boat's crew; who being unable to eat it all, the Raja's female servants, who came to take away the utensils, insisted that they should take with them all that remained. When the bottle had circulated some time, Captain Cook, began to enquire after the cattle that were promised to be driven down to the beach; when Mr. Lange informed him, that in the letter which he received from the governor of Concordia, instructions were given, that if the ship should touch at the island, and be in want of provisions, she should be supplied, but that he was not to permit her to remain longer than was absolutely necessary;—that no presents were to be made to the natives of low rank, nor even left with their superiors to be divided among them after the ship had sailed; but, he added, that any trifling civilities received from the Indians might be acknowledged by a present of beads, or other articles of very small value. It is probable that the whole of this story was of Mr. Lange's own manufacture, and merely calculated to draw all the presents of any value into his own pocket. The captain was soon after informed, that some sheep had been driven down to the beach, but had been conveyed away before the men could get money from the ship to pay for them, and that not a single hog or buffalo had been down, but that a small number of fowls, and a quantity of the plum-syrup had been bought. Much vexed to be thus disappointed of the chief articles which were wanted, the captain remonstrated with Mr. Lange, who told him, that if he and his officers had gone to the spot, they might have purchased any thing that they pleased, but that the Indians imagined, the seamen would impose on them with counterfeit money. This story was no more credited than the former: yet, not to lose more time in a case of such urgency, the captain instantly repaired to the beach, but there were no cattle to be bought. During his absence, Lange informed Mr. Banks, that the Indians were offended, that the seamen had not offered gold for what they had to sell, and that no other metal would purchase their commodities: but Mr. Banks, not chusing to hold farther conversation with a man who had been guilty of such repeated falsities, left him abruptly. Some hours before this, the Raja had assigned a much more probable reason for the cattle not being brought to the beach, by saying, that the buffalos were too far up the country to be driven thither in the time; and the gentlemen returned to the ship in the evening, displeased at their disappointment. On the 20th, the captain and Dr. Solander went again on shore, and while the latter proceeded to the town in search of Lange, the captain staid on the beach with a view to buy cattle. There was an old man at this place who had been distinguished by the name of the Prime Minister, because he appeared to be invested with considerable authority; and the captain now presented him with a spying-glass, in order to make a friend of him. At present there was nothing brought for sale but a small buffalo, for which five guineas were demanded. Though the captain knew that this was double its value, yet he offered

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three guineas, as he was willing to begin dealing at any rate. The person who had it to sell, said That he could not take the money till the Raja had been informed what was offered, on which a man was sent to him; who soon came back with a message, that five guineas would be the lowest price: This the captain refused to give; on which a second message was dispatched; the bearer of which staying a long time, Capt. Cook was anxious for his return, when he saw Dr. Solander coming towards the beach, escorted by more than a hundred persons, some of whom had lances in their hands; and the rest were armed with muskets. When the Dr. arrived at the marketing-place, he informed the captain, that Lange interpreted to him a message from the Raja; the substance of which was, That the natives were averse to all traffic with the English; because they would not give above half the real worth for the things which were offered for sale; and that all trading whatever should be prohibited after that day.

A native of Timor, whose parents were Portuguese came down with this party, and delivered to the captain, what was pretended to be the order of the Raja, and which was in substance the same that Lange had told Dr. Solander; but it was afterwards discovered, that this man was a confidant of Lange's in the scheme of extortion: The English gentleman had, at the same time no doubt, but that the supposed order of the Raja was a contrivance of these men; and while they were debating how to act in this critical conjuncture, anxious to bring the affair to a speedy issue, the Portuguese began to drive away such of the natives as had brought palm-syrup and fowls to sell; and others who were now bringing sheep and buffaloes to the market:—At this juncture Captain Cook happening to look at the old man who had been distinguished by the name of prime minister; imagined that he saw in his features a disapprobation of the present proceedings; and, willing to improve the advantage, he grasped the Indian's hand, and gave him an old broad sword. This well-timed present produced all the good effects that could be wished: the prime minister was enraptured at so honourable a mark of distinction; and brandishing his sword over the head of the impertinent Portuguese; he made both him, and a man who commanded the party, sit down behind him on the ground. The whole business was now accomplished; the natives, eager to supply whatever was wanted, brought their cattle in for sale, and the market was soon stocked. For the first two buffaloes, Captain Cook gave ten guineas: but he afterwards purchased them by way of exchange, giving a musket for each; and at this rate he might have bought any number he thought proper: There remained no doubt but that Lange had a profit out of the two that were sold; and that his reason for having said the natives would take nothing but gold for their cattle, was; that he might the more easily share in the produce. Captain Cook purchased of the natives of this island some hundred gallons of palm-syrup, a small quantity of garlick; a large number of eggs, some limes and cocoa-nuts; thirty dozen of fowls; three hogs; six sheep, and nine buffaloes. Captain Cook having obtained these necessary articles, now prepared for sailing from this place.

The island of Savu is situated in $10^{\circ} 35'$ south lat: and $237^{\circ} 30'$ west longitude: Its length is between twenty and thirty miles. But its breadth Captain Cook could not ascertain; as he only saw the north side of it: The harbour in which the ship lay, was called Seba; from a district of the country so denominated: and there are two other bays on different parts of the island. At the time the Endeavour lay there it was near the end of the dry season; when it had not rained for almost seven months; nor was there a running stream of fresh water to be seen, and the natives were supplied only by small springs; situated at a distance up the country; yet even in this dry season the appearance of the island was beautiful. Near the coast the land lies level; and well clothed with palm; called *Areca*; and cocoa-nut trees: Farther off, the

ground rises in the most gradual ascent, and is covered with fair palm-trees even to the tops of the hills; so as to present a regular grove to the view. The rains in this country cease in March or April; and fall again in October or November; and these rains produce abundance of indico, millet, and maize, which grow beneath the finest trees in the country. Besides these articles, the island produces tobacco, cotton, betel, tamarinds, limes, oranges, mangoes, guinea corn, rice, callevances, and water-melons. A small quantity of cinnamon was seen, and some European herbs, such as garlick, fennel, celery, and marjoram, besides which, there are fruits of various kinds, and particularly the *blimbi*, which has a sharp taste, and is a fine pickle, but it is not eaten raw; its length is from 3 to 4 inches; it is nearly as thick as a man's thumb, of an oval form, covered with a very thin skin, of a very light green, and contains a number of seeds ranged in the shape of a star. Several buffaloes were seen on this island which were almost as large as an ox; and from a pair of enormous horns of this animal, which Mr. Banks saw, it was supposed that some of them were much larger; yet they did not weigh more than half as much as an ox of the same size; having lost the greater part of their flesh through the late dry weather: the meat however was juicy, and of a delicate flavour. The horns of these animals bend backwards; they had no dew-laps, and scarce any hair on their skins, and their ears were remarkably large. The other tame animals on the island are dogs, cats, pigeons, fowls, hogs, goats, sheep, asses, and horses. Few of the horses are above twelve hands high, yet they are full of mettle, and pace naturally in an expeditious manner: the natives ride them with a halter only. The hogs of this country are fed on the husks of rice and palm syrup mixed with water, and are remarkably fine and fat. The sheep not unlike a goat, and are therefore called Cabaritos; their ears, which are long, hang down under their horns; their noses are arched; and their bodies are covered with hair. The fowls are of the game kind, and though they are rather large, the hen lays a very small egg. The sea-coast furnishes the inhabitants with turtle; but not in any great abundance.

The natives of the island of Savu are rather below the middle stature; their hair is black and straight; and persons of all ranks; as well those that are exposed to the weather; as those that are not; have one general complexion; which is the dark brown: The men are well formed and sprightly, and their features differ much from each other: the women on the contrary have all one set of features; are very short; and broad built: The men have silver pincers hanging by strings round their necks; with which they pluck out the hair of their beards; and both men and women root out the hair that grows under their arms; the hair of the women's heads is tied in a club behind; while the men wear a kind of turban on their heads; formed of muslin, cotton, or even with silk handkerchiefs; but the heads of the women have no covering. The dress of the men consists of two pieces of cotton cloth; one of which is bound round the middle; and the lower edge of it being drawn pretty tight between the legs; the upper edge is left loose; so as to form a kind of pocket; in which they carry knives and other things: the other piece being past under the former on the back of the wearer; the ends of it are carried over the shoulders; and tucked into the pocket before. The women draw the upper edge of the piece round the waist tight; while the lower edge, dropping to the knees makes a kind of petticoat: the other piece of cloth is fastened across the breast; and under the arms. This cloth, which is manufactured by the natives, is dyed blue while in the yarn; and, as it is of various shades, its look, when it comes to be worn is very beautiful.

The ornaments of the natives of Savu are very numerous, and consist of rings, beads worn round the neck and on the wrists, and chains of plaited gold wire, are likewise worn by both sexes; but the women

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men had likewise girdles of beads round their waists, which helped to keep up the petticoat. Many of the boys wore brafs wire passed several times round the arms, above the elbows: and some of the men who were said to be the sons of the Raja, wore rings of ivory above an inch thick, and two inches broad, on the same part of the arm. One man possessed a silver-headed cane, supposed to have been a present from the Dutch East-India company, as their mark was engraved on the silver. The raja, and the principal officer of his household, were commonly habited in night-gowns of ordinary chintz; but one time when Captain Cook waited on the Raja, he was dressed in a black stuff robe.

Most of the men had their names marked on their arms, and the women a black ornament just under the bend of the elbow, impressed so that it could not be rubbed out. On enquiry, it was found that the practice had been common among the Indians long before they were visited by any Europeans; and it was said that the necks and breasts of the inhabitants of the adjacent islands were marked with circles. It could not be certainly known how these black works were impressed; but the following extract from M. Boffa's account of some Indians who dwell on the banks of the Akanza, a river in North America, will afford a very probable conjecture how the operation is performed.—[“The Akanzas (says this writer) have adopted me, and, as a mark of my privilege here, imprinted the figure of a roe-buck upon my thigh, which was done in this manner: An Indian having burnt some straw, diluted the ashes with water, and with this mixture drew the figure upon my skin; he then retraced it by pricking the lines with needles, so as at every puncture just to draw the blood, and the blood mixing with the ashes of the straw, forms a figure which can never be effaced.”]

The houses on the island of Savu are of different lengths, from twenty feet to four hundred; according to the rank of the inhabitants, and are fixed on posts of about four or five feet from the ground. The houses are generally divided into three rooms of equal size, the centre room being set a-part for the use of the women, and some times smaller rooms are inclosed from the sides of the building, the whole of which is thatched with the leaves of the palm-tree.

The natives eat of all the tame animals which the island produces; but they prefer the hog to all the rest; next to hog's flesh they admire that of the horse, to which succeeds the buffalo, and then the poultry; and they like the flesh of cats and dogs much better than that of goats and sheep. Fish is not eaten but by the poorer people; nor even by them, except when business demands their attendance near the sea-coast; and then each man has a small casting-net, which he wears tied round his body when he has not occasion to use it.

The fan-palm is the most remarkable, and most useful tree that grows on the island, its uses being equally great and various: soon after the buds put forth, the natives cut them, and tying under them little baskets, formed of the leaves of the tree, a liquor drops into them which has the taste of a light wine, and is the common drink of all the inhabitants. The men climb the tree twice a day to bring down this liquor; but as a great deal more is obtained than can be consumed by drinking, a part of the remainder is made into coarse sugar, very excellent of its kind; and the rest is boiled in earthen pots, till it is reduced to a syrup, resembling treacle, but of a much finer flavour; and with this syrup the natives fatten their hogs and dogs. The leaves of the trees are applied to the various uses of making tobacco pipes, umbrellas, cups, baskets, and the thatching of houses. The fruit of this tree is nearly of the size of a full-grown turnip; but the natives are not fond of it, nor do they suffer much of it to come to perfection, as

they wound the blossoms for the sake of the liquor that distills from them. The kernels of the fruit must be eaten before it is ripe, otherwise they are so hard, that the teeth will not penetrate them.

As wood for firing is very scarce upon the island, the natives, by the following method, make a very little of it answer the ends of cookery and distillation. A hollow is dug under ground in a direct line, about two yards long, with a hole at each end, one of which is large and the other small; the fire is put in at the largest hole, while the smaller one serves as a draught. Circular holes are made through the earth which covers this cavity, and on these holes are set earthen pots, which, being large in the middle, and smaller towards the bottom, the fire acts upon a considerable part of the surface. They generally contain about eight or nine gallons, and are generally kept boiling with a very small quantity of fuel. It is thus that they make their syrup and sugar, as well as boil all their victuals.

The betel and areca are chewed here both by men and women, and are mixed with a sort of lime made of shells and coral stones. To these ingredients they frequently add tobacco; and the mixture is of such a nature, as being used from their infancy, spoils the teeth and breath of all the inhabitants. Tobacco is likewise smoked here, and the women in particular were observed to swallow the smoke.*

The island is divided into five districts, each of which is governed by a Raja. These divisions are called Timo, Massara, Regeewa, Laai, and Seba. The English went on shore on the last of these, where they found a Raja that governed with the most absolute authority. He was between thirty and forty, and remarkable for his corpulency. It was observed that he governed his people in an absolute manner, but took very little regal pomp upon him. The prime minister who has been mentioned, seemed to be invested with great power, and to have the direction of the Raja in almost every respect; it was apparent however that he did not abuse this power, as the people universally loved him. The Raja and his counsellors used to settle the disputes of the natives in a manner that was equitable, and generally satisfactory to the contending parties.—Mr. Lange, to whom Captain Cook was chiefly obliged for the accounts that he received of this island, informed him that the Indians were able on a short notice to raise 7300 fighting men. Their arms are lances, spears, muskets, targets, and pole-axes, which last, are somewhat like a wood-bill, but have straighter edges, and are heavier. In the use of their lances, these warriors are said to be so expert, that they can pierce a man through the heart at sixty or seventy yards distance. Yet the Raja had always lived at peace with his neighbours.

Before the town-house there was a great gun; there were also some swivels and patararoes. But the great gun lay with the touch-hole to the ground, and the swivels and patararoes were not in their carriages. A number of spears and targets were seen in the town-house, all of which were of different sizes, and it was with these that the natives had armed themselves when they came down with Dr. Solander to influence the market. Rust had almost destroyed the insides of their muskets, but the out-sides were kept clean and bright. The men had but very little powder and ball in their cartridge boxes, but a piece of paper was put into each hole, as if they had been furnished in a proper manner. They marched in an irregular manner, as has been already noticed, and each man brought with him a fowl, some tobacco, or some other trifling article, which he thought he could dispose of.

“The inhabitants of Savu (says our author) are divided into five ranks, viz. the Rajas, the land owners, the manufacturers, the servants, and the slaves. The Rajas are chief; the land owners are respected in proportion to the extent of their estates, and the number

* They have pipes made of the palm-leaf, which are about the size of a goose-quill, and half a foot long, into one

end of which they put the tobacco intended for the purpose of smoking.

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number of their slaves, which last are bought and sold with their estates; but a fat hog is the price of one if purchased separately. Notwithstanding a man may thus sell his slave, or convey him with his lands, yet his power does not extend farther, as he may not even strike him without the Raja's permission. The estates of these land-holders are of very different extent; some of them not possessing above five slaves, whilst others have 500. When a man of rank goes abroad, one of his slaves follows him with a silver-hilted sword or hanger, ornamented with horse-hair tassels, and another carries a little bag containing tobacco, betel, areca, and lime. This is all the state that even the Rajas themselves take upon them.

"These people have a great veneration for antiquity. Their principal boast is of a long line of venerable ancestors. Those houses that have been well tenanted for successive generations, are held in the highest esteem: even the stones which are worn smooth by having been sat upon for ages, derive a certain value from that circumstance. He whose progenitors have bequeathed him any of these stones, or whose wealth has enabled him to purchase them, causes them to be ranged round his habitation, for his servants and slaves to sit upon. The Raja causes a large stone to be set up in the chief town of each district as a monument of his reign. In the province of Seba, thirteen such stones were seen as well as the remains of several others which were much worn. These stones were all placed on the top of a hill, and some of them were of such an enormous size that it was amazing by what means they could have been brought thither; nor could any information on this head be obtained from the natives: these monuments, however, indicated that for a series of generations, the island had been regularly governed.—When a Raja dies, proclamation is made that all those who have been his subjects shall hold a solemn festival. On this they proceed to the hill where these stones are erected, and feast for several weeks, killing all the animals that suit their purpose, wherever they can be found in order to furnish the treat, which is daily served up on the monumental stones. When they have thus exhausted their whole stock, they are compelled to keep a fast; and when the feast happens to end in the dry season, when they cannot get vegetables to eat, they have no other subsistence than the palm syrup and water, till the few animals which have escaped the general massacre have bred a sufficient number for a fresh supply, except the adjacent district happens to be in a condition to relieve them.

"The natives of Savu have an instrument with which they clear the cotton of its seeds; it is about seven inches in height and fourteen in length. They have also a machine with which they spin by hand, as was the custom before the invention of spinning wheels in Europe.

"It was observed that the inhabitants of this island were in general robust and healthy, and had every mark of longevity. The small pox, however, is a distemper with which they are acquainted, and which they dread as much as a pestilence. When any person is attacked by it, he is carried to a spot at a distance from the houses, where his food is conveyed to him by means of a long stick, as no one dares to venture near him. Abandoned by all his friends he is there left to live or die as it may happen, without being admitted to any comforts of the community.—

"It appears that the Portuguese very early visited

this island on which they established a settlement, but soon after they were succeeded by the Dutch, who without formally taking possession of the place sent a number of trading vessels in order to establish a commerce with the natives. Most of the Dutch purchases, it is supposed, are confined to a supply of provisions for the Spice-Islands, the inhabitants of which breed but a small number of cattle. The Dutch East India Company made an agreement with the several Rajas of the islands, that a quantity of rice, maize, and callavances should be annually furnished to their people, who, in return, were to supply the Rajas with silk, linen, cutlery wares, and arrack. Certain small vessels, each having on board ten Indians, are sent from Timor to bring a way the maize and callavances, and a ship that brings the articles furnished by the Dutch, receives the rice on board once a year; and as there are three bays on this coast, this vessel anchors in each of them in turn. The Dutch articles of commerce are accepted by the Rajas as a present; and they and their chief attendants drink of the arrack without intermission till it is exhausted.

"It was in the agreement above-mentioned that the Rajas stipulated that a Dutch resident should be constantly on the island. Accordingly this Lange, whom we have mentioned was sent thither in that capacity, and a sort of assistant with him whose father was a Portuguese and his mother a native of Timor, with one Frederic Craig, whose father was a Dutchman and his mother an Indian. Mr. Lange visits the Raja in state attended by fifty slaves on horseback, and if the crops are ripe, orders vessels to convey them immediately to Timor, so that they are not even housed upon the island. It is likewise part of his business to persuade the landholders to plant if he perceives that they are backward in that particular. This resident had been ten years on the island, when the Endeavour touched there, during all which time he had not seen any white persons except those who came annually in the Dutch vessel, to carry off the rice, as above-mentioned. He was married to a native of Timor, and lived in the same manner as the natives of Savu, whose language he spoke better than any other. He sat on the ground like the Indians and chewed betel, and seemed in every thing to resemble them except in his complexion and the dress of his country. As to Mr. Craig, his assistant, he was employed in teaching the natives to write and read, and instructing them in the principles of Christianity. Though there was neither clergyman nor church to be seen upon the island, yet this Mr. Craig averred, that in the township of Seba only, there were 600 Christians. As to the religion of those who have not embraced Christianity, it is a peculiar species of Paganism, every one having a god of his own, somewhat after the manner of the Cemies heretofore mentioned. Their morality, however, is much purer than could be expected from such a people. Robberies are scarcely ever committed. Murder is unknown among them; and though no man is allowed more than one wife, they are strangers to adultery, and almost so to the crime of simple fornication. When any disputes arise between the natives, the determination of the Raja is decisive and satisfactory. Some observations were made upon the language of the natives, by the gentlemen, while the vessel lay here; and a kind of vocabulary formed, a sketch of which the curious reader will find in the note annexed.*

Of the islands in the neighbourhood of Savu, the principal

Moinonne, a man
Monama, an old man
Anawuncekee, a child
Menecopai, a boy
Madda, the eyes
Oraile, the temples
Sivanga, the nose
Tangarei, the forehead
Cavaranga, the cheeks
Yaio, the tongue
Lacoco, the neck

Duloo, the belly
Pagavee, the chin
Camacoo, the arm
Wulakea, the hand
Rootoo, the knees
Baibo, the legs
Dunecala, the feet
Row, hair
Gnaca, a dog
Vavee, a hog
Doomba, a sheep

Maio, a cat
Doleela, a bird
Dulloo, an egg
Nudoo, a fish
Unjoo, a turtle
Vooc, fruit
Nai, tobacco
Yirroo, oranges
Arre, rice
Lodo, the sun
Wuroo, the moon

Booro, bread
Cova, a coat
Capa, a ship
Sooree, red
Bulla, black
Sao-lodo, the morning
Mundo-lodo, the evening
O, yes
Gnaa, to eat
Neenawei, to drink
Ta caco, to walk

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principal is Timor, which is annually visited by the Dutch residents on the other islands, in order to make up some of their accounts. Some of the towns on the north side of Timor are in the hands of the Portuguese, but the Dutch possess a far greater proportion of the island, on which they have built a fort and erected several store-houses. There are three small islands, called the Solars, which produce great abundance of the various necessaries of life, that are carried in small vessels to the Dutch settlements on the island of Timor: these islands are low and flat, and one of them has a commodious harbour. To the westward from the Solars lies the little island of Ende, which is yet in the possession of the Portuguese, who have built a considerable town on the north-east point of it; and close to the town is an harbour where ships may ride in safety. The island of Rotte has a Dutch resident on it, whose business is similar to that of Mr. Lange on the island of Savu: Rotte produces, besides such things as are common to other islands, a considerable quantity of sugar, which is now made to a great degree of perfection. There is likewise a small island lying to the west of Savu, the chief of the produce of which is the areca-nut, of which the Dutch receive in exchange for European commodities, as large a quantity every year as will load two vessels.

A French ship was wrecked on the coast of Timor, about two years before the Endeavour was in these seas, she had been lodged on the rock several days, when the wind tore her to pieces in an instant, and the captain, with the greater number of the seamen were drowned; but the lieutenant and about 80 men having reached the shore, travelled across the country of Concordia, where their immediate necessities were relieved, after which they returned to the wreck, in company with some Dutch and Indians, who assisted them in recovering all their chests of bullion, some of their gums and other effects: which being done, they returned to Concordia, where they remained several weeks; but in this interval death made such havock among them, that not above half their number remained to be sent to their native country, which was done as soon as a vessel could be fitted out for that purpose.

On the 21st of September, 1770, the Endeavour sailed from Savu, steering westward. In the afternoon of this day a little island was discovered in $10^{\circ} 47'$ south lat. and $238^{\circ} 28'$ west long.*

When the ship got clear of the several islands before-mentioned, there was a continual swell of the sea from the south, which Captain Cook imputed to the position of the coast of New South-Wales, imagining it to have determined the sea in that direction. On the 28th they steered north-west the whole day, in order to get sight of the land of Java; and on the 30th the captain received from most of the officers and seamen their respective journals of the voyage, regarding which he advised them to observe the most profound secrecy; and he likewise possessed himself of the log-book. In the night following there was a storm of thunder and lightning, when the land of Java was seen to the eastward by the brightness of the lightning. In the morning they had sight of the island of Cracatoo, which is singular for the height of its peak. Early in the morning of the 2d of October, when the ship was fifteen fathom water, she was close in with the coast of Java, along which they now steered. As their Indian friend Tupia, was at this time extremely ill, the captain now dispatched a boat to the shore, to endeavour to bring him some refreshing fruits, and likewise to procure grass for the buffalos. As soon as the boat landed, the inhabitants assisted the seamen in cutting grass for the cattle, and

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gathering a bunch of plantains and a few coconuts, for which they received a shilling, and which were brought off to the ship.—The land of Java had a delightful appearance, being every where well covered with trees. This day they had sight of two Dutch vessels, and an officer being dispatched to one of them, to learn any interesting intelligence, he brought word back, that the Swallow had reached the English channel in safety; that disputes were carried to great lengths at home, in regard to the ministers, and in America, on account of taxes; and that the Russians, Poles, and Turks, were embroiled in a war. The officer said, that the vessels were Dutch East-Indiamen, bound from Batavia, one of them to the coast of Malabar, and the other to the island of Ceylon: he said likewise, that there was a kind of packet-boat, which he had been told, was appointed to carry letters from the Dutch ships that came thither to Batavia, but Captain Cook conjectured that her business was to examine such ships as should pass the strait. The ship had now been some hours at anchor; but a light breeze springing up in the evening, they got under sail, and continued to proceed at a slow rate during the night. On the 3d in the morning, the Dutch packet-boat was observed sailing after the Endeavour; but she bore away again on the shifting of the wind. This changing of the wind obliging the Endeavour to come to an anchor, the master of the packet-boat came along-side her, in one of the boats belonging to the country, bringing with him rice-birds, monkeys, parrots, parroquets, ducks, fowls, turtle, and other things, with an intention to sell them; but as the stock which had been laid in at Savu was not yet consumed, and he had fixed a very high price on his commodities, very few articles were purchased: the captain, however, bought twenty or thirty fowls, and a small turtle. The master of the packet-boat had brought with him two books, in one of which he wrote down the captain's name, and that of the vessel, to be sent to the governor and council of the Indies, and in the other book he requested that some of the gentlemen on board would likewise write down the name of the vessel, with that of the captain, where she came from, to what port she was bound, and as many particulars respecting any person on board, as themselves might think necessary to satisfy the curiosity of any of their friends who might afterwards enquire for them. In this book several Portuguese vessels, and some of other countries had many entries of the same kind, but a lieutenant on board the Endeavour, having written the ship's name, added only the words, "from Europe:" yet of this the master of the packet took no other notice, saying he was content with whatever they were pleased to write; as it was only for the information of his friends.—

Having now weighed anchor, they attempted to sail, but the wind not enabling the vessel to stem the current, she lay to till the 5th in the morning, when a Dutch officer coming along-side, sent a printed paper to the captain, containing the following queries. 1. The ship's name, and to what nation she belonged? —2. Whether she came from Europe, or from any other place? —3. From what place she departed last? —4. Whither she was bound? —5. How many ships belonging to the Dutch Company had been seen on the last coast the vessel had left; and their names? —6. Whether one or more vessels had been in company with the Endeavour, and had sailed for that or any other place? —7. Whether any thing had happened or been seen remarkable during the voyage? —8. Whether any ships had been seen or hailed in the straits of Sunda, and what they were. —9. Whether they had brought any other news worthy of attention from the

N n n

place

Ta rai, to run
Ta mudje, to talk
Ta bunge, to sneeze
Iffe, or affe, one
Roce, two

Tulloo, three
Uppa, four
Lumee, five
Unna, six
Petoo, seven

Aroo, eight
Saio, nine

Singoroo, ten
Singoroo Iffe, eleven

* This island has not been laid down in any of the charts hitherto published.

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place whence the ship took her departure, or whether any thing else had happened during the voyage that was worth communicating?

The questions were subscribed "BATAVIA, in the Castle. By order of the Governor-general and the Counsellors of India. J. Brander Bnigl. Sec."

The officer had many papers of the same kind in French, Dutch, and other languages. Observing, however, that the captain did not chuse to answer any of the above questions, except the first and fourth, he observed that the rest were not material, though it was remarked that just afterwards he said he must dispatch the paper to Batavia, at which place it would arrive by the next day. This examination was rather extraordinary, and the more so, as it does not seem to have been of any long standing.

"The anchor was weighed as soon as the Dutch officer departed, but in four hours the ship was forced to come to an anchor again, till a breeze sprang up; she then held on her course till the next morning, when on account of the rapidity of the current, the anchor was dropped again. At last they weighed on the 8th, and stood clear of a large ledge of rocks, which they had almost ran upon the preceding day. But in the forenoon they were once more obliged to anchor near a little island that was not laid down in any chart they had on board. It was found to be one of those called the Milles Isles. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander having landed upon it, collected a few plants; and shot a bat which was a yard long, being measured from the extreme points of the wings; they also killed a few plovers on this island, the breadth of which does not exceed one hundred yards, and the length five hundred; they found a house and a little spot of cultivated ground, and on it grew the *Palma Christi*, from which the West Indians make their castor oil.

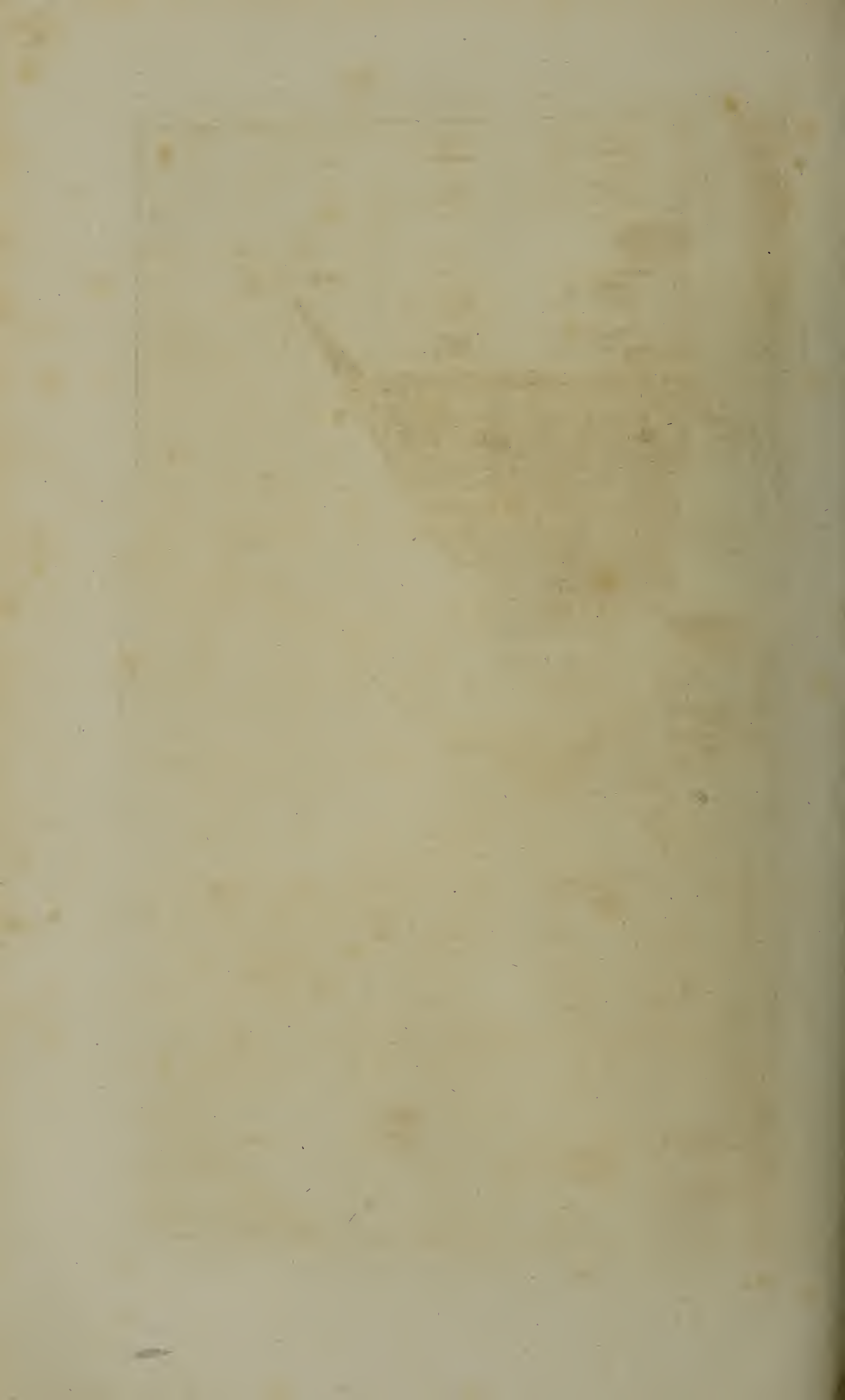
"In a little time after the gentlemen came back to the ship, some Malays came along-side in a boat, bringing with them some pompions, dried fish, and turtle for sale: one of the turtles, which weighed near one hundred and fifty pounds, they sold for a dollar, and seemed to expect the same piece of money for their fruit; but it being hinted to them that a dollar was too much, they desired that one might be cut, and a piece of it given to them, but this not being complied with, they at length sold twenty-six pompions for a Portuguese petacka. When they departed, they intimated their wishes, that this transaction might not be mentioned at Batavia.

"The ship now made but slow way till night, when the land-breeze springing up, they failed to the east-south-east, and on the following day, by the assistance of the sea-breeze, they came to an anchor in the road of Batavia. At this place they found a number of large Dutch vessels, the Harcourt East-Indiaman from England, which had lost her passage to China, and two ships belonging to the private trade of our India company. The Endeavour had no sooner anchored, than a ship was observed, with a broad pendant flying, from which a boat was dispatched to demand the name of the vessel, with that of the commander, &c. To these enquiries Captain Cook gave such answers as he thought proper, and the officer who commanded the boat departed. This gentleman, and the crew that attended him, were so worn out with the unhealthiness of the climate, that it was apparent many deaths would follow; yet at present there was not one invalid on board, except the Indian Tupia. The captain now dispatched an officer to the governor of the town to apologise for the Endeavour's not saluting: for he had but three guns proper for the purpose, except swivels, and he was apprehensive that they would not be heard. The ship was so leaky, that she made about nine inches water in an hour, on the average; part of the false keel was gone, one of her pumps was totally useless, and the rest so much decayed, that they could not last long. The officers and seamen concurring in opinion that the ship could not safely put to sea again in this condition, the captain resolved to so-

licit permission to heave her down; but as he had learned that this must be done in writing, he drew up a petition, and had it translated into Dutch.

"On Wednesday October the 10th, 1770, the captain and the rest of the gentlemen went on shore, and applied to the only English gentleman then resident at Batavia; this gentleman, whose name was Leith, received his countrymen in the politest manner, and entertained them at dinner with great hospitality. Mr. Leith informed them, that a public hotel was kept in town, by order of the Dutch governor, at which place merchants and other strangers were obliged to lodge, and that the landlord of the hotel was bound to find them warehouses for their goods, on the condition of receiving ten shillings on every hundred pounds of their value, but as the Endeavour was a king's ship, her officers, and the other gentlemen, might reside where they thought proper, only asking leave of the governor, whose permission would be instantly obtained. Mr. Leith added, that they might live cheaper in this way than at the hotel; if they had any person who spoke the Batavian tongue, whom they could rely on to purchase their provisions, but as there was no such person among the whole ship's crew, the gentlemen immediately bespoke beds at the hotel. In the afternoon Captain Cook attended the governor-general, who received him politely, and told him to wait on the council the next morning, when his petition should be laid before them, and every thing that he solicited should be granted. Late in the evening of this day, there happened a most terrible storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with very heavy rain. In this storm the main-mast of a Dutch East Indiaman was split and carried away by the deck; and the main-top-mast and main-top-gallant-mast were torn to pieces; it is supposed, that the lightning was attracted by an iron spindle at the main-top-gallant-mast-head. The Endeavour, which was at a small distance from the Dutch ship, escaped without damage, owing, most probably, to the electrical chain which conducted the lightning over the vessel.—A sentinel on board the Endeavour, who was charging his musket at the time of the storm, had it shaken out of his hand, and the ram-rod broken to pieces: the electrical chain looked like a stream of fire, and the ship sustained a very violent shock.

"Capt. Cook waited on the gentlemen of the council on Thursday the 11th, who informed him that all his requests should be complied with. In the interim the other gentlemen made a contract with the master of the hotel, to furnish them and their friends with as much tea, coffee, punch and tobacco, as they might have occasion for, and to keep them a separate table, for nine shillings a day English money: but on the condition that every person who should visit them, should pay at the rate of four shillings and sixpence for his dinner, and the same sum for his supper and bed, if he chose to sleep at the hotel; they were likewise to pay for every servant that attended them fifteen pence a day. It was soon discovered, that they had been much imposed on: for these charges were twice as much as could have been demanded at a private house. They appeared to live elegantly, but at the same time were but ill supplied. Their dinner consisted of fifteen dishes, all served up at once; and their supper of thirteen, but of these, nine or ten were of the most ordinary, because the cheapest, (poultry) that could be purchased, and even some of these dishes were observed to be served up four times successively: a duck, which was hot at dinner, was brought cold in the evening, the next day served up as a fricasee, and was converted into forced meat at night. Our countrymen, however, only fared as others had done before them: it was the constant custom of the conscientious master of the hotel, to treat all his guests in the same manner, when they first took up their residence at his house: if they took no notice of it, all was well, for the landlord had the better customers of them: if they remonstrated against such treatment, the



the table was better and better supplied from time to time, till, in the end, they had no reason to complain. The gentlemen having found fault with their fare, were afterwards supplied in a better manner: but Mr. Banks not approving the conduct of the master of the hotel, hired lodgings for himself and his attendants at the adjoining house, for which he agreed to pay forty-five shillings a month: but here he was disappointed in the hope he had formed of living retired; for scarcely a Dutchman had occasion to pass by the house, but he ran in without ceremony, to enquire what was to be sold; for it is a very usual thing at Batavia, for strangers who are in a private capacity, not to be furnished with some articles of traffic. In this house nobody was permitted to sleep, as a guest of Mr. Banks, without his bed being separately paid for; it is the universal custom here to hire a carriage, and Mr. Banks engaged two, for which he paid eighteen shillings a day: these carriages are open chaises, in which two persons sit commodiously, and are driven by a man sitting on a kind of coach-box.

" Their Indian friend, Tupia, had been, till this time on board, very dangerously ill, yet persisted to refuse every medicine that was offered him; Mr. Banks now sent for him to his house, in hopes that he might recover his health. While he was in the ship, and even after he was put in the boat, he was indisposed, and low spirited, in the utmost degree, but the moment he came into the town, his whole frame appeared as if re-animated. The houses, the carriages, the people, and many other objects, were totally new to him, and astonishment took possession of his features at a sight so wonderful: but if Tupia was astonished at the scene, his boy, Tayota, was perfectly enraptured, dancing along the streets for joy, examining the several objects as they presented themselves with the most earnest curiosity. Nothing struck Tupia so much as the vast variety of dresses worn by the inhabitants of Batavia: he enquired the reason of what appeared so very extraordinary in his eyes. Being informed that the people were of a variety of nations, and that all were dressed according to the mode of their own country, he was desirous of following the fashion; this request being complied with, a person was dispatched to the ship for some South-sea cloth, with which he soon clothed himself in the dress of the inhabitants of Otaheite. The people of Batavia, who had seen an Indian brought thither in M. Bougainville's ship, named Outourou, mistook Tupia for that man, and frequently enquired if he was not the same.

" The necessary repairs of the ship being ordered to be made at Ourust, Captain Cook obtained an order to the superintendant of that island to receive her; and he wrote to the secretary of the admiralty, an account of the safe arrival of the Endeavour in the road of Batavia, and dispatched his letter by a Dutch ship that was bound to Europe.

" The Captain now applied to several persons to advance him money sufficient to defray the expence of repairing the ship; but not one could be found in the whole town who had the requisite sum in his possession, or if he had was willing to advance it; he therefore made application to the governor, who issued his orders that he should be supplied out of the treasury of the Dutch East India company.

" Early in the morning of the 11th of October, 1771, the ship got under sail, and proceeded to Ourust; and, in a day or two, the crew began to take out her stores, which were deposited in a wharf on Cooper's Island; but this business was rendered unavoidably tedious, by several Dutch ships being at the same wharf taking in their ladings of pepper.—After little more than a week spent at Batavia, the ill effects of the climate began to be severely felt; Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks were indisposed with fevers, Mr. Banks's two servants were exceedingly sick; the Indian boy Tayota, had an inflammation on his lungs; and Tupia was so ill, that his life was despaired of.

Their indisposition was attributed partly to the swampy situation of the town, and the stench of the dirty canals with which it abounds. By the 26th of the month, very few of the crew were well enough to do duty; and on this day a tent was erected for their reception. Tupia now requested to be conveyed to the ship, in hopes of breathing a purer air than in the town; but his request could not be granted, as she was unrigged, and preparations were making to lay her down, in order that she might undergo a thorough repair: on the 28th, however, Mr. Banks attended Tupia to Cooper's Island, where a tent was pitched for him, in such a situation, where he was alternately refreshed by the land and sea breezes; and the poor creature was so ill, that he could not leave his bed; Mr. Banks's fever was greatly increased, and Dr. Solander's grew worse every day. The ship was at length laid down on the 5th of November, on which day died Mr. Monkhouse the surgeon, whose loss was the more severely felt, as he was a man of skill in his profession, and fell a sacrifice to the pestiferous air of the country, at a time when his abilities were most wanted: Dr. Solander, though extremely ill, had strength sufficient to see his remains committed to the ground, but Mr. Banks was unable even to pay this sad last duty to a worthy man.

" Deaths were now very frequent among the English; several Malay servants were engaged to wait on those who were ill; but these people were so remiss in their duty, that it was no uncommon thing for the sick man to leave his bed in search of his attendant. The Indian boy Tayota paid the debt of nature on the 9th of this month, and Tupia was so shocked at the loss, that it was evident he could not long survive this misfortune.

" The ship's bottom having been carefully surveyed, our countrymen had reason to be thankful for having been preserved during a passage of several hundred miles, through the most dangerous seas on the face of the globe: for the sheathing in several places was torn from the vessel; the false keel was in a great measure gone; the main keel was damaged in many parts; several of the planks had received great injury; and a part of three of them was thinner than the sole of a shoe.

" Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks were now so worn down by their disorders, that the physician who attended them, recommended the country air, as the only thing that could possibly restore them to the wishes of their friends. In consequence of this advice they hired a country house of the master of the hotel, who engaged to supply them with slaves, and to furnish their table; but as they had sufficiently experienced the worthlessness of these slaves, they bought two Malay women, who soon became excellent nurses, from that tenderness of nature which does so much honour to the sex. While these gentlemen were taking measures for the recovery of their health, poor Tupia fell a victim to the ravages of his disorder, and to his grief for the deceased Tayota. When Tayota was first seized with the fatal disorder, he seemed sensible of his approaching end, and frequently said to those that were about him, *Tyau mate see*; " My friends, I am dying:" he was very tractable, and took any medicines that were offered to him: they were both buried in the island of Edam.

" Capt. Cook bestows great encomiums on the officers and the workmen of the marine yard at Ourust, by whose skill and diligence, the bottom of the ship was perfectly repaired by the 14th of the month; and he warmly recommends the heaving down with two masts instead of one, which he says is undoubtedly the more expeditious as well as the safer method.—By this time not above ten men were able to do duty out of the whole ship's crew, and these were employed in getting water and stores aboard, and in putting up the rigging. The water was purchased at Batavia, at the rate of one hundred and fifty gallons for six shillings and eight-pence."—

The captain was now taken ill, and Mr. Sporing
and

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and a sailor, who attended Messrs. Banks and Solander at their country house, were attacked with intermitting fevers, but these two gentlemen grew something better, though their recovery was very slow. Their house was situated on the borders of a rivulet, which of course, assisted the circulation of the air, and it was likewise open to the sea breeze.

In the night of the 25th there fell such a shower of rain, for the space of four hours, as even our voyagers had cause ever to remember. The water poured through every part of Mr. Banks's house, and the lower apartments admitted a stream sufficient to turn a mill. As this gentleman was now greatly restored in health, he went to Batavia the following day, and was surprised to see that the inhabitants had hung their bedding to dry. The westerly monsoon set in about the 26th of this month, it blows in the day-time from the north or north-west, and from the south-west during the night; previous to this, there had been violent showers of rain for several nights. The musquitos and gnats, whose company had been sufficiently disagreeable in dry weather, now begun to swarm in immense numbers, rising from the puddles of water like bees from a hive; they were extremely troublesome during the night, but the pain arising from the sting though very severe, seldom lasted more than half an hour, and in the day time they seldom made their attacks. The frogs kept a perpetual croaking in the ditches, a certain sign that the wet season was commenced, and that daily rain might be expected.—The ship being repaired, the sick people received on board her, and the greater part of her water and stores taken in, she sailed from Ourust on the 8th of December, and anchored in the road of Batavia; twelve days were employed in receiving the remainder of her provisions, water, and other necessities, though their business would have been done in much less time, but that some of the crew died, and the majority of the survivors were so ill, as to be unable to give their assistance. On the 24th, Captain Cook took leave of the governor, and some other gentlemen, who had distinguished themselves by the civilities they shewed him; but at this juncture an incident occurred, that might have produced consequences by no means desirable. A sailor belonging to one of the Dutch ships in the road of Batavia, deserted from the vessel, and entered himself on board the Endeavour. The captain of the Dutch ship having made application to the governor, claiming the delinquent as a subject of the States General, the governor issued his order for the restoration of the man; Captain Cook had but just taken leave of the governor, when this order was delivered to him, and he said, that the man should be given up, if it appeared he was a Dutchman. As the captain was at this time on shore, and did not intend going on board till the following day, he gave the Dutch officer a note to the lieutenant, who commanded on board the Endeavour, to deliver the deserter on the condition above-mentioned. On the following day the Dutchman waited on Captain Cook, informing him, that the lieutenant had absolutely refused to give up the seaman, saying he was an Irishman, and of course a subject of his Britannic Majesty; Captain Cook applauded the conduct of his officer, and added, that it could not be expected that he should deliver up an English subject. The Dutch officer then said, he was authorised, by the governor, to demand the fugitive as a Danish subject, adding, that his name was entered in the ship's books as having been born at Elfsineur; to this Captain Cook very properly replied, that the governor must have been mistaken, when he gave this order for delivering the deserter, who had his option whether he would serve the Dutch or the English; but in compliment to the governor, the man should be given up, as a favour, if he appeared to be a Dane, but that in this case, he should by no means be demanded as a right, and that he would certainly keep him, if he appeared to be a subject of the crown of Great Britain. The Dutchman now took his leave, and he had not been long gone

before the captain received a letter from the commanding officer on board, containing full proof, that the man was an English subject. This letter the captain carried to the shebander, desiring him to lay it before the governor, and to inform him; that the man should not be delivered up on any terms whatever. This spirited conduct on the part of Captain Cook, had the desired effect; and thus the matter ended.

This day the captain, attended by Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen who had hitherto lived in the town, repaired on board the ship, which got under sail the next morning. The Endeavour was saluted by the fort, and by the Elgin East-Indiaman, which then lay in the road; but soon after these compliments were returned, the sea-breeze setting in, they were obliged to come to anchor. Since the arrival of the ship in Batavia road, every person belonging to her had been ill, except the sail-maker, who was more than seventy years old, yet this man got drunk every day while they remained there. The Endeavour buried seven of her people at Batavia, viz. Tupia and his boy, three of the sailors, the servant of Mr. Green, the astronomer, and the surgeon; and at the time of the vessel's sailing, forty of the crew were sick, and the rest so enfeebled by their late illness, as to be scarcely able to do their duty. "The town of Batavia situate in 6° 10' south lat. and 106° 50' east long. from the meridian of Greenwich, is built on the bank of a large bay, something more than twenty miles from the Streight of Sunda, on the north side of the island of Java, on a low boggy ground. Several small rivers, which rise forty miles up the country, in the mountains of Blaeuwen Berg, discharge themselves into the sea at this place, having first intersected the town in different directions. There are wide canals of nearly stagnated water in almost every street, and as the banks of the canals are planted with trees, they appear at first very agreeable; but these trees and canals combine to render the air pestilential. Some of the rivers are navigable, more than thirty miles up the country; and, indeed, the Dutch appear to have chosen this spot to build the town on, for the sake of water-carriage, in which convenience Batavia exceeds every place in the world, except the towns of Holland. A writer who published an account of this place near 50 years ago, makes the number of houses at that time 4760, viz. 1242 Dutch houses, and 1200 Chinese houses, within the walls; and 1066 Dutch houses, and 1240 Chinese houses, without the walls, with 12 houses for the vending of arrack. The streets of Batavia being wide, and the houses large, it stands on more ground than any place that has only an equal number of houses. In dry weather a most horrid stench arises from the canals, and taints the air to a great degree; and when the rains have so swelled the canals that they overflow their banks, the ground-floors of the houses, in the lower part of the town, are filled with stinking water, that leaves behind it dirt and slime in amazing quantities. The running streams are sometimes as offensive as the stagnant canals, for the bodies of dead animals are frequently lodged on the shallow parts, where they are left to putrify, and corrupt the air, except a flood happens to carry them away; this was the case of a dead buffalo, while the crew of the Endeavour were there, which lay stinking on the shoal of a river, in one of the chief streets for several days. They sometimes clean the canals; but this business is performed in such a manner, as scarcely to make them less a nuisance than before, for the bottom being cleared of its black mud, it is left on the side of the canal till it is hard enough to be taken away in boats, and as there are no houses for necessary retirement in the whole town, the filth is thrown into the canals regularly once a day, so that this mud is a compound of every thing that can be imagined disagreeable and offensive. There is a new church in Batavia, which is a fine piece of building, and the dome of it may be seen far off at sea. This church is illuminated by chandeliers

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chandeliers of the most superb workmanship, and has a fine organ: most of the other public buildings are ancient, constructed in an ill taste, and gave a very compleat idea of Dutch clumsiness. Their method of building their houses seems to have been taught them by the climate. On the ground-floor there is no room but a large hall, a corner of which is parted off for the transaction of business; the hall has two doors, which are commonly left open, and are opposite each other, so that the air passes freely through the room, in the middle of which there is a court, which at once increases the draft of air, and affords light to the hall; the stairs, which are at one corner, lead to large and lofty apartments above. The female slaves are not permitted to sit in any place but the alcove formed by the court, and this is the usual dining place of the family.

The town of Batavia is encompassed by a river of shallow water, the stream of which is very rapid; within this river, which is of different widths in various places, is an old stone wall, much decayed in many places, and within the wall is a canal that is likewise much wider in some places than in others, so that there is no entering the gates of the town but by crossing two draw-bridges; there are but few on the ramparts, and no persons are permitted to walk there. There is a kind of citadel, or castle, in the north-east corner of the town, the walls of which are both broader and higher than they are in other parts; it is furnished with a number of large guns, which command the landing-place.

Apartments are provided in this castle for the governor-general and all the council; and in case of a siege they have orders to retire thither. In the castle are likewise a number of store-houses, in which the effects belonging to the company are deposited. The company have in their possession large quantities of gun-powder, which is kept in different places, that the lightning may not destroy the whole stock at once, a great number of cannon are likewise laid up within the castle. There are a great many forts built in different parts of the country, several miles distant from Batavia, most probably erected to keep the natives in submission; and besides these there are a number of fortified houses, each mounting eight guns, which are so stationed as to command the canals and the roads on the borders. There are houses of this kind in many parts of the island of Java, and the other islands in its neighbourhood, of which the Dutch have obtained possession. The Chinese having rebelled against them in the year 1740, all their principal houses were demolished by the cannon of one of these fortified houses, which is in the town of Batavia, where, likewise, there are a few more of them.

The roads of this country are only banks between the ditches and canals, and the fortified houses being erected among the morasses near these roads, nothing is easier than to destroy them, and consequently to prevent an enemy from bringing any heavy artillery near the town: if, indeed, an enemy be only hindered a short time in his approach, he is effectually ruined, for the climate will preclude the necessity of the use of weapons for his destruction. Before the Endeavour had been a week at Batavia, her crew began to feel the ill effects of the climate; half of them were rendered incapable of doing their duty before the expiration of a month. They were informed, that it was a very uncommon thing for 50 soldiers out of 100 brought from Europe, to be alive at the expiration of the first year, and that of the fifty who might happen to be living, not ten of those would be in sound health, and, probably, not less than half of them in the hospital.

All the white inhabitants of Batavia are soldiers, and, at the expiration of five years service, they are bound to hold themselves in readiness to go to war, if they should be wanted, and the younger inhabitants are frequently mustered; but as they are neither trained nor exercised after the expiration of the five years

before-mentioned, the little they have learned is soon forgotten. [The Portuguese, who live in this country, employ themselves very much in shooting the deer, and the wild hog, whence they become excellent marksmen.] The Indians, of whatever nation, who reside here, and have either been made free, or were born so, are called Mardykens; but neither these nor the Chinese are acquainted with fire-arms, yet as these people are said to possess great personal bravery, much might be expected from their expert use of their daggers, swords and lances. It would be a laborious task to attack Batavia by land, and it is not possible to make any attack at all by sea, for the shallowness of the water would hinder any vessels from advancing within cannon-shot of the walls; indeed there is barely depth of water for a ship's long-boat, except a narrow channel, called the river, which extends half a mile into the harbour, and is strongly bounded on each side with piers, the other end of it being directly under the fire of the castle, while its communication with the canals of the town is prevented by a boom of wood, which is every night shut precisely at six o'clock, and never opened till the following day.

Any number of ships may anchor in the harbour of Batavia, the ground of which is so excellent that the anchor will never quit its hold. This harbour is sometimes dangerous for boats, when the sea-breezes blow fresh; but, upon the whole, it is deemed the best and most commodious in all India. There is a considerable number of islands, which are situated round the outside of the harbour, and all these are in the possession of the Dutch, who destine them to different purposes. On one of them, which is called Purmerent, an hospital is erected, on account of the air being purer than it is at Batavia. In a second, the name of which is Kuyper, are erected numbers of warehouses, in which are lodged the rice and some other commodities, which belong to the Dutch East-India Company; at this island those ships belonging to different nations, which are to be repaired at Ourust, unload their cargoes; and it was here that the stores of the Falmouth man of war were laid up, when she was condemned on her return from Manilla; her warrant officers, of whom mention has been made in the account of Captain Wallis's voyage, were sent to Europe in Dutch ships about half a year before the Endeavour anchored in the road of Batavia. A third of these islands, the name of which is Edam, is appropriated to the reception of certain offenders, whose crimes are not deemed worthy of death, and thither they are transported from Holland, and detained from five to forty years, in proportion to the heinousness of the offence they have committed: making of ropes is the principal part of the employment of these criminals.

The environs of Batavia have a very pleasing appearance, and would in almost any other country, be an enviable situation. Gardens and houses occupy the country for several miles, but the former are so covered with trees, that the advantage of the land having been cleared of the wood that originally covered it, is almost wholly lost; while these gardens and the fields adjacent to them are surrounded by ditches which yield a disagreeable smell; and the bogs and morasses in the adjacent fields are still more offensive. For the space of more than thirty miles beyond the town, the land is totally flat, except in two places, on one of which the governor's country-seat is built, and on the other they hold a large market; but neither of these places is higher than ten yards from the level of the plain. At near forty miles from the town the land rises into hills, and the air is purified in a great degree; to this distance the invalids are sent by their physicians when every other prospect of their recovery has failed, and the experiment succeeds in almost every instance, for the sick are restored to health; but they no sooner return to the town, than their former disorders revisit them. On these hills the most opulent of the inhabitants

bitants have country seats, to which they pay an annual visit. Those who reside constantly on the hills enjoy an almost perpetual flow of health; and most of the vegetables of Europe grow as freely there as in their native ground: the strawberry in particular flourishes greatly, which is a sufficient proof of the coolness of the air.

The rice of this country is very plentiful, and, in order to be brought to perfection, should lie under water more than half the time it is growing: but they have a sort which grows on the sides of the hills, which is unknown in the West-India islands; this sort is planted when the wet season commences, and the crop is gathered in, soon after the rains are over. The maize, which grows near Batavia, is gathered while young, and roasted in the ear. The land likewise produces carrots, celery, parsley, asparagus, onions, radishes, cabbages, lettuces, cucumbers, lentiles, kidney-beans, hyssop, sage, rue, Chinese white radishes, which when boiled, are not unlike a parsnip, common potatoes, sweet potatoes, wet and dry yams, millet, and the egg plant, the fruit of which, when broiled and eaten with salt and pepper, is most exquisite food. Amazing quantities of sugar are produced here, and, while the quantity is beyond comparison greater, the care of cultivation is inconceivably less than in the West-India islands. White sugar is retailed at two-pence half-penny the pound; and arrack is made of the molasses, with a small addition of rice, and the wine of the cocoa-nut. The inhabitants likewise raise a little indigo for their own use, but do not export it.

The fruits of this country are near forty in number, and of some of these there are several kinds. Pine-apples grow in such abundance, that they may be purchased at the first hand, for the value of an English farthing; and they bought some very large ones for a half-penny a piece at the fruit-shops, and their taste is very excellent. They grow so luxuriantly, that seven or eight suckers have been seen adhering to one stem. The sweet oranges of Batavia are good of their kind, but very dear at particular times. The shaddocks of the West Indies, called here Pamplemooses, have an agreeable flavour. Lemons were very scarce when the Endeavour lay in the harbour, but limes were altogether as plentiful, and sold at little more than two-pence the score. There are many kinds of oranges and lemons, but none of them excellent. Of mangoes there are plenty, but their taste is far inferior to the melting peach of England, to which they have been compared. It is said that the heat, and extreme dampness of the climate does not agree with them, yet there are many different kinds of them. Of bananas, there are an amazing variety of sorts, some of which being boiled, are eaten as bread, while others are fried in batter, and are a nourishing food: but of the numerous sorts of this fruit, three only are fit to be eaten; one indeed, is remarkable, because it is filled with seeds, which are not common to the rest. Grapes are sold from one shilling to eighteen pence a pound, though they are far from being good. The tamarinds are cheap and plentiful; but as the method of preserving them, which is in salt, renders them a mere black lump, they are equally nauseating to the sight and to the palate. The water melons are excellent of their kind, and are produced in great abundance. The pumpions are boiled as turnips, and eaten with salt and pepper. This fruit is admirably adapted to the use of voyagers, as it will keep many months without care, and makes an excellent pye, when mixed with the juice of lemons and sugar. The papaws of this country are superior to turnips, if the cores are extracted, after paring them when they are green. The guava has a strong smell, and a taste not less disagreeable: it is probable, that the guava of the West-Indies, which many writers have distinguished by their praises, has a very different flavour. The sweet sop is a fruit that has but little flavour: it abounds in large kernels, from which the

pulp is sucked. The taste of the custard-apple very much resembles the dish from which its name is taken. The casheu apple produces a nut which is not unknown in England, but the fruit has such an astringent quality, that the Batavians seldom eat of it: the nut grows on the top of the apple. The cocoa-nut is plentiful in this country, and there are several kinds of this fruit, the best of which is very red between the shell and the skin. The jamboo is a fruit that has but little taste, but is of a cooling nature: it is considerably less than a common-sized apple, and those that have grown to their full size, are always the best; its shape is oval, and its colour a deep red. Of the Jambu-eyer, there are two kinds, the white and the red: they are shaped like a bell, and are something bigger than a cherry: they have no kind of taste but that of a watry acid. The Jambu-eyer mauwar, smells like a rose, and its taste is not unlike that of conserve of roses. The mangostan is of a dark red colour, and not larger than a small apple: to the bottom of this fruit adhere several little leaves of the blossoms, while on its tops are a number of triangles combined in a circle, it contains several kernels ranged in a circular form, within which is the pulp, a fruit of most exquisite taste; it is equally nutritious and agreeable, and is constantly given to persons who are troubled with inflammatory or putrid fevers. The sweet orange of this country is likewise given in the same disorders. The pomegranate of these parts differs in nothing from that generally known in England. The durion takes its name from the word Dure, which, in the language of that country, means prickles, and the name is well adapted to the fruit, the shell of which is covered with sharp points, shaped like a sugar-loaf: its contents are nuts not much smaller than chestnuts, which are surrounded with a kind of juice resembling cream; and of this the inhabitants eat with great avidity: the smell of this fruit is more like that of onions, than any other European vegetable, and its taste is like that of onions, sugar, and cream intermixed: the inside of the durion, when ripe, is parted, lengthways, into several divisions. The nanca is a fruit that smells like garlic and apples mixed together: its size in the gardens of Batavia, is not bigger than that of a middling sized pompion, and its shape is nearly the same: it is covered with prickles of an angular form. They were informed that, at a place called Madura, it has been known to grow to such an enormous size as to require the strength of two men to carry it. The champada is in all respects like the naucia, only that it is not so large. The rambutan contains a fruit within which is a stone, that is perhaps the finest acid in the world: this fruit is not unlike a chestnut with its husk on; and it is covered with small prickles of a dark red colour, and so soft as to yield to the slightest impression. The gambolan resembles a damascen both in colour and size, and is of a very astringent nature. The boa bidarra tastes like an apple, and is likewise extremely astringent: its size is that of a gooseberry, its form round, and its colour yellow. The nam makes an excellent fritter, if fried in batter, but is not esteemed when raw: the rind of it is rough, its length is about three inches, and its shape not unlike that of a kidney. The catappa and the canare are two species of nuts, the kernels of which are like those of an almond, but so hard, that it is almost impossible to break them. The madja contains a pulp of a sharp taste, which is eaten with sugar: this fruit is covered with a hard shell. The suntal is a fruit scarcely fit to be eaten, being at once astringent, acid, and of a most unpleasant taste, yet it is publicly sold in the streets of Batavia: it contains a number of kernels, which are inclosed in a thick skin. The salack is nearly of the size of a small golden pippin, and contains a few kernels of a yellow colour, the taste of which is not unlike that of a strawberry; but the covering of this fruit is very remarkable, as it consists of a number of scales, resembling those of a fish. The chefrema and the blimbing, are two four

fruits, exceedingly well adapted to make four sauce, and pickles. The blimbing beffe is another fruit of the same kind, but considerably sweeter.

Of the fruits not in season when Captain Cook was at Batavia, are the boa atap, and the kinship, which he saw preserved in sugar: and there are several other sorts which the Batavians are fond of, but they are never eaten by strangers: among those are the moringa, the guilindina, the killer, and the foccum; this last has the appearance of the bread-fruit which is produced in the islands of the South Seas, but it is not near so good, though the tree on which it grows is almost exactly like the bread-fruit tree.

Vast quantities of fruit are eaten at Batavia. There are two markets held weekly, at distant places for the better accommodation of those who reside in different parts of the country. Here the fruit-sellers meet the gardeners, and purchase the goods at low rates. We are told it is not uncommon to see fifty or sixty loads of pine-apples carelessly thrown together at those markets. Flowers are strewn by the inhabitants of Batavia and Java, about their houses, and they are constantly burning aromatic woods and gums, which is supposed to be done by way of purifying the air from the stench that arises from the canals and ditches about the town.

In this country sweet-scented flowers are plentiful, many species of which being intirely unknown, are worth remarking.

The combang tonquin, and combang carenassi, are particularly fragrant flowers, which bear scarcely any resemblance to any of those flowers with which we are here acquainted. They are very small, and seem to be of the dog's-bane species. The camunga which is more like a bunch of leaves than a flower, is of a singular smell, but very grateful. The bon tanjong is of a pale yellow cast, and has a very agreeable smell; it is about an inch and a half in circumference, and consists of pointed leaves, which give it the appearance of a star. The champacka smells somewhat like a jonquil, but is rather of a deeper yellow. A large tree upon the island produces this flower. There is also an extraordinary kind of flower called fundal malam, which signifies the intriguer of the night. This flower has no smell in the day-time, but as night comes on, it has a very fragrant scent, and is very much like the English tuberose.

These flowers being made into nosegays of different shapes, or strung upon thread, are carried through the street for sale on an evening. The gardens of the gentlemen produce several other sorts of flowers besides these which we have mentioned, but they are not offered to sale, because there is not a sufficient plenty of them. A plant, called the pandang, is produced here, the leaves of which being shred small, and mixed with other flowers, the natives of both sexes fill their cloaths and hair with this mixture; which they likewise sprinkle on their beds, and sleep under this heap of sweets, a thin piece of chints being their only covering.

Pepper was formerly the only spice that grew on the island of Java. A considerable quantity is brought from thence by the Dutch, but very little of it is made use of in the country. The inhabitants prefer cayen pepper, and are fond of cloves and nutmeg, but these first are too dear to be commonly used. Near the island of Amboyna are some little isles, on which the cloves grow, and the Dutch possessed themselves of all of them, not being easy till they all became their property. Scarcely any other nutmegs are found but on the island of Banda, which however furnishes enough for all the nations that have a demand for that commodity. There are but a few nutmeg-trees on the coast of New Guinea.

As to Java, of which we have already spoken, our voyagers give the following account: "This island produces horses, buffaloes, sheep, goats, and hogs. The sort of horses said to have been met with here when the country was first discovered, appeared to be nimble animals though small, being generally seldom

above thirteen hands high. The horned cattle of this country are different from those of Europe. They are quite lean, but of a very fine grain. The Chinese and the natives of Java eat the Buffaloes flesh, which the Dutch constantly refuse, being impressed with a strange idea that it is feverish. The sheep are hairy like goats, and have long ears: they are mostly found to be tough and ill-tasted.

"There happening to be a few sheep from the Cape of Good Hope at Batavia, some of them were purchased at the rate of one shilling a pound. The hogs, especially those of the Chinese stock, are very fine food, but so fat as that the lean is separately sold the butchers, who are Chinese; they take off the fat, they melt and sell to their countrymen to be eaten with their rice. Yet though these hogs are so fine, the Dutch prefer their own breed, and the consequence is that these latter are sold at extravagant rates.

"As the Portuguese shoot the wild hogs and deer, (as we have already mentioned) they are sold at a moderate price, and are good eating. As to the goats of this country they are as indifferent as the sheep. Dogs and cats are found here in abundance, and there are numbers of wild horses at a considerable distance from Batavia, on the mountains. There are a few monkeys seen near the town; but there are many on the mountains and desert-places, where there are also tigers, and a few rhinoceroses.

"An astonishing quantity of fish is taken here, and all are fine food, except a few that are scarce; yet the inhabitants will not eat those that are found in abundance, but purchase those which are worse and scarcer, a circumstance that contributes to keep up the price of the latter. A prejudice likewise prevails among the Dutch which prevents them from eating any of the turtle caught in these parts, which are very good food, though not equal to those that are found in the West Indies. Very large lizards are common at Batavia; some of them are said to be as thick as a man's thigh; and Mr. Banks shot one five feet long, which being dressed, proved very agreeable to the taste.—

"In Batavia they found snipes of two different sorts; and thrushes might have been purchased of the Portuguese, who were the only dealers in this sort of birds, and venders of wild fowl in the country.

"In the island of Java are palm-wine, and arrack. Of the former they have three sorts, the first of which is drank in a few hours after it is drawn from the tree, and is moderately sweet; the second and third sorts are made by fermentation, and by putting several sorts of herbs and roots into the liquor.

"The religion of Mahomet is professed in Java, for which reason the natives do not make use of wine publicly; but in private few of them will refuse it. They also chew opium, whose intoxicating qualities prove its recommendation to the natives of India.

"If we exclude the Chinese, and the Indians of different nations, who inhabit Batavia and its environs, the inhabitants only amount to a small number, not a fifth part of whom are said to be Dutchmen, even by descent. The Portuguese out-number all the European settlers on the island. The troops in the service of the states of Holland, are composed of the natives of almost all the nations of Europe; but the greater part of them are Germans. When any person goes to reside at Batavia, he is obliged to enter first as a soldier, to serve their company for five years. Afterwards he applies for a leave of absence to the council, which being granted as a thing of course, he engages in any business that he thinks proper to chuse. There is however a sort of policy in this matter, since the Dutch have thus always a force ready to arm and join their troops in this country upon any emergency; all places of power and profit are held by the Dutch, and no foreigner has any share in the management of public affairs.

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“ Notwithstanding all the men of other countries are bound to observe the rules above-mentioned, yet women from all parts may remain here unmolested. It appeared that the whole place could not furnish fifty females who were natives of Europe; yet the town abounded with white women, who were descended from Europeans, that had settled there at different times, all the men having paid the debt of nature; for so it is, that the climate of Batavia destroys the men much faster than the women. These women follow the delicate custom of chewing betel, after the example of the native Javanese, whose dress they imitate, and whose manners they copy, in all respects. Mercantile business is conducted at Batavia with the slightest trouble imaginable. When a merchant receives an order for goods of any kind, he communicates the contents of it to the Chinese, who are the universal manufacturers. The Chinese agent delivers the effects on board the ship for which they are bespoke, and taking a receipt for them from the master of the vessel, he delivers it to the merchant, who pays the Chinese for the goods, and reserves a considerable profit, without the least trouble, risque, or anxiety. But when a merchant imports goods of any kind, he receives them himself, and lodges them in his own warehouses. It may be wondered that the Chinese do not ship the goods on their account, but from this they are restricted, and compelled to sell them to the merchants only.

The inhabitants of Java distinguish the Portuguese by the name of *Oranferanc*, that is, Nazarene-men; but these use the general term of *Caper*, or *Cafir*, respecting all who do not possess the religion of Mahomet, and in this they include the Portuguese. But the Portuguese of Batavia are so only in name; for they have neither any connection with, or knowledge of, the kingdom of Portugal, and they have changed the religion of the church of Rome, for that of Luther; with the manners of the natives, they are wholly familiarised, and they commonly speak their language, though they are able to converse in a corrupt kind of Portuguese. They dress in the habit of the country, with a difference only in the manner of wearing their hair; their noses are more peaked and their skin of a deeper cast than that of the natives. Some of them are mechanics and artificers, others subsist by washing of linen, and the rest procure a maintenance by hunting.

“ The Indian inhabitants of Batavia, and the country in its neighbourhood, are not native Javanese, but are either born on the several islands from whence the Dutch bring their slaves, or the offspring of such as have been born on those islands; and these having been made free either in their own persons or in the persons of their ancestors, enjoy all the privileges of freemen. They receive the general appellation of believers of the true faith.

“ The various other Indian inhabitants of this country attach themselves each to the original customs of that in which themselves or their ancestors were born; keeping themselves apart from those of other nations, and practising both the virtues and vices peculiar to their own countries. The cultivation of gardens, and the consequent sale of flowers and fruit afford subsistence to great numbers of them; these are the people who raise the betel and areca, which being mixed with lime, and a substance that is called *Gambir*, the produce of the Indian continent, is chewed by persons of all ranks, women as well as men: indeed some of the politer ladies make an addition of cardamom, and other aromatics, to take off the disagreeable smell with which the breath would be otherwise tainted. Some of the Indians are very rich, keep a great number of slaves, and live, in all respects, according to the custom of their respective countries, while others are employed to carry goods by water; and others, again subsist by fishing.

The Oranflams, or believers of the faith feed principally on boiled rice, mixed with a small quantity of dried shrimps and other fish, which are imported from

China, and a little of the flesh of buffaloes and chickens; they are fond of fruit, of which they eat large quantities, and with the flour of the rice they make several sorts of pastry. They sometimes make very superb entertainments, after the fashion of their respective countries; but, in general, they are a very temperate people; of wine they drink very little, if any, as the religion of Mahomet, which they profess, forbids the use of it.

“ When a marriage is to be solemnised among the Oranflams, all the gold and silver ornaments that can be procured, are borrowed to deck out the young couple, who, on these occasions, never fail to make the most splendid appearance; sumptuous entertainments are given by those who can afford them, which continue twelve or fourteen days, and frequently more, during all which time the women take care that the bridegroom shall not visit his wife privately, though the wedding takes place previous to the festival.

All these Indians though they come from different countries, speak the Malay language if it deserves that name. On the island of Java there are two or three different dialects, and there is a language peculiar to every small island; it is conjectured that the Malay tongue is a corruption of the language of Malacca.

“ The hair of the people, which is black without a single exception, grows in great abundance; yet the women make use of oils, and other ingredients, to increase the quantity of it: they fasten it to the crown of the head with a bodkin, having first twisted it into a circle, round which they place an elegant wreath of flowers, so that the whole head-dress has a most beautiful appearance. It is the universal custom both with the men and women, to bathe in a river once every day, and sometimes oftener, which not only promotes health, but prevents that contraction of filth, that would be otherwise unavoidable in so hot a climate. The teeth of the Oranflams have some particulars in them well worthy of notice. With a kind of whetstone they rub the ends of them till they are quite flat and even; they then make a deep groove in the teeth of the upper jaw, in the centre between the bottom of each tooth and the gum, and horizontally with the latter; this groove is equal in depth to a quarter of the thickness of the teeth; yet none of these people have a rotten tooth, though according to the dentists of England and France, such a thing must be unavoidable, as the tooth is placed much deeper than what we call the enamel. The teeth of these people became very black by the chewing of betel, yet a slight washing will take off this blackness, and they will then become perfectly white; but they are very seldom washed as the depth of the colour is very far from being thought disagreeable. Our author observes that most readers must have heard of the Mohawks; and these are the people who are so denominated, from a corruption of the word amock, which will be explained by the following story and observations. To run amock is to get drunk with opium, and then seizing some offensive weapon, to sally forth from the house, kill the person or persons supposed to have injured the Amock, and any other person that attempts to impede his passage, till he himself is taken prisoner or killed on the spot. While Captain Cook was at Batavia a person whose circumstances in life were independent, became jealous of his brother, intoxicated himself with opium, and then murdered his brother, and two other men who endeavoured to seize him. This man, contrary to the usual custom, did not leave his own house, but made his resistance from within it; yet he had taken such a quantity of the opium, that he was delirious, which appeared from his attempting to fire three musquets, neither of which had been loaded, nor even primed. Jealousy of the women is the usual reason of these poor creatures running amock [or a-muck] and the first object of their vengeance is the persons whom they suppose to have injured them. The officer, whose business it is to apprehend these unhappy wretches,

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wretches, is furnished with a long pair of tongs, in order to take hold of them at such a distance from the point of their weapons, as to insure his personal safety. When he takes one of them alive, he is amply rewarded; but this is not often the case, as they are so desperate as not to be easily apprehended: when they are killed in the attempt to take them, the officer has only the customary gratification. Those who are taken alive are broken on the wheel, as near as possible to the place where the first murder was perpetrated; and, as they are seldom apprehended without being previously wounded, the time of their execution is sooner or later, according to the opinions of the physicians, whether the wounds are, or are not mortal.

“The Oranflams believe that the devil is the author of sickness and other misfortunes, on which account they make an oblation of meat and money, and other things, to him, when they are either sick or in trouble. When they dream successively for several nights, they have no doubt but that the devil has enjoined the performance of some act, to discover which, they torture their brains in vain, and then apply to the priest, who never fails to interpret the dream in a satisfactory manner. In consequence of this interpretation, by which it appears that the devil is in want of money and food, a quantity of each is placed in the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and being hung on the bough of a tree by the side of a river, is left till some passenger shall find, and take away the money, which is considered not so much an offering to the devil, as a fine due for some crime committed; with regard to the food, they imagine that the devil comes and sucks out the nutritive parts of it, without moving it out of its place.—From this part of the story it seems reasonable to conclude, that the priest having previous knowledge where the oblation is to be made, takes the money, and leaves the victims.—

“The Chinese inhabitants of Batavia are like those of their own country, some of the most industrious people on the face of the earth. They are embroiderers, dyers of cotton, taylorers, carpenters, joiners, smiths, and makers of slippers; some of them are shop-keepers and deal largely in the manufactures of Europe and China. A few of these people live within the walls of the town; but the majority of them take up their residence in a district named Champang China, which is situated without the walls. Those of the Chinese who live in the country, either keep buffaloes and other cattle, the milk of which they sell daily at Batavia, or they procure a subsistence by the raising of rice and sugar canes, and the cultivation of gardens. There is nothing, however infamous, which a Chinese will refuse to do for gain, except his neck is in danger, [and this is the opinion of every preceding writer,] so that these people must have taken no small pains to establish their reputation for knavery. They labour with unwearied diligence, but the moment they have completed their work they sit down to dice, cards, or some other expert art; and they follow their sports with such eagerness, that the business of eating and sleeping is frequently suspended. The clothes of the Chinese, whether rich or poor, are singularly clean and decent. Their behaviour is civil even to humility. They are such temperate eaters that gluttony is unknown among them; but as their religion does not command them to refrain from any particular food, they eat a variety of things which are denied to those Indians who profess the Mahometan faith. Exclusive of vegetables and fish of various kinds, their principal food consists of dogs, cats, lizards, frogs, serpents of several sorts, and hogs.

“The Chinese have purchased of the Dutch, at a very large expence, several hundred acres of land in the vicinity of Batavia, for the interment of the dead; for it is a rule from which they never depart, not to open a grave which has once received the body of their countrymen: and hence arises an enormous expence

in the purchase of land, which greatly distresses the living; to pay an imaginary honour to the dead. In order to preserve the body as long as possible from decay, the coffin consists of a piece of solid timber hollowed out: and this being covered with a kind of mortar several inches thick, petrefies in the ground till it is as hard as a flint. The funeral is attended by the near relations of the deceased, and by a train of women who are paid for making lamentations. In these expensive customs, absurd as they are; the Chinese are equalled by the rest of their Batavian neighbours; for every person is buried with a degree of splendour proportioned to the rank he has held in life, and there is a positive law which enjoins the observance of this custom; in consequence of which it frequently happens, that those who have not money sufficient to pay the just demands on them, are buried in a pompous manner; merely because they have lived elegantly. In this case, persons are employed to take an account of what the man died worth, and when the funeral expences are defrayed the surplus is divided among the creditors.”—

The various inhabitants of the island of Java, whether Dutch, Portuguese, or Indians, are all waited on by slaves, whose number is proportioned to the circumstances of the master; but there are laws in force, that no native of the island shall serve as a slave. These people, the number of which is very great, are bought at Sumatra, and other eastern islands, at various prices, from ten to twenty pounds; but there have been instances of very beautiful girls being sold at above five times the common market price. They are fed on boiled rice, and such fish as can be purchased at the lowest rates, a little of which satisfies them, nor indeed do they deserve even the little they eat, for they are idle and sluggish in the highest degree.

The negroes of Africa are purchased at a lower price than any other slaves, and indeed any price whatever exceeds their merit, for they are of the most obstinate disposition, and thieves, without a single exception. Those slaves which are purchased from the island of Celebes are most intolerably lazy, and of so ferocious a disposition, that their employers run the hazard of their personal safety. The island of Bali furnishes the most useful slaves; and the little island Nias, near Sumatra, supplies female slaves of exquisite beauty; but to these women death is the almost certain consequence of even a short residence at Batavia.—The masters of any of these slaves may punish them in whatever way they chuse, so as not to deprive them of life; but when it happens that a slave dies of the punishments he has received, the master is tried, and commonly suffers as a murderer. From this circumstance it is reasonable to suppose, that the masters are cautious how they beat the slaves, with undue severity; it is not indeed very common for them to strike them at all, but they pay an officer, who is called the Marineu, for inflicting the punishment. The Marineu having heard what is alledged against the delinquent, determines how many stripes he shall receive, and these are given by slaves, whose particular business it is to obey the commands of the Marineu; these strokes are laid on with rods made of rattan split very small. For a severe whipping the Marineu receives a ducatoon, and a rix-dollar for a slighter punishment. The women slaves are whipped in the house of their master; but the men publicly in the streets: in order that these slaves may not be under too great temptations to steal, their masters are compelled to allow them seven-pence half-penny weekly for pocket money.

There is something singular in the subordination observed among the inhabitants of Batavia and the adjacent country. The man who has been longest in the East India Company's service is permitted to gild his coach, while others are allowed to ride in coaches differently painted, according to the length of their services, and others again, ride in those that are quite plain. In like manner the coachmen are dressed in liveries

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that had a greater or less quantity of lace on them, or without any lace at all. The lawyers of Batavia are partial in their administration of justice to a very reprehensible degree. When an Indian has committed any crime deemed worthy of death, he is impaled, hanged, or broken on the wheel; without ceremony; on the contrary, if a Christian is capitally convicted, execution very seldom follows the sentence; and what is more extraordinary, no pains are taken to apprehend the offender, till time enough has been allowed him to run away if he thinks proper. The civil officers of justice among the Chinese and Malays are called captains and lieutenants; but their decisions are not final; if the party against whom they may decide, thinking himself aggrieved, should appeal to the Dutch lawyers; in which case, the decision of the latter must be abided by. The Dutch have laid considerable taxes on these people, among which is one for the permission to wear their hair. When these taxes become due, which is once a month, they hoist a flag on the top of a house nearly in the center of Batavia, and the man who does not speedily go to pay his money, has reason to repent the omission.

The current money of this country is of different value, from a Dutch doit to a ducat. When Captain Cook was at Batavia, Spanish dollars sold at 5s. and 5d. each, and the price is seldom much lower. The Chinese would give only the value of twenty shillings for an English guinea that was almost new, and for those that were old, and much worn, only seventeen shillings. The milled ducatoons of Batavia are valued at eighty stivers; those that are unmilled at seventy-two; the ducat at one hundred and thirty-two; the imperial rix-dollars at sixty; the rupees at thirty; the schellings at six; the double sheys at two and a half, and the doits at a quarter of a stiver.

Early in the morning of the 27th of December, 1770, the Endeavour left the road of Batavia, and after several hindrances, occasioned by the wind being contrary, she stood over for the shore of Java, on the first day of January, 1771. As many of the ship's crew who had been very ill while at Batavia, were now become much worse, the vessel was brought to an anchor in the afternoon of the 5th near Prince's Island, with a view to get some necessary refreshments, and to take in wood and water. Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks now went on shore with the captain, and they were no sooner landed than some of the natives conducted them to the king of the island, with whom they endeavoured to make a bargain for some cattle, but the price could not be agreed on. As the adventurers had no doubt but that they should purchase on their own terms the following day, they left the Indians, and proceeded in search of a proper place to fill water, which was found. As they were about to embark for the ship, they soon purchased three turtle from some of the natives, but with the strictest injunction that their sovereign should not be informed of the transaction. On Sunday, the 6th of January, they purchased, at very moderate prices, as many turtle as they had occasion for, and the whole ship's company fed on this delicious fish. The king was at this time at a house situated in a rice field, where Mr. Banks waited on him, and found him cooking his own victuals. On Monday the inhabitants brought vegetables, deer, fish, fowls, and monkeys, for sale, and on the following day they brought down a farther number of turtle. As a servant that Mr. Banks had hired at Batavia had acquainted him, that there was a town in the island, his curiosity determined him to have a view of it, and one of the officers of the ship accompanied him on his visit. As he was apprehensive that the natives would not be pleased at his going to the town, he told such of them as he met, that he was seeking for plants, which indeed, was a part of the business of the day. Having come to a kind of village, consisting of a very few houses, they asked an Indian the way to the town, and some other particulars respecting it, who endeavoured to prevent their proceeding by representing it at a very great distance.

When he saw they were resolved to go forward, he proceeded with them, making frequent attempts to mislead them. When they were in sight of the town, the Indian changed his behaviour at once, and led the way to it.

This place, which contains between three and four hundred houses, is called Samadang, and is divided by a river into the old and the new town. Some of the natives, whom the gentlemen remembered to have seen among those who had brought provisions for sale, agreed to carry them from the old town to the new for a trifling gratification. This was done by means of two little canoes which were lashed together; and they had no sooner reached the opposite shore, than the Indians shewed them the houses of their chiefs, and behaved otherwise in the most friendly manner; but as this was the season when the natives live in their rice grounds, to save their corn from the depredations of the monkeys and birds, most of the houses were shut. After the gentlemen had seen every thing that they thought worthy of notice, they hired a sailing-boat, which conveyed them to the ship time enough for dinner; for the town of Samadang, though a considerable distance from the place where the Endeavour lay at anchor, is situated only at a small distance from the sea-coast. While Captain Cook was on shore on the 12th, giving orders to the people who were cutting wood and filling water, he was told that one of the natives had stolen an axe; the thief was unknown, but the captain resolving not to give occasion for future depredations of this kind by taking no notice of the first offence, immediately applied to the king, and in consequence of this application, the axe was brought down to the watering-place the next day. The Indian who brought it back said, it was left at his house in the night; but it was suspected that he himself was the thief; Mr. Banks having several times visited the king of the island, and given him some trifles that were very acceptable, waited on him for the last time on the 13th of January, and gratified him very much by a present of a small quantity of paper. The king asked the reason why the English ship did not touch at the island, as was formerly their custom, when Mr. Banks attributed the omission to the scarcity of turtle, and advised the king to breed buffaloes, sheep, and cattle, for the accommodation of his future visitors.

After a stay of ten days at Prince's Island, during which they purchased vegetables of various kinds, fowls, deer, turtle, &c. the anchor was weighed, and the vessel once more put to sea. Our voyagers say the island to the west of the strait of Sunda, is woody, and has been cleared only in a very few places. Our India ships used to touch at Prince's Island to take in water, but they have omitted this practice for some years since, on account, as it is said of the water being brackish; yet the captain observes that it is exceeding good, if filled towards the head of the brook.

The fowls which were purchased at this place cost about five-pence each; the turtle three farthings a pound, and other fish were proportionably cheap; one hundred of the best cocoa-nuts cost only a dollar; and pumpkins, pine-apples, and other fruits, were equally cheap and plenty. The natives profess the religion of Mahomet, and are so strict in the observance of the feast called Ramadan, that they not only abstain from food till the sun is down, but even from the chewing of betel. The manners of these people are not unlike those of the Javanese; but they are much more jealous of their wives; during the ten days that the Endeavour lay here, only one woman was seen, and she ran away the moment she was discovered.

The houses are constructed in the form of an oblong square; they are built on pillars four feet above the ground, and well thatched with palm-leaves, as a defence from the sun and rain: the flooring is of bamboo canes, placed at a distance from each other, to admit the air: these houses consist of four rooms, one

of which is destined for the reception of visitants; the children sleep in a second, and the two others are allotted, the one for the purpose of cookery, and the other for the bed-chamber of the owner and his wife. The residence of the king of the island, and that of another person of great authority, has boards on the side, while the houses of all the inferior people have walls made of the bamboo cane, slit into small sticks, and wrought across the beams of the building in the manner of a hurdle. The king of the island is subject to the sultan of Bantam. Captain Cook represents the natives as very honest in their dealings, with the single exception of demanding more than double the sum they intended to sell for. The goods of each sort which different persons brought to market, were all sold together, and the purchase-money divided among the several contributors, in proportion to the quantity that each had given in to the general stock. When they changed money, they gave 240 Dutch doits for a Spanish dollar. The natives speak what they call the language of the mountains, and say, that their ancestors came from the mountains of Java, where this language is spoken; that they first settled at New Bay, where the tygers were so numerous that they could not live in safety; and therefore that they took up their residence on Princes Island: they however, are capable of conversing in the Malay language.*

At the time the Endeavour left Princes Island, her crew began to feel, in all its force, the ill effects of the putrid air of Batavia; and soon afterwards the ship was a mere hospital, filled with unhappy wretches, sinking under the rage of fevers and dysenteries. In the space of six weeks, twenty-three persons died, exclusive of the seven that had been buried at Batavia: these were nine seamen, the corporal of marines, the ship's cook, two of the carpenter's crew, the carpenter and his mate, the old sail-maker, who was in perfect health when all the rest were ill at Batavia; and his mate; the boatswain, Mr. Monkhouse, a midshipman, Mr. Sporing, who accompanied Mr. Banks, Mr. Parkinson, draughtsman to that gentleman, and Mr. Green the astronomer.

The ship was brought to an anchor off the Cape of Good Hope, on the 15th of March, 1771. The captain repaired immediately to the governor, who said, that such refreshments as the country supplied, should be cheerfully granted him; on which a house was hired for the sick, who were to have their board and lodging on the payment of two shillings a day for each man.

At the time the Endeavour lay here at anchor, an English East-Indiaman sailed for the port of London, that had buried above thirty of her crew, while she was in India; and at that time had many others severely afflicted with the scurvy; so that the sufferings of the crew of the Endeavour, considering her long absence from England, are not at all surprising.

* Amongst other superstitions, the people of Batavia are possessed of a notion that a woman is never brought to bed of a child without a crocodile's being also brought into the world, which they say the midwife conveys with great care and tenderness to some adjacent river. It is therefore looked upon as a duty for the relations of this animal to put food into the river for him to subsist upon; it is particularly expected that the twin brother should take this charge upon him, believing that death or sickness at least would follow the omission.

In the islands of Bouth and Celebes, the natives keep crocodiles in their families; and it is conjectured that this strange notion of the twin crocodile originated in one of these islands. However that may be, it extends eastward as far as Timor, and westward as we have seen to Java and Sumatra. The following account may serve to give the reader a more perfect idea of the opinions the Indians entertain of these crocodiles, to which they give the name of *Sudaras*.

"A young woman who was born at Bencoolen, and had learned so much English at that place as to render her language intelligible to Mr. Banks, told him, That her father, when on his death-bed, laid the strictest injunction on her to feed a crocodile which he said was his fudara. She said that he informed her of the name by which the animal was to be called, which answered to 'White King.' Accordingly, soon after her father's decease, she hastened to the river and summoned her supposed relation, who

They observed that the land over the Cape was mountainous, and totally barren; beyond these mountains the country is covered with a light sand, which will not admit of cultivation; there are indeed a few cultivated spots, but they are hardly more than a thousandth part of the whole country. Provisions are brought to the Cape from the distance of nine hundred miles up the country, which is an evident proof of its extreme fertility, notwithstanding what has been heretofore written to the contrary. While Captain Cook lay here, a farmer came to the Cape, bringing his young children with him, from a distance that took him fifteen days journey; and on his being asked why he had not left his children with some neighbour, he said, there was no inhabitant within five days journey of his farm. There are no trees that are even two yards in height, except in some plantations in the vicinity of Cape-town. This town consists of near a thousand brick houses, the outsides of which being generally plaistered, they have a very pleasing appearance. There is a canal in the main street with two rows of oak-trees on its borders, which are in a more flourishing state than the other trees of this country: the streets, which cross each other at right angles, are very spacious and handsome. The inhabitants are chiefly Dutch, or of Dutch extraction: the women are beautiful in a high degree, and possess those blooming countenances which denote the most perfect health; they are most of them mothers of many children, and Captain Cook says, they are the best wives in the world.

Although this country is naturally so barren, as scarcely to produce any thing, yet the unceasing industry of its inhabitants has here so effectually corrected the soil that there are few places where the necessaries of life are more plentiful, and even what are deemed luxuries, are by no means scarce. The Constantia wine is known to be excellent, but the genuine sort is made only at one particular vineyard a few miles from the town. The gardens produce many sorts of European and Indian fruits, and almost all the common kinds of vegetables. The cultivated fields yield wheat and barley of an equal quality with that of the growth of England. The sheep of this country have tails of a very extraordinary size, many of which weigh upwards of a dozen pounds; the meat of this animal, as well as of the ox, is very fine food; the wool of the sheep is rather of the hairy kind, and the horns of the black cattle spread much wider than those of England; while the beast himself is handsomer and lighter made. The cheese has a very indifferent flavour, but the butter is extremely good. The pork of this country is nearly the same as that of Europe, and there are abundance of goats; but the inhabitants do not eat their flesh. The country abounds in hares, altogether like those of England. There are several species of the antelope; a plenty of bustards, and two kinds of quails.

The

appearing according to the summons, she fed him with her own hands. This crocodile she described to be more beautiful than the general race of reptiles, and said that he had a red nose and several spots on his body, and observed that his feet had ornaments of gold; and that he had rings of the same precious metal in his ears. A person whose mother was a native of Java, and whose father was a Dutchman, being engaged in Mr. Banks's service at Batavia, told that gentleman that several of the islanders, and Dutchmen, as well as himself, had seen such a crocodile, ornamented in the same manner. When Mr. Banks remarked the absurdity of these tales, and took notice that crocodiles had no ears, the fellow replied, That the fudaras differed considerably from other crocodiles, and asserted that they had ears, which however, were very small; he added that their tongues filled their mouths, and that they had five toes."

On the island of Batavia there are three tribes, which are called Boetons, Macassars, and Boegis. These people firmly believe in the existence of the fudaras, and assemble at stated periods to feed them. At these times, having laden a large boat with provisions, it is launched at a place where they suppose the crocodiles frequent, and they proceed with music till one of them is seen, when they throw tobacco and provisions over-board, as a friendly offering to the fudaras, inviting their relations during the whole time of their ceremonies.

1771

The Dutch company have a garden at the extremity of the high street, that is more than half a mile in length, in the center walk of which, are a number of fine oak trees. A small part of this garden is covered with botanical plants, but all the rest is allotted to the production of the common vegetables for the kitchen. The whole is divided into squares by the form of its walks, and each square is fenced in by oaks, cut into small hedges. There is a menagerie of beasts and birds, many of them known in Europe, at the upper end of this garden; and among the rest is the *Coe Doe*, a beast not less than a horse, which has those spiral horns that have frequently found a place in the cabinets of the curious.

Our author says most of the Hottentots speak the Dutch language, without any thing remarkable, yet when they converse in their native language, they frequently stop and make a clucking with their tongues, which has a most singular and ridiculous effect to the ears of a stranger; and, exclusive of this clucking, their language itself is scarcely founded articulately. These people are modest to the utmost degree of bashfulness, and, though they are fond of singing and dancing, can hardly be prevailed on to divert themselves with their favourite amusements before strangers: both their singing and dancing are alternately quick and slow, in the utmost extreme. Some of the Hottentots understand the art of melting and preparing copper, with which they make plates, and wear them on their foreheads as an article of finery. They are also capable of making knives superior to those they can purchase of the Dutch, from whom they procure the iron. They have the art of making butter, by shaking milk in the skin of a beast; with this butter they anoint their skins; or, when they cannot procure butter, they use the fat of the sheep. The principal people are owners of immense herds of cattle, and these clothe themselves with the skins of lions and other beasts, which are adorned with fringes, not ill designed.

The Hottentots are so dexterous in throwing stones, that they will hit a mark not larger than a crown piece, at the distance of 100 yards. They are likewise expert in the use of arrows, and of the lance called an assagay, the points of which they poison, sometimes with the juice of particular herbs, and sometimes with the venom of a serpent; so that a wound received from either these weapons is almost always mortal.

On the 14th of April, 1771, the anchor of the *Endeavour* was weighed, and she once more put to sea, but came to an anchor again before night, near Robin Island. As a few vegetables were wanted, which they had neglected to take in at the Cape, the captain sent off a boat to the island; but, when she reached the shore, some Dutch soldiers forbade her crew landing, at the hazard of their lives, and the officers who commanded, very prudently returned to the ship. For some time they were at a loss to account for this behaviour on the part of the Dutch, but it was at length recollected, that the Dutch government at the Cape of Good Hope, had assigned the island for the reception of offenders whose crimes were not deemed worthy of death, where their slavery consists in digging lime stone, for such a number of years as are thought proportionable to the heinousness of their offence; and that a ship belonging to Denmark, which had buried most of her hands, had called at this island, and taken on board a number of these criminals, in order to navigate the vessel to Europe: hence the conduct of the Dutch soldiers was easily accounted for.

The ship sailed on the following day, when the master of her died, having hastened his death by hard drinking, though in other respects he left behind him an excellent character. On Monday the 1st of May they came to an anchor off the island of St. Helena, and sailed from the road on Saturday, in company with the *Portland* man of war, and several sail of *Indiamen*. They kept company with the man of war and *Indiamen* till Friday the 10th, but Captain Cook observing, that they were out-sailed by all the other ships, and consequently imagining that some of them would reach England before him, made signals to speak with the *Portland*, when the captain of the vessel came on board, and received from Captain Cook a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, together with a box in which were deposited the journals of many of the officers and the ship's log-book.

On the 23d they lost sight of all the ships they sailed in company with from St. Helena, and in the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, died of a consumption, with which he had been afflicted during the whole voyage. From this time nothing remarkable happened till the vessel came to an anchor in the Downs, on the 12th of June, 1771, having completed the circumnavigation of the globe.

THE VOYAGE OF M. BOUGAINVILLE, ROUND THE WORLD.

Undertaken by the Order of the French King.

1766

THE last voyage of Captain Cook, according to the order of our English circumnavigators, should have been introduced before the following narration, yet we are under the necessity of deferring it for some time, as we are promised the assistance of a gentleman of literary merit, who sailed in the *Resolution*, and who has some curious remarks to make on these very complete new discoveries made in the South Seas.—

The French having begun to make a settlement on Falkland's Islands (called by them *Isles Malouines*) in 1764, they were demanded by the Spaniards who conceived them to belong to the continent of South America. In order to settle this matter, M. Bougainville was sent out to deliver them to the claimants.

On the 15th of November, 1766, he sailed from the port of Mindin, having under his command the frigate *La Boudeuse*, *La Esmeralda*, and *La Liebre*. Two Spanish frigates were to join him in the river Plata, to the commanding officer of which he was to deliver the settlement, and the *L'Etoile* store ship was to meet him at Falkland's Island.

The *Boudeuse* had been at sea only two days when she encountered such a violent storm of wind, as carried away the clue of the fore-sail, broke the main-top-mast, and took off the head of the main-mast. Thus situated, M. Bougainville found it necessary to put into Brest to refit, and to make some necessary alterations in the stowage of his ship, which was ill calculated for withstanding the fury of those seas he was to pass, and particularly so for the navigation of the sea round Cape Horn.

On the 5th of December, M. Bougainville sailed from the harbour of Brest, having on board the *Prince of Nassau-Seighen*, three gentlemen who went as volunteers, eleven officers in commission, and warrant-officers, seamen, soldiers, servants, and boys, to the number of two hundred. On the 17th they were in sight of the *Salvages*, a small flat island, which at each end rises into a hillock: the next day they saw the island of Palma, and that of Ferre, on the 19th. M. Bougainville was now convinced of a great error in his reckoning, which he attributed to the rapidity of

M. Bougainville embarks.

Engraved for Moore's
Voyages & Travels.



M. BOUGAINVILLE *hoisting French Colours*
on a small Rock, in MAGHELLAN STREIGHTS

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of the currents opposite the streights of Gibraltar. This he corrected, took a fresh departure, and arrived at Rio de la Plata, without meeting with any thing worthy of notice.

On the evening of the 29th of January they saw Rio de la Plata, but as the night was dark and tempestuous, they lay to, with the head of the vessel towards the offing. The next morning they had a view of the mountains of Maldonado. Here the Spaniards have a small garrisoned town, in the vicinity of which are picked up some transparent stones; and there is likewise a gold mine near it, which has been worked for a few years past, but to little purpose.

The Boudeuse came to an anchor in the bay of Montevideo on the 31st, and there the two Spanish ships, which were to take possession of Falkland's Islands, had been at anchor for some weeks. Don Philip Ruio Puente, the principal in command of the Spanish vessel having been appointed governor of the islands which were to be surrendered by the French, accompanied M. Bougainville to Buenos Ayres, to settle with the governor general, the mode of making the cession; and the Prince of Nassau-Seighen attended in this expedition.

The gentlemen made the voyage in a schooner; but a contrary wind preventing their passage by sea, they went on shore above the colony of San Sacramento, and travelled over a prodigious extent of country, in which there were no roads, and where the eye was their only guide. During this expedition, they slept in little hovels constructed of leather, while the tygers howled round them on every side. M. Bougainville remarks the manner of their passing the river St. Lucca, which is wide and deep, yet amazingly rapid: being placed in a long narrow canoe, one side of which was beyond all proportion higher than the other, a horse was fastened on each side of the vessel, the master of which pulling off all his cloaths, got into it, and supporting the heads of the horses above the surface of the stream, drove them across it in the best manner he could, and with some difficulty they stemmed the rapidity of the torrent. Having transacted his business at Buenos Ayres, he returned to Montevideo, on the 16th of February, and was followed in a few days by the Spanish governor, Don Puente. Some necessaries of various kinds being taken on board, the vessels were prepared for sailing to Falkland's Island. The voyagers having caused a small vessel to be laden with cattle for the use of the ships crew, they sailed in company, on the 28th of February, 1767, a pilot, acquainted with the coast of Falkland's Island, having been previously put on board each of the Spanish ships; but this day they were forced to anchor on account of the thickness of a fog, which prevented their seeing land. The winds now proving contrary, the ships remained at anchor the following day; but as the current of the river ran strongly in their favour, M. Bougainville sent to acquaint the Spanish commander, that his vessel being too near the English sand-bank, off the Isle of Flores, he thought it would be proper to sail on the following day, even if the wind should not change in their favour. To this the Spanish officer replied, that his pilot refused to weigh anchor till the wind became fair, and blew steady, on which Don Puente was acquainted, that the anchor of the Boudeuse would certainly be weighed early the next morning, and that she would either anchor more to the north or ply to the windward, waiting for the Spanish ships, unless they should be unavoidably separated

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* M. Bougainville observes, that Falkland's Islands have been but little known till within these few years. They are commonly represented as being covered with woods, but this mistake might very well happen in the accounts of those who only saw them from on board a ship, for what are taken for woods are tall rushes, which grow very close together, and the stalk being dry to the height of five feet from the ground, a large tuft springs from the top of it, so that their number, and the manner in which they grow, form some resemblance of a wood. In the year 1594, Sir Richard Hawkins had sight of these islands,

by the violence of the weather. The small vessel laden with cattle had not come to an anchor the preceding night, nor was she seen any more during the voyage; but it was afterwards learned that she went back to Montevideo, after an absence of three weeks from that place. The night had been so tempestuous that all the ships dragged their anchors, and in the morning the Spanish vessels were observed with their main-yards lowered, and their top-masts handed: the Boudeuse, however, made sail, and got out of the river before night, leaving the Spaniards still at anchor. M. Bougainville had variable but chiefly bad weather, till the 23d of the month, when he came to an anchor in the bay of Falkland's Islands; where the Spanish vessels also anchored, on the day following. These last had suffered extremely through the inclemency of the weather; the cabin windows of Don Puente's ship had been broken by the violence of the waves, so that the sea for some time poured into her in torrents; and a number of cattle, destined for the use of the colony at Falkland's Islands, died on the passage. On the 1st of April, M. Bougainville, in the name of the French King, surrendered the island to Don Puente, who received it for his Most Catholic Majesty, with the ceremony of hoisting the Spanish colours, and the firing of guns from the ships, and on shore. M. Bougainville then read a letter, in which his sovereign granted leave to such of the inhabitants as chose to continue their residence, to be under the dominion of Spain; this offer was accepted by some, while others embarked with the garrison and were conveyed to Montevideo in the Spanish ships. The whole expence of the French settlement to the time it was delivered to the Spaniards was 603,000 livres; but as his Most Catholic Majesty took the ship's provisions, and all stores of every kind, he reimbursed this sum.*

The French having come to a resolution of sending a colony to settle on Falkland's Islands, M. Bougainville had, in the beginning of the year 1763, made an offer to establish the settlement at his expence, and that of two of his near relations, M. d'Arboulain and M. de Nerville. This being accepted, the Frenchmen gave orders for the building and equipment of a ship of twenty, and another of twelve guns, the former of which was called the Eagle, and the latter the Sphinx: and as soon as these vessels had taken in such stores as were necessary for the voyage, and for making the settlement, M. Bougainville having previously engaged some Acadian families, embarked his officers, seamen and settlers, and sailed from the port of St. Malo, on the 15th of September, 1763. It was soon resolved to form the settlement on the coast of this bay, and the commander immediately began to take a survey of the inland, to learn what it produced. He observes that various kinds of water and land fowl, and fish, were all its edible productions; and though there grew no wood, either for firing or other purposes; this deficiency in M. Bougainville's opinion might have been well supplied by excellent kind of turf, which was almost every where to be found in great abundance. On the first arrival of these adventurers, it was an astonishing sight to behold the birds flock round them with evident curiosity, but without the least signs of fear: these harmless animals used to perch on those who were standing still, and would at all times submit to be taken with the hand: but they very soon learnt to be shy of the company of those who sought only to destroy them.

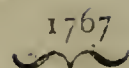
The colony consisted of nineteen men, five women, and three children; and M. Bougainville having fixed

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and called them Hawkins's Maiden Islands; he says he saw fires on them, and that they were then inhabited; about the commencement of the present century, a French ship, called the St. Louis, came to an anchor on the coast, under the shelter of the isles of Arican, which are some small islands so called after the privateer of that name, but the commander of the St. Louis did not think it worth his while to examine the country, yet M. Bougainville says it is well calculated for sheltering vessels bound to the South Seas.

1767



on the spot for their residence, they lost no time in building huts which they covered with rushes, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. They likewise built a magazine, and erected a small fort, in the centre of which they raised an obelisk, and under it they had placed several pieces of money, and a medal, on one side of which was the head of the French king with the following motto, *Tibi serviat ultima Thule*; and on the other side of the medal was this inscription:—"Settlement of the Isles Malouins, situated in 51 deg. 30 min. of south lat. and 65 deg. 30 min. west long. from the meridian of Paris, by the Eagle frigate, Captain P. Duclos, Guyat, captain of a fire-ship, and the Sphinx sloop Captain F. Chenard de la Giraudis, lieutenant of a frigate, equipped by Louis Antoine de Bougainville, colonel of infantry, captain of a ship, chief of the expedition, G. de Nerville, captain of infantry, and P. d'Arboulin, postmaster general of France; construction of a fort, and an obelisk decorated with a medallion of his Majesty Louis XV. after the plans of A. L'Huiller, engineer and of the field and army, serving in this expedition; during the administration of E. de Choiseul, duke of Stainville, in February, 1764." Mons. Bougainville having promised the settlers, that he would soon bring them more companions, and give them farther assistance, his relation Mons. de Nerville, agreed to stay till his return from France, as well to be an hostage for the performance of de Bougainville's promise, as to encourage the young colonists by participating in every hardship and danger to which they might be exposed, in a station so removed from all communication with the rest of mankind; and in return for Mons. de Nerville's kind compliance with the wish of the settlers, he was to be considered as their governor. On the 8th of April, 1764, Mons. Bougainville weighed his anchor, and sailed for Europe, having first taken possession of the islands in the name, and for the use of his most Christian Majesty.

Falkland's Islands surrendered by the French to the Spaniards.

In the month of January, 1765, he again visited Falkland's Islands, where he found the settlers in good health, and pleased with their situation. After he had landed the stores which he had brought for their use, he sailed to the Straights of Maghellan, where he took in timber, and palisadoes and a number of young trees for planting on Falkland's Islands, which place he again left, on the 27th of April, when the whole number of colonists were only twenty-four. While Mons. de Bougainville was on the above-mentioned expedition in the Straights of Maghellan, he saw the ships under the command of Commodore Byron, as we have already mentioned in the relation of that gentleman's voyage.

The colonists on Falkland's Islands were increased to about one hundred and fifty by a number of settlers which sailed from France in the Eagle, in the year 1765. This ship was accompanied by the little store ship which carried provisions to the island. By this time the governor, and an officer who took care of the stores, had good houses built of stone, and the rest of the colonists were lodged in commodious huts, having walls composed of fods of earth. With the wood which Mons. Bougainville had brought from the Straights of Maghellan, they had built several small vessels adapted to examine the coasts of the island, and three magazines were by this time erected, in which the public and private stores were to be deposited: several kinds of grain which had been brought from France, grew very well, and promised a sufficient increase; and some train oil had been made; and seal-skins prepared by the settlers, with which the Eagle was loaded.*

According to M. Bougainville's account this was the state of Falkland's Islands when the French made

a surrender of them to the Spaniards. As to the great question of the right of possession, which M. Bougainville says belonged to Spain, it will be necessary to consider whether the Spaniards had really a prior right to the territory.

These islands, the reader will recollect, were seen by Cavendish in the year 1592; Captain Dampier had also sight of them; and Sir Richard Hawkins falling in with them, gave them the name of Hawkins's Maiden Land. Sebald de Wert also saw them, and gave them the name of Sebald's Isles, by which name they are laid down in the Dutch charts. They were seen by Dampier in 1683, and in 1689 by Strong, who called them Falkland's Islands, but the first Frenchman who saw them was Gouin, which was not till the year 1700. Surely from this state of the evidence it does not appear that the Spaniards visited them at all, and it seems the French were the last visitors; yet M. Bougainville would have us believe, that the Spaniards had the prior claim to their possession, and that this claim having been ratified by the French, is, in his opinion, indisputable.

M. Bougainville gives us the following account of Falkland's Islands, which he says, is the result of the observations of his kinsman, M. de Nerville, who resided on the settlement three years. "On the first arrival of the French, there was not an object struck their view, except the commodiousness of the port in which the ship lay, which could tempt them to take up their residence on so inhospitable a shore. The land was in many places broken in upon by the sea: the mountains being without wood, had a most barren appearance, the fields looked dreary for want of houses and inhabitants; an universal silence reigned, except when the howling of some sea monster disturbed the solemn stillness; while a dull and gloomy sameness of appearance added horror to the whole picture. Though this scene appeared very discouraging, the adventurers knew all would yield to time and diligence, and that the labour of the industrious would not go unrequited: indeed some consolation arose in their breasts, on viewing the place in a more favourable light. The climate had that kind of temperature likely to afford health, strength, and long life, and was therefore preferable to the noxious air of those regions where the sickening inhabitant faints under the scorching heat of the vertical sun. The island produced a number of plants, admirable in the cure of the scurvy, and other disorders incidental to a sea-faring life; the fish and the birds were exquisitely delicious, and there were amphibious animals in immense numbers, while there were none of the fierce or the poisonous kind; cascades and rivulets fell from the mountains, which latter sheltered the fisherman from the violence of the winds, so that he could sport or labour in the spacious bay in perfect security; meadows of an immense extent, promised constant pasturage for any number of flocks and herds, which might feed at pleasure, undisturbed by any tyrant lord of the soil. These various advantages in the opinion of the French, were sufficient to recompense them for the dangers and fatigues of the voyage, and a pledge for the full reward of their future labour.

"The situation of Falkland's Islands is between 51 and 52 degrees and a half of south latitude, and sixty-five degrees and a half of west longitude from Paris. From the entrance of the Straights of Maghellan, and from the coast of Patagonia, their distance is about two hundred and fifty miles.

"The harbours are large, and well defended by small islands, most happily disposed, and even the smallest vessels may ride in safety in the creeks: while fresh water is easily obtained, as the small rivers that descend from the mountains discharge themselves into the sea. The tides do not rise and fall at any stated times;

The islands described.

* When an English colony had been settled at Port Egmont, in the year 1766, Capt. Macbride of the Jason frigate, visited the French settlement, when Mr. Bougainville says, "he pre-

tended that those parts belonged to his Britannic Majesty, threatened to land by force if he should be denied that liberty, visited the governor, and sailed away the same day."

times, but depend on the force with which the wind agitates the waves of the sea; it was, however, observed, that just before high water, the sea rises and subsides, with a quick motion, three times within fifteen minutes; and that at the full of the moon, and during the equinoxes and solstices, this motion is much greater than at any other time. Those winds that blow from between the south and west, and the north and west points, prevail more than others, but in general the winds vary as in other countries. In summer the winds usually blow from some point between the north-west and south-west. It is remarkable, that these winds rise with the rising sun, increase in force as the sun advances to the meridian, blow most violently just at noon, decrease again with the declining sun, and totally cease about the time of its setting. The tide also frequently adds to their violence, and not unfrequently changes their directions.—The quarter from whence the winds blow in winter is a certain indication of the weather. If they come from the south-east they are not so violent as the summer winds from the same quarter; but they are accompanied with slight fogs. When they blow between the south and west points, hoar frost, hail and snow, are the certain consequences; and the weather is wet and foggy, when they come from the points between the north and the west. The snow which comes with the south and west winds, is but small in quantity, and commonly disappears from the ground in a day or two, except what lodges on the summits of the high mountains, where it will remain about two months. The running streams are never frozen, and the lakes and stagnant pools have seldom been covered with ice strong enough to bear the weight of a man for two days together. In the spring and autumn there are light hoar frosts, which being changed to a kind of dew by the warmth of the sun, are rather nourishing than prejudicial to the vegetable productions. There is seldom any thunder or lightning, nor is the climate hot or cold in any extraordinary degree. Throughout the year the nights in general are star-light, serene and fair; and upon the whole the climate is very favourable to the constitution. The fresh water of these islands is extremely good, and in great plenty: the bed of some of the rivers is a kind of tuft, which gives a yellow cast to the water, yet does not affect its taste, but the bottom of most of the rivers is either sand or gravel.

“The depth of the soil in the valleys is more than sufficient for the purposes of plowing; but before the adventurers could proceed to cultivation, they were obliged to extract the roots of the plants, which every where intersected and choked up the ground for near a foot deep. These roots they dried and burned, and they then made a rich manure for the ground from which they had been cleared. Under the first land is a layer of black earth, ten inches or more in depth; and under that again is likewise found a yellow soil, beneath which are stones and slate, but these stones are not found on the little adjacent islands. The sea coasts are in most places composed of stones which are very fit for the purposes of building: and there are beds of a hard, fine-grained stone in several spots on this island; likewise another kind of stones, in which are particles of talc. The settlers found a kind of stone which split in pieces easily, and with which they made grinding-stones, to give an edge to their instruments. In the quarries they met with a stone of a yellowish hue, which when first taken out was so soft as to be cut with a knife; but it soon grew hard when exposed to the open air. The island likewise yielded earth fit for making bricks and potters ware, and plenty of sand and clay. In many parts of the country there were marshy places, which produced a sort of rushes with sharp points, the remains of the roots of which being continually wasting, formed the turf that was used for firing, which burned exceeding well, and had nothing offensive in its smell.

A plant of the gramen kind grows on a kind of stalk which has a sweetish flavour, and is extremely

nourishing for cattle, who like it better than any other kind of pasturage. This plant flourishes on the sea-coasts, on the little isles, where it bends till the stalks unite, forming a kind of harbour, to which the sea-lions and the seals occasionally retreat. The adventurers, in several excursions, found these natural-built houses a very agreeable defence against the inclemency of the weather, and the more so, as the dry leaves which had fallen off, formed a sort of rustic bed. The above-mentioned plant is the largest that grows on the island, which likewise produces many shrubs that were very useful in heating ovens, and other purposes of firing. A sort of heath grows in great plenty there, and bears a red fruit, which is eaten by the fowls and birds. A plant was discovered which resembles a shrub, which having been tasted, was thought fit for the brewing of beer; happily the colonists were supplied with malt and molasses, to which they added the beer plant, and were enabled at all times to brew a very wholesome kind of spruce-beer, which was an admirable specific for the scurvy. This plant was likewise infused in water, in which those who had contracted any illness, while out at sea, bathed themselves, and it was found to be a fine restorative: when pressed, it yielded a mealy substance of a fragrant smell, and of a glutinous nature. The leaves of it were small, of a clear bright green, and dentated.—Other vegetables in abundance were found, which were used as antiscorbutics, particularly water-cresses, sorrel, wild parsley, a kind of maiden-hair, and a species of celery. Here was a kind of resinous gum-plant, which seems to be entirely unknown in all other parts of the globe. Though this is called a plant, it is without leaves, branches, or any other apparent stalk; and except in colour, which is that of a bright green, it more resembles a lump of earth rising from the common surface of the ground. It does not grow to the height of more than eighteen inches, and its breadth in different plants, is from two feet to two yards and upwards: the smaller plants have the form of an hemisphere, and their circumference is regular, but when they come to the full size, they terminate in irregular bunches and hollows, there are drops of tough yellow matter as big as a pea on different parts of its surface, which smell like turpentine. M. Bougainville having cut this plant close to the ground, found that it arose from a stalk, from which grew an immense number of shoots, consisting of leaves resembling stars, varying one within the other. The outsides of these shoots, which are exposed to the air are green, and the insides white: they contain a viscid milky juice, which is likewise found in the roots and the stalks. The roots extending horizontally, frequently produce fresh shoots at a distance, so that there is no instance of one of these plants being found alone. The resin of this plant was found to be a good medicine for the cure of slight wounds; but this resin was often washed away by the rains, or wasted by the influence of the air; yet it would not dissolve except in spirits: some of the seeds were brought to Europe in order to attempt the cultivation of so singular a curiosity in the vegetable world.

“The island on which the colonists had taken up their residence is divided from east to west, by a chain of hills, to the south of which they found another plant, not unlike the resinous gum-plant, which however did not yield any resin, but produced beautiful yellow flowers, neither was it of so firm a texture, nor was its green of the same shade; yet in other respects the resemblance was very strong. On the hills was found a species of maiden-hair, which grew to a great height, and the leaves of it were shaped like the blade of a sword. The hills likewise abounded with various kinds of plants, which had the appearance of holding a middle station between stones and vegetables. It was apprehended that these might have been successfully used in dying. The place produces flowers in a considerable variety, but only one of them has any smell, which is like that of a tuberose; this

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this flower is perfectly white; and a violet was seen which was of a regular height, and yellow colour. They found a fruit of the size of a pea, which received the name of the lucet, from its resemblance to the North American fruit of that name; its colour is white, but the side which is exposed to the sun, changes to a red; it has the smell of orange blossoms, and an agreeable flavour; its branches, which creep along the ground, produce leaves of a dark green, which are round and shining, and these leaves infused into milk give a delicious taste: the flowers grow in large numbers on the borders of lakes and the plant delights in a moist soil. Besides the lucet only one other fruit was found, which grows on long branches, in the same manner as the strawberry, but it has the appearance of a mulberry, which name it received, and its leaves are like those of the hornbeam. They saw but few sea-plants, which they could apply to any use; but all the coast of the harbour was lined with sea-weeds, which were serviceable in breaking the force of the waves in stormy weather. Many kinds of coralines of various beautiful colours, and a great number of curious shells and sponges were washed on shore by the force of the tides. Among the shells were the smooth and striated muscle, scallops, whelks, and a bivalve shell, of a very singular kind, named La Poulette.

“Sea lions and seals are the only amphibious animals found in these parts; but there are great varieties of fish on the coast, scarce any of which are known in Europe. It sometimes happens that the whales, getting too near the shore are stranded in the bays, where their remains have been seen. Bones of great magnitude have been found far up the country where the force of the waters could not have conveyed them, which made it probable that the soil is encreased, or the sea diminished.—The only quadruped found on Falkland’s Islands is of a species between the fox and the wolf, which they called the wolf-fox; the tail of this animal is more bushy than that of the wolf, and he lives in a kennel which he digs in the ground, on the downs, by the sea-side. At one time of the year the wolf-fox is so lean as to appear almost starved, from whence it is imagined that he fasts for a considerable time; he is about as large as a sheep-dog, and barks very much like one, only that his barking is not loud. He subsists principally on wild fowl, in search of which he travels in such a direct line, from one day to another, that when our adventurers first beheld his track, they imagined that the island was inhabited, and that the natives had made the path. [M. Bougainville makes it a matter of wonder how the wolf-fox can have been conveyed to these islands without considering, that land-animals having got on large pieces of ice, which being broken by the sea they have frequently been remote from those of their first residence as is not uncommon on the coast of Greenland.] These islands and coasts produce land and water-fowls, in amazing numbers, many of which are the prey of falcons, hawks, eagles, and owls; while the eggs and the young birds are destroyed by the wolf-fox, the smaller fish are destroyed by the whales, the amphibious animals, and the voracious birds, some of which are constantly flying close over the surface of the waters, while others perch themselves on the rocks to watch the event.

The swan is perfectly white here, except its feet and its neck, the former of which are of a flesh colour, and the latter as black as jet. Of wild geese there are four kinds, only one of which feeds on dry ground. It has very high legs, and a neck of great length; its flight is much more free than that of the English goose; it walks with equal ease, and does not cackle like the common goose. The feathers of the gander are white except on the wings, which have a mixture of ash-colour and black; the wings of the female are of various colours; and its body is yellow. It seldom lays more than six eggs. The flavour of these birds is agreeable, and they were found to be very nourishing: exclusive of those which are hatched

on the island, large flocks fly thither with a westerly wind which blows in the autumn, so that they were generally to be taken in great abundance, and formed a principal part of the settlers. Those which came in the autumn were easily known from those resident on the island, by their not being shy.

The other three kinds were of various colours, yellow, white, black, and ash-colour; they are not by far so beautiful as those above described; and as they live entirely on fish, their flesh acquires a disagreeable taste; one of these three species seldom rises from the water, and is almost constantly making a very disagreeable noise. A soft, thick down, either grey or white, grows under the feathers of all these geese, as it does likewise under those of the swan. The rivers and ponds of Falkland’s Islands abound in teals of two species, and two of wild ducks; of the latter some are perfectly white, and the other totally black, but in other respects they resemble those of England and France. These birds are all very fine food, and to be procured in any numbers. One kind of the teal is very small, but the other is as large as the duck, and its bill is blue. The bellies of some of them are also covered with feathers of a blue colour.

“The island produces a bird which M. Bougainville calls the diver.* Of these divers there are two kinds, of which the most plentiful has brown feathers, with no other variation than that the feathers on the belly are of a somewhat lighter colour than those on the back. The belly of the other kind is white, the back grey; and the feathers on the belly are very thick, shining, and soft. The eyes of these birds are as bright as rubies, and are encircled with a ring of white feathers. The female hatches only two young birds at a time, which she carries on her back, not subjecting them to the coldness of the water, till feathers have taken place of the down with which they are hatched. Its toes are quite thin, and of a green colour, and being round towards the claw, they are not unlike the leaves of some plants; their feet are not webbed, as is common among water-fowl, but their toes are separate, having a strong membrane on each side. The colonists gave the name of saw-bills to two kinds of birds which bore a great similitude to each other, the chief difference consisting in their size and in the bellies of most of them being white, while few were observed to have brown feathers on the belly; the feathers on the rest of the body are of a dark blue, as soft as silk, and grow very close together. Their feet are webbed and flesh coloured, and their bills pointed; they lay their eggs on the rocks, where great numbers of them live together; and they subsist on fish, thousands of which they destroy. The settlers not only ate the eggs of these birds, but frequently killed many scores of them at a time, and their flesh was found to be excellent food. They had so little apprehension of being caught that it was an easy matter to knock them down with a stick, and in this manner they were usually taken. A bird, called by the Spaniards *Quebrantabueffos*, which measures more than two yards from the extremity of its wing, destroys the saw-bills. [This bird of prey has a long bill with two hollow tubes of the same kind of substance as the bill, and its feet are webbed. Some of the seamen called this bird the albetros, but it differs considerably from the common bird of the name, nor is it an easy matter to determine precisely on its species, from the imperfect account which M. Bougainville has given of it.] Gulls, and mews of different beautiful plumage, served to direct our colonists what was the proper time for taking pilchards. These birds fly in flocks over the surface of the water, dart on the pilchard and swallow it; when they catch another of these fish, they disgorge the one which had been previously swallowed, and so proceed.

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* From the description he gives of it, this bird is conjectured to be the grebe, which abounds on the lake of Geneva, and of the skin of which the most elegant muffs and tippets are made.

When the pilchards are not in season, they feed on various other sorts of small fish. The eggs of these birds were found in great abundance upon the leaves of a plant, on the borders of the marshes, and they proved to be very good eating. Three kinds of penguins breed on the island, one of these is a remarkably grand and elegant bird, the belly of which is a clear white, the back a kind of blue, and it has a ruff round its neck near the head, of a bright yellow, which descending towards the belly, separates the white feathers from the blue ones; these birds do not live together in numbers, but seek the most quiet and retired places of abode. One of them being caught with an intention of being brought to France, soon grew so tame that it followed the person who fed it; its food was bread, fish and flesh; but there was something more wanting for its sustenance for it gradually lost its fatness till it died. The second kind of penguin answers to those which have been mentioned in our former voyages. The third kind of penguins lay their eggs among the high cliffs of the rocks, where they reside together in great numbers, never seeking that solitude of which the first are so fond. They are much smaller than the others, and were named hopping penguins, from their method of moving, which is very much like hopping; they have gold coloured feathers which form a kind of eye-brows, and a tuft of the same colour which they raise when they are displeased. This bird has a very chearful look, and its general colour is a deep yellow.

At different times, but not frequently, three kinds of petrels were seen by the French. These birds build their nests on the sea-coast, where their young were sometimes found, covered with down. One sort of them is quite white, their bill is red, and not unlike a pigeon; a second sort is larger; and the third smaller than the pigeon; and these two sorts have white feathers on the belly, while every other part of the body is black.

Eagles were also seen of three different species, two of which are black, with white and yellow feet, and the other is of a dull white. All these subsist on snipes and other small birds, which they seize every opportunity to destroy. Egrets, a species of the heron, were frequently observed on the island:—they make a disagreeable noise, not much unlike the barking of a little dog; and they never take any food till towards the evening.

Two kinds of the thrush came regularly to the island in the autumnal months, one of which was of the same colour as the European thrush, and others yellow, except on the belly, which was spotted with black. There was a third kind of thrush, which lived on the island throughout the year, the feathers on the belly of which are of a bright red; this was called the red bird. A bird which they called the sea-pie, was constantly seen on the coasts, the feet of which were white, the bill red, and the feathers black and white. This bird whistled a kind of note which the colonists found it easy to imitate, and by that means they came near enough to catch them without much trouble; they live on shrimps, which they pick up after the ebbing of the tide. Great numbers of curlews, the same as those of Europe, were constantly seen in the summer; and snipes of the European kind were found in abundance. It is easy to shoot these birds as they fly in a regular manner. At the time when they are breeding, they ascend to a great height, and having soared some time in the air, they drop into their nests, which are built on the ground, in the open field, where it is most free from grass or other herbage, so that those nests are very easily found; the snipes are excellent food if dressed towards the decline of the year, but in the breeding season they are very lean, and not fit to eat.

The amphibious animals of Falkland's Islands are seals and sea-lions, which have been already described. Of the fish which were found on the coast of Falkland's Islands, one that was taken in great plenty was called the mullet, from the likeness it bears to the

European fish of that name, the colonists dried many of these, which are full a yard in length, the seals prey on these fish whenever they can catch them, but, by a natural instinct, they are taught to avoid these voracious enemies, by sheltering themselves in holes, among slimy ground, on the banks of the rivers, and in these places they were frequently taken. A fish called the *Gardeau*, about twelve inches in length, was seen in great abundance, and another named the *Sardine*, was found only at the commencement of the winter season; some white porpoises were taken in the bays, when the weather was fair, and some eels in those cavities of the rocks which are filled with water. A fresh-water fish was found, about the size of a trout, without scales, the colour of it was green. Many smaller fish were caught with the hook and line, among them was one species the head of which resembled that of a pike, and it had no scales. A few soals were found; and among the shell-fish were muscles, a very small kind of shrimp, a crab, the feet of which were blue, and a kind of cray-fish, or prawn, the colour of which was naturally red, without boiling, but these were only taken through curiosity, as their taste was much inferior to those European fish which are nearly of the same species.

Every one knows the dispute between Great Britain and Spain relative to these islands, and how it was at last terminated. It happened in that case as it generally does in matters of such a nature, that some were for crying up the place for a paradise, whilst others represented it as barren and not worth contending for. If we take the medium between these, we shall find ourselves nearer to the truth. The accounts which have just been given on the one hand, indicate not a barren soil; but then it is to be considered, on the other, that those who first settle colonies which they wish to thrive are apt to be struck with every thing which appears to recommend them, and to give rather flattering descriptions of them. On the whole, these islands seem not to be destitute of most of the productions common to the latitude wherein they are situated, wood excepted; and it should seem that by time and labour the soil is capable of improvement.

After waiting here till the 2d of June, 1767, in expectation of the *Etoile* store ship, when it was found that she did not arrive, M. Bougainville considered, that as his vessel would hold no more than six months provisions, and that he had only two on board, it would be an act of rashness to attempt the crossing the great Pacific Ocean alone; he therefore resolved to steer to Rio Janeiro, at which place he had appointed the *Etoile* to join him, in case any unforeseen accident should prevent her reaching Falkland's Islands, before he left the harbour of that place. They had fine weather from the 2d till the 20th of June, on which day they had sight of the mountains on the main land of Brazil; and they saw the entrance of Rio Janeiro on the day following. A number of fishing-boats being observed near the shore, M. Bougainville hoisted Portuguese colours, and ordered a cannon to be fired; on which a boat put off to the ship, and a pilot was engaged to conduct her into the road.

The coast of this country is broken by a number of small hills, which serve to give an agreeable variety to the prospect. The land is rather mountainous, and well clothed with woods.

The ship having arrived off Santa Cruz, a Portuguese officer was sent to enquire the reason of her failing into it; on which M. Bougainville sent one of his officers to acquaint the viceroy of the Brasils, with his motives for touching there, and to demand whether if he should salute the fort, the compliment would be returned. The governor haughtily replied, that when a person bowed to another, whom he might casually meet in the street, he was not previously certain that his compliment would be returned, and that if M. Bougainville should fire his guns by way of salute, he (the viceroy) had then to consider what was proper to be done. In consequence of this insolent mes-

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sage the French commander resolved very properly not to salute at all.

About the same time a canoe was dispatched from the captain of the *Etoile*, to inform M. Bougainville of the safe arrival of that vessel which now lay in the port. The commander, M. de la Giraudais, sent word, that instead of leaving France in the month of December, various accidents had combined to detain him two months beyond that time: that when he had been three months at sea, his rigging was so greatly damaged, and his vessel admitted so much water, that he was obliged to make the harbour of Montevideo, whence he sailed for his present station, and had come to an anchor but a few days before M. Bougainville. The *Etoile* had at this time salt provisions sufficient to supply both vessels for almost a year and a half; but as her stock of bread, &c. was insufficient for the consumption of more than seven weeks, M. Bougainville resolved on sailing to Rio de la Plata, to take in a stock, as neither flour, wheat, nor biscuit could be purchased at Rio Janeiro.

On the 22d of June, 1767, M. Bougainville and his officers, paid a visit to the viceroy of the Brasils, which was returned three days afterwards on board the *Boudeuse*; when the viceroy gave permission for the purchase of a sloop, which the adventurers imagined might be very serviceable during the long voyage they proposed to make. The chaplain of the *Etoile* having been murdered some days before the arrival of the *Boudeuse*, under the windows of the viceroy's palace, that gentleman promised that he would endeavour to find out, and severely punish the perpetrators of the horrid deed: he appeared very remiss in regard to the fulfilling his promise in the execution of this necessary piece of justice. Yet, contrary to his usual custom, he behaved with politeness to the French officers, for several days after this visit; and acquainted them, that he proposed to entertain them with an elegant collation in bowers of orange-trees and jasmine, on the banks of the river; and he actually gave orders that a box at the opera should be assigned for their reception.*

At this time there lay in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro a French ship called the *Morning Star*, and a Spanish man of war, named the *Diligent*; and while the viceroy behaved with all imaginable politeness to the Frenchmen, he had artfully protracted the stay of the Spaniard no less than eight months, during all which time her commander had not been able to procure the articles necessary for the repair of his vessel, and without which she could not proceed on her voyage. In this dilemma, Don Francisco de Medina, captain of the *Diligent*, applied to M. Bougainville for the assistance of his carpenters and caulkers, who were immediately sent, both from the *Boudeuse* and the *Etoile*.

The complaisance with which the viceroy treated the gentlemen on board the French vessels, surprised the Spaniards, who told them, that they must not long expect so great a share of his favours; and they had soon reason to be convinced that the prediction was founded in truth; for though the viceroy had permitted M. Bougainville to purchase a sloop, and he had actually agreed for one, his excellency thought proper to forbid the delivery of it, and notwithstanding they had contracted with this tyrannical governor for the purchase of some timber from the royal dock yards, he afterwards changed his mind, and would not let them have it. He even went so far as to refuse M. Bougainville, and the gentlemen on board his ship, permission to lodge in a house near the town, while the *Boudeuse* was repairing, though the owner had given his consent.

The French commander now determined with two of his officers, to pay the viceroy a visit, in order to make proper remonstrances on the line of conduct he

had pursued; but this haughty man would not hear him speak: on the contrary, he commanded him to leave his house. M. Bougainville refused to do so, and even kept his seat some time after the guards had been called, who neglected to obey the summons; and the French departed quietly. Not long after this affair, an additional number of guns were placed round the palace, and the viceroy commanded that every Frenchman, who might be seen in the streets after sunset, should be taken into custody. He likewise ordered the captain of the French ship called the *Morning Star*, to quit the situation where he lay, and to anchor his vessel under the fort of Villagahon, which order was accordingly complied with.

Banishment and imprisonment were the fate of two of the Portuguese officers for having behaved civilly to M. Bougainville, and the French apprehending nothing but ill usage from the effects of the viceroy, the Count D'Acunha's tyrannical disposition prepared to quit the place; though the inhabitants were willing enough to hold an intercourse with them. M. Bougainville was supplied with some timber proper for the repairs of his vessel by a captain of a Spanish man of war, and some planks were also sold him by an inhabitant of Rio Janeiro.

M. Bougainville's account of this place being remarkable, and containing many interesting particulars, we shall here recite it, though we have formerly given our reader some account of this settlement.

"The mines (says our author) which lie nearest Rio Janeiro, are not less than an hundred and twenty miles from that city, and are denominated *The General Mines*. The king of Portugal, who has a fifth share in these mines, seldom receives less than one hundred and twelve arrobas of gold from their annual produce.

"There are mines at Sero Frio, Sabara, and Rio des Mortes, which are under the jurisdiction of the managers of the General Mines. Near Sero Frio is a river, the stream of which being turned out of its usual channel, diamonds, topazes, chrysolites, and other valuable stones are found among the pebbles in the bed of the river; nor are any diamonds brought from the Brasils but such as are found on this particular spot.

"The stones thus found are deemed the property of the owners of the mines: but the king of Portugal has appointed a surveyor, to whom they must give an account of what diamonds are found, with the utmost exactness. These the surveyor puts into a casket which has three locks, and is inclosed in iron plates, the viceroy keeping one of the keys, the *Provedor de Hazienda Real* the second, and the surveyor the third. This casket, and the keys with which it is locked, are then inclosed in a second casket, on which these three gentlemen affix their seals, and this again is placed in a third, whereon the viceroy puts his seal, and thus ships the treasure for Portugal, where the coffers are opened in the presence of his Most Faithful Majesty, who having selected such of the diamonds as he pleases, the owners of the mines are paid for them, at a rate stipulated by a previous agreement.

"The number of slaves employed in searching for diamonds is about eight hundred, and for every day's labour of each of these, the king of Portugal receives a Spanish dollar from the proprietors of the mines. It is extremely dangerous for any person to secrete a diamond; yet the practice is very common, as they can be so easily hidden. When a person is detected in this illicit trade, if he is rich, he is sentenced to deliver up the diamonds, to pay twice their value, suffer one year's imprisonment, and then be banished to the coast of Africa for life; but if the offender be poor, he is generally doomed to suffer capital punishment. In every district of the Brasils where gold is found, a house is erected, to which it must be

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* Here, says our author, a band of Mulattoes performed the best pieces of Metastasio, while the compositions that the greatest geniuses of Italy ever produced were executed by an

orchestra, which was under the direction of a hump-backed priest in his canonicals.

Engraved
for Moore's Voyages
and Travels.



ANIMALS of MARAGNAN,
an Island on the Coast of Brazil,
in South America.

A. Smith sculp.

carried, and the king's share paid; the rest is sent to Rio Janeiro, where it is melted into wedges, and in that state returned to the owners: these wedges being numbered, and stamped with the king's arms, the weight is marked on each wedge, the gold is likewise assayed, and the alloy stamped on it, for the greater expedition when it comes to be coined.

"About ninety miles from Rio Janeiro is a place called Praybuna, where there is an office for registering the ingots which are the property of private people, and as all persons coming from the mines must necessarily pass by this place, two military officers are stationed here, having fifty men under their command, whose business it is strictly to examine, that no illicit trade is carried on, so that every one who passes is obliged to submit to the strictest search. At this place, exclusive of the tax to the king, men and boats are taxed with a farther toll of a real and a half each, the moiety of which becomes the property of the officers and soldiers, and the other moiety goes to his Portuguese Majesty.

"The ingots of gold, which belong to private people having been registered at Praybuna, are then carried to Rio Janeiro, where the proprietors are paid their value in demi-doubloons, which are worth about thirty shillings each of English money, but there is a profit to the king, for alloy, and for carrying these demi-doubloons, of about four shillings and sixpence on each. The mint at Rio Janeiro is a very noble building, admirably adapted for the purpose of coining money, which is performed with great expedition; and this, indeed, is rendered necessary, because two Portuguese fleets usually arrive nearly at the same time that the gold is brought from the mines.

"The fleet which arrives from Porto brings coarse cloth, several articles of food, with brandy, wines, and vinegar, and this, with the fleet that comes from Lisbon, occasions Rio Janeiro, to be a place of very considerable trade; the effects, on being landed, are charged with a duty of ten per cent. to his Portuguese Majesty.

"Soon after the earthquake, at Lisbon, in the year 1755, an impost of two and a half per cent. under the name of a free gift to the king, was laid on all goods landed at Rio Janeiro, so that the whole duty paid is no less than twelve and a half per cent. The latter duty is instantly paid on the goods being brought on shore, but the officers of the custom-house will take security for the payment of the former at the expiration of half a year. There are two districts, named Pratacon and Quiaba, the mines of which produce diamonds; but no person is permitted to seek for them, that the market may not be overstocked; for it is evident, that to make diamonds plentiful, would be to render them of little value. His Portuguese Majesty is at an expence of about 145,000*l.* sterling, annually, for repairing the ships and public buildings, working the mines, and paying all his servants, civil and military. *

The Boudeuse and Etoile weighed their anchor on the 14th of July, 1767; but as the wind abated soon afterwards, they were obliged again to bring to, before they could get out of the harbour. They sailed, however, on the following day, and in the night of

the 19th, the main-top-sail of the Boudeuse was carried away by the violence of the wind. †

On the morning of the 28th the French voyageurs had sight of the Castilles, at the distance of something more than 30 miles. They saw the entrance of a bay, which M. Bougainville conjectured to be the same on the banks of which the Spaniards have erected a fort. The vessels sailed into Rio de la Plata, and were within sight of the Maldonados on the 29th. Early in the morning of the 31st they had a view of the Isle of Lobos, and before night came to an anchor in the bay of Montevideo. As soon as the vessels were anchored, the governor sent a gentleman on board Mons. Bougainville's ship, who acquainted him, that most of the Jesuits in those parts had been lately seized, and their estates confiscated, in consequence of an order received from the court of Spain, and it seemed that these victims of superior power had scarcely made the least resistance, and that they bore their misfortunes with fortitude. No less than forty of them had been taken away in the vessels which brought the orders for their disgrace.

As it was necessary that M. Bougainville should remain in his present station, till the equinox was passed; his first care was to build an hospital for the sick, and to take lodgings at Montevideo. This being done, he repaired to Buenos Ayres, in order to hasten the provision of such necessaries as he wanted, for which he was to pay the same price as the king of Spain usually gave for the same commodities.—He was also desirous of conversing with the governor-general, Don Francisco Buccarelli about the behaviour of the governor of Rio Janeiro; and he soon learnt that Don Buccarelli, instead of making reprisals on the viceroy of the Brasils, which he could have done, very much to the prejudice of Portugal, had, more prudently, only sent a narrative of his proceedings to the court of Spain. Don Buccarelli was however so ready to supply M. Bougainville with such articles as he stood in need of, that in less than three weeks two vessels sailed for Montevideo, with loadings of flour and biscuits for the use of the French ships. M. Bougainville also went to Montevideo, leaving an inferior officer at Buenos Ayres, to see the remainder of the provisions supplied. They now expected to sail very shortly, when an accident happened that detained them some weeks beyond the intended time. A Spanish register ship being at anchor, a violent hurricane arose in the night, and driving her against the Etoile, carried away part of the head of that vessel, and broke her bowsprit on a level with the deck. The leaks of the latter being increased by this accident, it was absolutely necessary that she should undergo a thorough repair, but as there was not timber enough at Montevideo for this purpose, M. Bougainville obtained Don Buccarelli's permission that she might go up the river, to the Encenada de Baragan, a little bay formed by its mouth, and in this bay by the 21st of October she was put in a condition proper for sailing, and began to take in the necessary provisions.

In the road of Encenada, M. Bougainville found a frigate and several merchant ships which were bound for Europe, and two Spanish vessels, which having taken in a store of ammunition and provisions, were

* The amount arising to the king of Portugal in sterling money, from the royal revenues of Rio Janeiro is as follows:

	Dollars.
The king's fifths are generally, one year with another, about one hundred and fifty arobos of gold, which make in Spanish dollars	1,125,000
The duty on diamonds amounts to	240,000
The profit arising from the coinage of money is	400,000
The duty of ten per cent. paid at the custom-house is	350,000
The free gift of two and a half per cent. amounts to about	87,000
Various produces of the mines, with the poll-tax, and monies arising from the sale of offices and employments	225,000
A duty laid on negro slaves produces	110,000

A tenth on all the food of the country, and the taxes }
on soap, salt and train-oil, bring a revenue of } 230,000

Total 2,667,000

From whence it appears that the king of Portugal's revenues arising from Rio Janeiro, amount annually to above 450,000*l.* sterling.

† On board of M. Bougainville's ship was a professor of astronomy, who made the expedition with a view of discovering the longitude at sea, and as an eclipse of the sun was to happen on the 25th of the month, great hopes were formed that an opportunity would thereby be obtained of making the wished-for discovery; but it happened that these sanguine expectations were all frustrated, by the intervention of clouds, which obscured the face of the sun almost during the whole time of the eclipse.

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were to go to Falkland's Islands; and from thence to the South Seas, to take on board the Jesuits of Peru and Chili, two xebecks likewise lay here, one of which was loaded with presents from his most Catholic Majesty, to the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, in return for their conduct towards the crew of the Conception, which about two years before was wrecked upon the coast.

The French commander observes that the people on the bank of the Encenada de Baragan live in mean huts, constructed of rushes, and covered with leather, which are situate on a soil so barren that common necessaries are hard to be got. This ship sailed from the road of Encenada de Baragan for Spain, which had on board 250 Jesuits and most of the French families that had left Falkland's Islands. Two Spanish register ships arrived at this time, one of which being in great distress, M. Bougainville shewed his humanity by sending many of his crew on board her, and she was brought to Montevideo harbour by their assistance.

From the Encenada the Etoile sailed on the 30th of October, and was followed the next day by the Boudeuse, having on board provisions for ten months, and in their passage to Montevideo, they lost three men, a boat which they were in, running foul of the ship as she was wearing: it was with difficulty that two others were saved and the boat was recovered.

A storm soon overtook them after they had sailed from Montevideo, in which both the vessels lost most of the cattle which they had purchased for store.

At this time they had uncertain winds, and violent currents which drove the vessels to the 45th degree of south latitude, and at length they made Cape Virgin, which Sir John Narborough called, Cape Virgin Mary.

In their course they saw many albatrosses and petrels, penguins, seals, and whales; and the skins of the latter appeared to be covered with little worms, somewhat like these that are found at the bottoms of vessels in harbour, which lie there till they are rotting.

They made the land of Terra del Fuego, soon after they had sight of Cape Virgin, and for many days afterwards had nothing but contrary winds and storms. The wind blowing more in their favour for a little while, on the third of December they tried to reach the streights mouth, but a calm and a thick fog succeeded, when the breeze rose up again, night coming on, they steered to the westward.

They stood in for land again on the 4th, as the wind was once more favourable; but the rain and hazy weather hindering them from seeing the coast, they were obliged to keep the sea; when it cleared up a little after, they made another attempt to enter the streights, when the wind changed, the fog returned, and they were obliged to lie to between the main land, and the two shores of Terra del Fuego. On the 4th of December the foremast of the Boudeuse was split by the fury of the winds, and as at this time they were in no deeper water than 20 fathom, they determined to scud under their bare poles, lest they should run foul of some breakers which lie off Cape Virgin to the south south-east. They now made other fruitless attempts to enter the streights, sometimes being within sight of the cape, and at other times a considerable distance from it. The night of the 15th was spent in standing off and on; and early in the morning of the 6th they were in sight of Cape Possession, and likewise of Terra del Fuego. They now took the advantage of a westerly tide, and tried to get close to the coast of Patagonia. They kept sounding all the night between the 6th and 7th, not failing at a greater distance from the coast than three leagues. What they had gained by plying to the windward, they lost by the opposition of the currents, and about noon on the 7th, were in their former station. This day they had sight of Cape Orange, which forms the first narrow pass in the streights. This narrow pass M. Bougainville called a

gut. It is rather more than forty miles from Cape Virgin to this first gut, and the streights for this distance are of different breadths, but seldom less than five, or more than seven leagues. On the north coast the land is high and healthy, and of a regular appearance, as far as Cape Possession, in the bays of which there are several dangerous rocks, to which Sir John Narborough gave the name of Asses Ears. In the afternoon when they had reached the entrance of the gut, though the wind blew fresh, and all their sails were set, the tide ran with so great force, that they were driven backwards, instead of advancing in their voyage. In the evening the ships were anchored in Possession Bay, and on the eighth, by the assistance of a strong breeze, they stemmed the tide, and afterwards, by different tacks, they got through the first narrow entrance of the gut, with the wind against them. During the preceding night, they had observed fires on the shore, and this morning they discovered a white flag, which the Patagonians had erected on a rising ground; on which a white flag was likewise hoisted at the mast head of each vessel. The flag which these Patagonians held up, was one given them by the commander of the Etoile, when that ship lay in Boucault's Bay, in the month of June, 1766, so that it is evident that the people were the same. M. Bougainville speaks in very grateful terms of the care these Indians had taken to preserve the flag.

As the ships were passing the above-mentioned gut, a number of men cloathed in the skins of beasts were observed on Terra del Fuego, who ran along the shore with the utmost expedition, in order to keep pace with the vessel; they also frequently beckoned with their hands, as if they wished the voyagers to stop. The Spaniards say that the natives of that part of Terra del Fuego, are less savage in their manners than most other Indians. When M. Bougainville sailed from Rio de la Plata, a Spanish ship was on the point of sailing thence to convey some priests to instruct these people in the doctrines of Christianity. The ship having come to an anchor in the afternoon, in Boucault's Bay, several officers from each vessel, having fire-arms with them, embarked in boats, and went on shore at the bottom of the bay. The common sailors were ordered to remain in the boats, and to keep them afloat. The gentlemen were no sooner landed than half a dozen of the natives came riding up to them in full speed. When they were advanced within fifty yards of the French, they dismounted and came forward, pronouncing the word *Shawa*. Having come up quite close, they held out their arms, and laid them on those of the officers, whom they shook hands with, and embraced them, repeatedly saying *Shawa*, which word was repeated by M. Bougainville and his officers. The Patagonians appeared to be much pleased with the company of their new friends; but it was observed that some of them had a mixture of fear imprinted on their countenances: this, however, was soon removed by the hospitality of the officers, who sent to the boats for bread cakes, which were as readily eaten as they were cheerfully given. More of the Indians soon approached, among whom were some children. They expressed no kind of surprise at the sight of their visitants, and seemed not to be unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, as appeared by their making a noise which resembled the report of a gun. The good-nature of these people was expressed in all their actions: some of the French gentlemen being engaged in collecting plants, the Patagonians no sooner saw what kinds they collected than they immediately began to pull up and bring the same sorts. One of them observing an officer engaged in this employment, went to him, and pointing to his eye, which had received an injury, intimated his wish, that some herb might be shewn him the virtues of which would cure the disorder; and this was deemed to be a conclusive proof that they had an idea of the medical powers of herbs. M. Bougainville received from these Patagonians a number of skins of the guanacoe and other beasts, in exchange for a few trinkets on which they

they seemed to set a great value. Some of the gentlemen having red cloaths on, the natives advanced, and stroaked them with their hands, seeming highly delighted with every thing of that colour; they also made signs for some tobacco, and as often as any thing was given them, they cried out *Shawa*, in a very loud and disagreeable tone. A small quantity of brandy being presented to each of the Patagonians, they had no sooner drank, than they struck their hands repeatedly against their throats, and blew with their mouths, so as to produce a kind of trembling sound, at the conclusion of which they had a singular quivering of the lips. The evening advanced, and the gentlemen repaired to their ships, which was no sooner observed by the Indians, than their uneasiness was expressed in their countenance, and they intimated by signs, that they wished them to remain longer, as they expected more of their brethren. The French, on the contrary, made signs that they would come again the next day, and bring such articles as the natives had requested of them. M. Bougainville and his party now walked to their boats accompanied by the Indians, one of whom sung songs till they reached the coast, and several of them went into the water, as far as where the boats lay, and seized all the articles they could lay their hands on, but when they saw they were observed, they made no scruple to return them. As the boats were rowing off, many more Patagonians were observed galloping down to their countrymen; and the crews of the boats now cried out *shawa* so loud, that the people on shore could not fail to hear them. M. Bougainville says, that these Indians were the same that were seen by the crew of the *Etoile*, in the year 1765, for one of the seamen recollected a person among them whom he had before seen. These people are well made, and appear to be about the height described by other voyagers. Our author says, that it is the thickness of their limbs, the largeness of their heads, and the extraordinary breadth of their shoulders, that make them appear to be of a gigantic race. The colour of the Patagonians is brown. Their muscles are strong, and their nerves well braced, and as their food abounds with juices proper for the nourishment of the human frame, it is no wonder that they arrive at their full growth. Their eyes are sparkling, their teeth very white, their faces extremely round, but rather flat, and many of them are rather comely men. Some of them have whiskers, which grow long, but are very thin, and they all tie their hair, which is long and black, on the top of the head; the cheeks of some of them are painted red. Their language has an agreeable and melodious sound. Our voyagers did not see any of the Patagonian women, though it was conjectured, that the men intended to have brought them from a kind of camp, which appeared to be about three miles distant. M. Bougainville says these people wear a piece of leather round the waist, and a kind of cloak made of skins, which descend to the bottom of the leg, and is girt round the body, the part that would otherwise cover the shoulders, is permitted to fall back, so that the greater part of the body is left naked, though the climate is so cold as apparently to require more covering than the whole which they wear. [It was in the summer that M. Bougainville was on the coast of Patagonia, yet, he says, there was only a single day on which the thermometer was observed to rise to ten degrees higher than the freezing point.] The rest of the dress of the Patagonians consisted of a sort of half-boots, made of the skins of the horse, and left open at the back part of the leg. A few of them wore on the thigh a ring of copper, two inches in breadth; and the necks of two very young men were adorned with beads. Some small knives, of the manufacture of England, were seen in their possession, which our author concludes were the gift of Commodore Byron; and their only arms consisted of a twisted gut, in the two ends of which were inclosed a round pebble, and weapons of that kind, he says, are used in all that part of the American continent. Their horses are

very poor, and of a small size, and the saddles and bridles were such as are used by the natives of Rio de la Plata. One of these people was observed to have gilt nails on his saddle, stirrups made of wood enclosed with copper, a bridle made of leather twisted, and a complete Spanish harness. Their food consists chiefly, as has been observed, of guanacoes and vicuñas, and they eat both the flesh and marrow of those animals. They devour this raw, with great avidity, and carry it with them on their horses. Fresh water being very scarce in this country, the horses drink the sea-water, as do likewise the dogs, which are both small and ugly.

It was observed that some of them pronounced *capitan*, *chico bueno*, and other Spanish words. M. Bougainville concludes that the Patagonians lead the same kind of life as the Tartars, as they are always on horseback, traversing immense plains, in pursuit of wild beasts, and game; and he imagines that they also, like the Tartars, plunder the caravans of travellers; but this remark seems unlikely. Our author concludes with saying, that he has "Since found a nation in the Pacific Ocean, where the people are taller than the Patagonians." M. Bougainville tells us, that the soil of this country is extremely dry, and very much like that of Falkland's Islands, the coast, likewise, exhibits the same kind of sea-weeds, and shells of similar sorts are strewed upon the beach. The country yields shrubs, but affords no woods for shelter.

On the 9th of December, 1767, all the sails of the vessels were set, to make head against the fury of the tide; but they were obliged again to come to an anchor, after sailing only three miles. During two whole days the weather was so tempestuous that not a boat could put off from the ships, which was a mortifying circumstance, as great numbers of the Patagonians were by this time got together, on the spot where they had conversed with the officers who were concerned that they were not able to keep their promise with these friendly people, whose little wants might have been easily supplied. It appeared by the help of glasses, that they had built several huts on the shore, and it was observed, that some of them were constantly galloping backwards and forwards from this place to a spot where it was supposed the main body of them lay. Early on the morning of the 12th the *Boudeuse* lost an anchor, by the parting of the cable, soon after which they set all their sails, and by the assistance of the ebb tide, and a favourable wind they got through the second gut in the afternoon, and anchored on the north side of the isle of Elizabeth. As they were detained here two days by tempestuous weather, and contrary winds, M. Bougainville resolved to land on the isle of Elizabeth, where he met with a few bustards that were at this time hatching their eggs, but these birds were so intimidated at the sight of our adventurers, that they could not approach near enough to have even a single shot at them. The island produces no wood, but only a kind of heath which might supply its place, as fuel for the fire. The water of this place is brackish, and the soil extremely dry. Several places were likewise observed, which had been marshes that had become dry, and the ground on some parts of them were covered with a thin crust of salt. It was evident that the island was occasionally visited by the Indians, as the shells of some fish they had eaten were found near where a dead dog was lying, and where it was plain that fires had been made. The adventurers were now on the point of entering that part of the straits of Maghellan which abounds in woods, and the principal difficulties were already overcome. On the afternoon of the 30th the anchors were weighed, and they sailed with a strong wind in a channel between the islands of Barthlemi and Lions, and that of Elizabeth. They were now obliged to coast the last named island, to steer clear of a number of breakers, with which the other islands are encompassed. Having sailed beyond Cape Noir, they observed that the country had a pleasant appearance, being almost every where covered

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Bay Duclos.

with woods, which afforded a most delightful prospect to the eye. In the evening the weather became suddenly calm and pleasant, so that M. Bougainville pleased himself with the hope of being able to double Cape Round before the morning; but in this climate the most flattering appearances are by no means to be relied on; a truth that was fully evident in the present instance; for soon after twelve at night the wind suddenly shifted, and blew most violently, bringing with it storms of hail, and deluges of rain, while a fog, apparently impenetrable, covered the whole coast. The main-sail of the *Boudense* being split by this storm, they endeavoured to make Port Famine, where they hoped to be sheltered from the tempest; but this attempt was fruitless, for the violence of the current was such that they lost nine miles in as many hours, and were hurried with amazing rapidity into a large bay, formed part of the coast of Terra del Fuego, which M. Bougainville called *Bay Duclos*, from the name of the officer who was next in command under the commodore of the expedition, and whose knowledge and experience are mentioned as circumstances highly advantageous to the enterprize. This bay is described as being very convenient for ships to anchor in, on account of westerly winds blowing over the coast. Two small rivers discharge their streams into the bay, the water of which is excellent at about a quarter of a mile from the sea-coast, though nearer than that distance it is impregnated with saline particles. The landing place is a sandy beach, above which a pleasant meadow stretches itself to a considerable distance. Behind this meadow the woods raise their lofty heads, and form a kind of amphitheatre. Our adventurers traversed a considerable track of the country, without meeting with any living animal, except a very few parroquets, bustards, ducks, teals, and two or three snipes.

Several huts were seen at the mouth of a river which had been constructed by twisting branches of trees into the form of an oven. In these huts were found a large number of limpets, muscles, and calcined shells, and the huts themselves appeared to have been recently made. Our adventurers going some miles up the river, observed the track of human creatures, and remarked that the flood came from the east at the rising of the tide; which they had not before observed in any other part of the freights. The seamen were now engaged in cutting wood till the 16th, when the vessels sailed with a favourable wind, and passed Point St. Anne, which covers Port Famine.

There are four bays proper for the anchoring of vessels, between Cape Forward and Cape Round, and two of these bays are separated by a cape of a most singular kind, which consists of petrified shells, lying horizontally, and rising more than fifty yards above the level of the sea. M. Bougainville took soundings at the foot of this cape, but a line of an hundred fathom would not reach the bottom.

As the ships were now becalmed for two hours, the commodore took this opportunity of taking the soundings near, and the bearings of Cape Forward, which he mentions as the most southerly point of land on the continent, in the known world; and he fixes its latitude at fifty-four deg. five min. and forty-five seconds south. Its surface consists of two hills, something more than two miles in extent, one of which is considerably higher than the other. The tops of these hills are covered with snow, which gradually melting, by the warmth of the sun, supply with perpetual moisture the roots of trees which are fixed in the crevices of the rocks.

Having returned to the ship, and the wind coming about favourable, M. Bougainville sailed in search of a harbour, which received the name of *French Bay*, where he resolved to take in a quantity of wood and water, as a supply during their voyage across the great South Sea. In consequence of this resolution all the boats were instantly hoisted out, with a view to begin this necessary business the next morning. The night proving excessively stormy and tempestuous, it was

passed in fears and apprehensions which baffle all description.

Early in the morning a boat was sent out to sound the mouth of a river which had been previously denominated *Gennés River*, from the name of a gentleman who was partaker in the dangers and hardships of this expedition. As it was low-water when the boat reached the shore, her crew could not land without running her a-ground on a sand, and it was evident that the larger boats could only make the shore at high water, so that their wood and water could be brought on board only once a day. For these reasons M. Bougainville determined to anchor in a small bay about three miles distant, called after his own name, where he had taken in a loading of wood for Falkland's Islands in the year 1765.

Bougainville Bay, to which they now sailed, is surrounded by high mountains, which secure it from the winds blowing from every point of the compass, so that the surface of the water is unruffled by a single breeze. Having cast their anchors in this bay, and made fast the vessels by means of hawsers tied to some trees on the coast; they landed, and found two Indian huts constructed of the branches of trees, but they did not appear to have been lately inhabited. In the year 1765, M. Bougainville had caused a hut of bark to be erected on this spot, in which he left some trifles by way of present to such of the natives as might happen to wander that way: on this hut he had put up a white flag, but both the flag and the presents had been taken away, and the hut levelled with the ground. On the morning of the 18th of December, a kind of Camp was formed on shore, by way of guarding the effects which were landed, and protecting the men who were to be employed in taking in wood and water. Small ponds were now dug for the accommodation of those destined to wash the linen, and the water-casks were sent on shore to be repaired. The crew of the *Eagle* having cut down many more trees than were wanted for that vessel, the labour of this task was saved to our present adventurers, who were likewise happy in finding roads ready made through the woods, for the convenience of bringing down the timber to the sea-shore. At this place the remainder of the month was spent in the necessary employment above-mentioned, and in repairing the ships, particularly the *Etoile*, which had so large a leak in her stern, that most of the hands on board her were fatigued beyond expression, by standing at the pumps night and day alternately.

M. Verron, the astronomer, now landed on a little island which was denominated the *Isle of Observa- Isle of Observa- tory*, from its being a place admirably calculated for making astronomical observations; but his labours were fruitless, owing to the cloudiness of the weather, which is almost perpetual in this country. At some periods, however, the sun appeared free from clouds, and melted a part of the snow which had lodged on the mountains of the main land. Whenever this fine weather happened, the prince of Nassau, attended by M. de Commerçon, a celebrated botanist, went in search of plants and herbs, and they were very successful in their researches: but the gentlemen who endeavoured to fish or to hunt for animals, were not so lucky, for they never caught any fish;—and a fox was only killed, so little success had they in their search after quadrupeds.

The French commander intending to take a survey of the coasts of the main land, and of those of Terra del Fuego, went in his boat on the 22d in the morning, having two gentlemen in company who intended to go with him as far as Cape Holland. At first, they had fair weather, but were afterwards overtaken by a hurricane, and obliged to run into the mouth of a small river for shelter. They waited in hope that the tempest would abate; but in the mean while were benumbed with cold, and wet to the skin, and at length were forced to land and cut down some branches of trees for the purpose of constructing some huts in which they might lodge for the night, to defend them from the inclemency

French Bay.

clemency of the weather; but it continued to blow and rain violently, and was so cold, that the gentlemen found their situation untenable; and therefore they sheltered themselves in the best manner they could under the sail of the boat, keeping up a large fire all night. They lost no time in returning to the boat in the morning, which carried them to their ship in good time; as it seemed very probable that if they had stayed much longer, the weather growing more and more boisterous, would not have admitted of their return, and this on such a coast, that their case must have been desperate.* Nevertheless, when the tempest had subsided, M. Bougainville, with the true spirit of one bent upon discovery, resolved to go upon a second expedition. Early in the morning of the 29th, he embarked with the prince of Nassau, and two others; the long-boat of the Boudeuse, and the Etoile's barge having been equipped and provided with muskets and swivel guns for that purpose. In about six hours they gained the coast of Terra del Fuego, and landing, sat down to a repast in a place where the natives had left a number of huts standing. They afterwards coasted the country for a considerable time, and then crossed an inlet, which M. Bougainville, for many reasons, supposed to be a strait leading to the sea, at no great distance from Cape Horne. Having almost reached the opposite side of the inlet, the French discovered several of the inhabitants on the point of a bay, whither the adventurers steered; and the commander recollected that the people he then saw, were the same who he had remembered in the course of his former voyage. They generally made use of the word *Pecherais* in the same manner as those already described had done of *Shawa*, and thence they had obtained their name, bestowed (as most appellations of new-discovered people and places are in a whimsical manner) by the French.

These Indians were seen assembled to about the number of forty of both sexes, and several of their canoes were observed in a creek adjacent. The evening however advancing, M. Bougainville could not stay long with the *Pecherais*; but left them with a view to reach an inlet where he intended to spend the night. Failing however of accomplishing this purpose, for want of time, he landed on the bank of a river, and ordered tents to be supplied by the sails, and making a large fire, the party were better accommodated than they had been the foregoing night. The inlet above-mentioned was found to form an excellent harbour, and on that account received the name of *Beaubassin*† from the adventurers.

M. Bounard was left here to take an account of every thing that might be thought worth notice; with orders to return after he had made the survey in the long-boat to the ships. But the commander himself, with part of the company, embarking in the barge, rowed to the westward and discovered an island, on the coast of which they saw several of the natives catching fish. They arrived at a bay before evening, to which they gave the name of *de la Cormorandiere*, from a rock that lay about a mile distant from it.

They left this bay on the 29th early in the morning, and passed between two islands, which M. Bougainville called *The Two Sisters*, which are about nine miles from Cape Forward, so often mentioned in our voyages. They soon after saw a mountain, whose figure was like that of a cane; which they denominated *The Sugar-loaf*, and in the course of this day, they came to a convenient bay and port, into which there fell a remarkable cascade; which were therefore distinguished by the appellation of *The Bay and Port of the Cascade*. They found good anchorage there; and it is described as a place very proper for wooding and watering vessels. The water-fall is formed by the stream of a small river, that meanders between a num-

ber of lofty hills; and it descends from the side of a rock above forty yards perpendicular. The French commander went to the top of the cascade, and from thence took a view of the adjacent country. He says that there are small plains, in some parts of which produce a sort of spongy moss, but in others the ground is covered with thickets. As to the trees and plants they appeared to be the same as those of the Patagonian coasts; and the country in general has much the appearance of Falkland's Islands. He describes all that part of Terra del Fuego, from the spot where he then was; to that which lay opposite Elizabeth Island, in general covered with snow. No traces of inhabitants were found here, the reason of which was supposed to be the natives being no where able to obtain the necessaries of life, except upon the sea-coasts.

The French remained at Port Cascade during the night of the 29th, which was rendered highly disagreeable by incessant rain, and intense cold; and on the morning of the following day they crossed the strait with a boisterous wind, and a rough sea, which made the navigation dangerous to small vessels. The rain kept pouring down almost the whole of this day, which was employed in viewing the coast, and making such remarks as may be useful to future navigators. Our voyagers had now a very narrow escape with their lives, the boat having been nearly overset in crossing a bay; owing to a mistake of the steersman in the management of the helm; at length, however, they got safe on board the Boudeuse; and as the commanding officer, during M. Bougainville's absence, had shipped every thing that was necessary, preparations were immediately made for sailing. They departed from Bougainville Bay in the afternoon of the 31st of December, 1767; and in the evening came to an anchor in the road of Port Gallant, which is situated at the bottom of Fortescue Bay; were detained no less than three weeks by such bad weather, as the inhabitants of these milder climes cannot form an adequate idea of. On the first of January, 1768; M. Bougainville dispatched a party in a boat, to make remarks on the coast, as far as Elizabeth Bay, and to take a view of the numerous islands, with which this part of the straits of Maghellan abounds. Two of these islands, to which Sir John Narborough formerly gave the name of Charles and Monmouth, were distinctly seen from the place where the ships lay at anchor; but those which he had denominated the Royal Isles, and Rupert Island, were at too great a distance to be viewed from M. Bougainville's present station. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and the almost incessant rains, the crew which had been sent out, landed on different places; at one of which it was evident that some English ships had lately touched; for on several trees they saw initial letters, and even whole names cut in the wood; they also saw many spice laurel trees, the bark of which had been lately taken off, with other plain indications who they were that had visited the spot, but what put the matter beyond all doubt, were the words "Chatham, March, 1766," which were very legible on a piece of wood, of that kind which is frequently affixed to pieces of cloth in the royal marine warehouses of Great Britain. The astronomer, M. Veron, in the mean time had his astronomical instruments conveyed to a peninsula, by which the harbour is formed; in order to make observations for ascertaining the bearing and distances of particular capes; but the result of his observations would afford neither instruction nor entertainment to our readers.

The weather was so exquisitely severe on the 4th and 5th of January, that no pen can describe it, nor any imagination conceive an idea of it. A violent storm of wind was attended with incessant rain of snow, and the keenest biting coldness in the air. M. Bougainville informs us that during this severe weather he sent out a boat to search for a convenient anchoring place on the coast of Terra del Fuego, and an excellent one was found to south-west of Charles and

* The snow was almost continual, though it was Midsummer, and the day in these parts was then eighteen hours long.

† Beautiful Bay.

1768

and Monmouth Islands. On the 6th the weather was more moderate than it had been for some days past. In the morning of this day four small boats, with Indians on board them, were observed at the point of Cape Gallant, one of which advanced towards M. Bougainville's ship, while the rest rowed towards the bottom of the bay. In the boat which approached the Boudeuse, were a man, his wife and two children, the former of whom went on board, without the least apparent sign of fear, leaving the woman and children in the boat. Soon after this man had gone on board two Indians from the other boats followed his example, bringing their children with them. These people seemed not to express the least surprise either at the structure of the ship, or at any thing they saw on board her.

The commodore prevailed on them to dance and sing, and also treated them with a kind of concert of music. He likewise gave them bread, and different kinds of meat, all of which they devoured with avidity, seeming equally pleased with every thing that was given them, and with every occurrence that passed; nor could they be persuaded to quit the ship till several pieces of salt meat had been put into the boats. He says they are clothed with seal skins, which are by far too small to cover the whole of the body; and with these skins they make the sails of their boats and the covering of their huts. They are likewise possessed of a few of the skins of the guanacoe, but our author does not mention to what use they apply them; tho' it should seem probable that they form a part of their clothing. M. Bougainville describes these Indians as thin, short, and ugly; and that a most offensive smell is the consequence of keeping them company. The women are still more disagreeable than the men, who do not appear by any means fond of them. It is the duty of the females to steer the boats, and to repair any damage that may happen to them; and they are often obliged to swim after them through the seaweeds; nor are even women who have sucking children excused this duty; but the child is carried on the mother's back, enclosed in the seal-skin that forms her dress. When the women are on shore, their business is to collect shells and wood; nor do the men even share with them in this employment.

The boats are constructed of the bark of trees, fastened together with rushes, and the seams are caulked with moss. A fire is constantly kept in the middle of the boat, on a heap of sand, which is placed to prevent the turning of the vessel. Their arms consist of bows and arrows formed of the branches of the barberry-bush, which grows plentifully in these parts. The arrows are pointed with sharp stones, and the string of the bow is made of the gut of some animal; but they use not these weapons against an enemy; they are designed only for the destruction of birds or other animals proper for the support of life.

M. Bougainville says that these Indians use a kind of harpoon, for the purpose of striking fish, which is made of bones, it is about twelve inches in length, pointed at the end, and indented on one of its sides. The principal subsistence of those people is fish; but it is supposed that they sometimes catch game, as they have dogs of the sporting kind, and springs or nooses, adapted for the snaring of quadrupeds. The teeth of all the natives are very bad, which our author attributes to the eating of fish when boiling hot; though they do not half boil it before it is so eaten. They live in huts which have no partition of rooms, in the middle of which a fire is lighted, that serves the whole family. The disposition of these people is of the amiable kind; but their extreme good nature borders on weakness; they believe in evil genii, and have priests and physicians, whom they suppose capable of deprecating the vengeance of these invisible enemies. M. Bougainville observes, that the *Pecherats* have the fewest conveniences of life of any people he has ever known, yet they do not repine, but appear to be contented with their simple situation; although they live in the most inclement climate hitherto discovered in that

habitable part of the globe.—Besides the other peculiarities of their fate, they are fewer in number than any other known race of men: yet this little society, cut off as it is from all intercourse with the rest of mankind, is not totally free from the vices common to larger states, as a contest for dominion exists even among them, and the more powerful are perpetually labouring to distress the weaker.

The inclemency of the weather, during the 7th and 8th of the month, was such, that the crews of the ships could not venture on shore; and though it was even now the summer time, the adjacent country was covered with snow, which also lay on the ship to the depth of several inches. On the 9th the Indians who had previously painted their bodies with red and white streaks, advanced towards the ships, but seeing the boats go off towards their habitations, all of them, except one followed the ships boats, and that went on board the *Etoile*, where she remained but a little while, and then followed the others. The crews of the boats having landed, went to the huts of the Indians, who seemed by no means to relish this unexpected visit, which was particularly evinced by the women having all retreated to one hut, the men invited the French sailors into those huts where the women were not to be found, and the Frenchmen having accepted the invitation, were treated with shell-fish, which the Indians sucked before they delivered them to their visitors. The behaviour of the natives was lively, and they entertained their guests with dancing and singing; they revelled with uncontrouled delight, when, their mirth was interrupted by an unexpected accident; a boy, who was the son of one of the Indians, was suddenly seized with a disorder which occasioned the most violent convulsions, and spitting of blood. This child had been on board the *Etoile*, where the seamen had presented him with some pieces of glass, and as these Indians are accustomed to put things of this kind up their nostrils, and into their throats, it was supposed this youth had taken the same measure, and that the fatal effects which followed were the consequence of his having swallowed the glass. It is here proper to remark, that the *Pecherats* consider the swallowing of substances which resemble glass, as a preventive remedy against certain disorders to which they are liable. The lips, palate, and gums of the boy were cut: and as he bled freely, the Indians conceived an idea that the Frenchmen had violated the rights of hospitality, and injured him, whom, by all the laws of honour, they were bound to treat with civility. This circumstance gave rise to a jealousy and distrust no way favourable to their European visitors, whom they could not look on in a favourable light, while they thought they had caused the child's illness. A linen jacket having been given to this child by the French, he was stript of it, and it was thrown at their feet, but it was instantly seized by an Indian, who did not seem to dread the powers of enchantment. The child being laid on his back, a conjurer knelt between his legs, and pressing the body forcibly with his hand and head, uttered a number of inarticulate vociferations. At repeated intervals, during this ceremony, he arose and opening his hands, which had been before grasped, he blew in the air with his mouth, as if desirous of driving away some evil genius. While this business was transacting, an ancient woman bawled in the ears of the child so as to deafen him with her noise, and indeed the remedy seemed to be, in the literal phrase, worse than the disease. The conjurer having retired for some time, returned in a new dress, and, with an air of triumph, renewed his incantations, but with no better success than before. His hair had been powdered, and his head was distinguished by two wings similar to those with which Mercury is represented by the painters. The life of the child now appearing to be even in more danger than before, the French captain hastily baptised him, unobserved by the Indians. Some officers having repaired on board the ship and acquainted the commodore with what was transacting, he went on shore with the surgeon, who took

took some gruel and milk with him, and when they came to the spot, they found that the juggler was assisted by another person habited like himself, and that the patient had suffered much from their absurd attempts to relieve him, yet were these attempts continued, without any complaint on the part of the poor boy. The affection of the parents, and indeed, of the whole company of Indians, was manifested by floods of tears, and by many other expressions of grief; and when it was observed, that the Frenchmen seemed to share in their misfortune, they appeared to be less diffident of the conduct of the strangers, and at length they permitted the surgeon to examine the mouth of the sick youth, which being bloody, had been repeatedly sucked by his father and another man. After some time the father accepted the gruel, and permitted his son to drink some milk, but not till the French gentleman had repeatedly tasted it in his presence. The conjurers appeared to be jealous of the surgeon, but they could not help confessing the superiority of his abilities. It was remarked, that while one of those Indian physicians was endeavouring to drive away the disorder, the other was busily employed in deprecating that vengeance which they supposed the visit of the strangers had occasioned. In the evening the child appeared to be in less pain; but, from many circumstances, it was still evident, he had swallowed some pieces of glass. M. Bougainville and the surgeon now went on board, and it is conjectured, that the boy died about two o'clock the next morning; for soon after that time loud cries were heard, and at day-break the Indians departed from a place which had been so peculiarly fatal to them; for the loss of even one member of so small a community, could not but be an object of great and public concern. On the 13th and 14th the weather was so bad that it was impossible to think of sailing, and on the 15th the vessels were detained by a strong contrary wind; but on the following day they sailed, with a favourable breeze, which, however, soon shifted, and prevented their reaching Rupert Island, off which it was M. Bougainville's intention to have anchored. After a whole day of fatigue and danger, they returned to Port Galant, and anchored again near their former station.

On the 17th the storms were more violent than they had ever yet been, the sea ran to a mountainous height, and the wind blew in such contrary directions, that the opposing waves destroyed each other. The storm having in some degree subsided before noon, a loud peal of thunder was presently heard, after which the winds blew with increasing violence. The anchors of the ships having dragged, the top-masts and lower yards were struck, to avoid the dreadful consequences of the storm. At this time, however, the shrubs and plants were in bloom, and the trees were covered with a luxuriance of verdure.

On the 21st and the following days the weather was extremely windy, while it rained and snowed incessantly. The night of the 21st indeed was moderately calm; but this calm served only as the prelude to a storm, which descended with aggravated fury; such a storm as the oldest sailor on board had never remembered, but its continuance was by no means proportioned to its violence. On the 24th the weather being fine and serene, preparations were made for sailing, and on the following day the anchors were weighed, and the vessels got under way. Having arrived at Cape Quod, the commodore thus describes it: Its figure, he says, is very singular, consisting of craggy rocks, the most elevated of which bear a strong resemblance to the ruins of ancient building. From Bay Galant to this Cape, the verdant appearance of the trees takes off, in some degree, that horror which would otherwise arise in the mind from the constant sight of the summits of mountains which are always frozen. After passing Cape Quod, the face of the country was totally changed, both sides of the straits exhibiting a prospect of rocks, which are uncovered even with the slightest layer of earth. The tops of

these rocks are clothed with external snow, while the valleys between them are choaked up with prodigious quantities of ice, which have the appearance of having been congealed for a long series of years. So dreadful is the appearance of this part of the strait, that Sir John Narborough gave it the name of *Desolation*; and in fact it is desolate and dreary beyond all description.

When M. Bougainville's ship was opposite Cape Quod, the coast of Terra del Fuego, at the distance of forty miles appeared as is terminated by a projecting cape. There are three capes on the continent which our adventurers called *Etoile Cape*, *Boudeuse Cape*, *Split Cape*, the last of which is so denominated from its figure. The strait which in this part is about six miles wide, received the name of *Long Reach*. As the evening of 26th was very fine, M. Bougainville determined to continue his way under an easy sail; about two hours before midnight a thick fog came on, the wind arose, and the rain poured down in torrents, while it became so excessive dark that no land could be seen. The situation of the ships was now supposed to be opposite Cape Monday; and the night was spent in standing off and on shore, in momentary expectation of some fatal accident. The land being seen at day-break, they hoisted additional sails and proceeded with rapidity, till they reached Cape Pillar, when they had sight of the main ocean, into which they arrived under a full sail, on the evening of the same day; having by the advantage of thirty-six hours fair wind, sailed from Port Galant into the great South Sea, without once coming to anchor. M. Bougainville was seven weeks and three days in passing the straits of Maghellan, the whole length of which from Cape Virgin Mary to Cape Pillar, he computes at about 340 miles. Though the passing the straits is a work of some difficulty and danger, our author recommends it as more safe than the doubling of Cape Horn, if undertaken between the months of September and April; but during the rest of the year he advises the passing through the open sea, and he observes that the lost time in sailing through the Maghellanic Straights is amply repaired by the conveniences of taking in wood and water, and the chance there is of the scurvy making less havock among a crew when they have repeated opportunities of landing. He adds, that when he left the straits he had not a single invalid on board either of his vessels.

The commodore now sailed nearly a westerly course, having previously agreed with the captain of the *Etoile* that he should keep company with the *Boudeuse* during the nights, and in the morning of each day should sail as far as he could to the southward, without losing sight of the other vessel, in order that the ships might command as extensive a prospect as possible by which means it was hoped that some new discoveries might be made.

On the 30th of January, while the sea ran very high, one of the crew of the *Boudeuse* fell overboard, and was drowned, notwithstanding every endeavour to preserve his life.—From this time till the 17th of February, M. Bougainville sailed in search of what is called Davis's Land, which was discovered by our countryman of that name, in 1686, and he says, that following the directions laid down in M. de Bellin's chart, he must have sailed over this land.—On the 17th, sea gulls were seen, and as these birds do not go above eighty leagues from land, it was resolved not to alter the course of the ships for three days; but within this period no land was discovered. The westerly wind, with a slight variation to the north and south, prevailed from the 23d of February to the 3d of March, during which time they had rain and thunder every day, immediately before or soon after the sun had reached the meridian. This variation of the wind, from what is commonly called the trade wind, is mentioned by M. Bougainville as an extraordinary circumstance.—Soon after the ships had got clear of the straits of Maghellan, an epidemical

Etoile Cape,
Boudeuse
Cape,
Split Cape,
Long Reach.

1767

fore throat attacked almost every man on board, which was cured by putting vinegar and red hot bullets into the water-casks, so that by the end of March, the crew were recovered. For several days after this period, such a quantity of bonettas, and other fish was caught, as afforded one meal daily to every man on board. On the 21st a runny fish was taken, in the belly of which were a number of small fish, such kinds as are known not to swim far out to sea, whence it was concluded, that land could not be at any great distance, and on the following day this conjecture appeared to be well founded, for four very small islands were then discovered, to which M. Bougainville gave the name of *Les quatre Facardins*; but as these were too much to the windward of the ships, they held on their way, steering for another island, which was almost right a-head.

*Les quatre
Facardins.*

As the vessel advanced towards this latter island, it was observed, that it abounded with cocoa-nut trees, the fruit of which had a very tempting appearance. These trees grew on plats of grass, strewed with an abundance of beautiful flowers; and the rest of the island was clothed with trees of various kinds. Immense numbers of birds were seen on the coast, which was therefore supposed to afford a plenty of fish, but the sea running high, and no harbour being discovered, in which the voyagers might hope for protection from the fury of its waves, they were prevented from landing, when they had coasted the island for about two miles, they had sight of three men, who advanced hastily towards the shore. M. Bougainville at first imagined that these people were part of the crew of some European ship, which had been wrecked on the coast, and impressed with this idea, he gave the necessary orders for affording them the wished for relief: but he soon discovered that his conjecture was ill-founded, for the people retired to the woods, from whence, in a short time, issued a number of them, supposed to be near twenty, with long staves in their hands, which they held up with an air of threatening and defiance. This being done, they retreated to the woods, in which, by the help of glasses, their habitations were plainly seen. These islanders were very tall, and of a copper complexion.* During the night between the 22d and 23d, they had much rain, accompanied with violent thunder, while the wind blew almost a tempest.—At the dawn of day land was discovered, which appeared to be a regular level, sufficiently clothed with verdure. Breakers being observed on the coast, the ships stood out to sea, till the weather becoming more calm, they might approach the shore with greater safety, which happened before noon; they then coasted the island, which is shaped like a horse-shoe, and its inside is filled by the sea. Some parts of this island produce cocoa-nut and other trees, which afford a very agreeable shade, but the greater part of it is only a sand, on which grows no kind of verdure.—Many Indians were observed in boats, some of them rowing, and others sailing, on the lake, formed by the shape of the island. These people were all naked, and in the evening, large numbers of them were seen on the shore, with pikes in their hands, like those with which the inhabitants of the Isle of Lance-bearers were armed.—Night advanced before any proper place was found for the ship's boats to land, nor were they more successful in their researches in the morning, wherefore they held on their course, M. Bougainville having called the place *Harp Island*; the inhabitants of which had the appearance of being tall, and genteelly made. In the evening of the day on which Harp Island was discovered, they had sight of other land, at the distance of something more than twenty miles, which

Harp Island.

had the appearance of being, what it afterwards was found to be, a cluster of islands, eleven of which was seen, and received the name of the *Dangerous Archipelago*. Our author conjectures, that they are more numerous, and observes, that it is dangerous sailing among them, as they are surrounded with shoals and breakers, through which a vessel ought to steer with peculiar care. The ships now stood to the south, and by the 28th of the month, were out of sight of all land.†

*Dangerous
Archipelago.*

Nothing material happened from this time till towards the end of March, when the weather was boisterous and stormy to a very great degree, for several days successively; and the scurvy now began to attack several of the crew. To combat the ill effects of this disorder, every invalid received daily a pint of lemonade, in which was infused a powder that had been frequently used with success during the voyage. About this time they were much in want of fresh water, which was procured by the distillation of seawater, according to a process invented by M. Poissonier; and the water thus procured was used in boiling meat and making broth. The bread was kneaded with salt-water.—A steep mountain, which appeared to be encompassed by the sea, was discovered on the second of April, and received the name of the *Boudoir*, or *Boudeuse Peak*, from that of M. Bougainville's ship. Bearing to the northward of this peak, they had sight of land, which extended farther than the eye could reach. By this time it was become necessary for the ship to put in at some port, where they might obtain refreshments, and take in a supply of wood. For the greater part of this day the weather was wholly calm;—in the evening a breeze sprang up, which conveyed the ships near the newly discovered land; but it was thought prudent to stand off and on, for the night. In the morning they had sight of more land to the northward, but were not able to distinguish whether it was another island, or a part of that which they had before seen. In the night between the 3d and 4th of the month, fires were observed on several places, from whence it was conjectured that the country abounded with inhabitants. Just before sun-rising on the 4th, it was discovered that the two lands, which had been supposed to be separate islands, were connected with a flat country, bending like a bow, and forming a fine bay. While the ships were standing in towards the land, a boat was seen coming from the offing, which soon after crossed a-head of the ship, and joined a number of other boats, that had assembled from various parts of the island. This assemblage of boats was preceded by one which was rowed by twelve Indians, quite naked, who advanced towards the side of the ship, and held up the boughs of the banana-tree. Considering this as a token of friendship, the French in their turn, endeavoured to express a reciprocal regard. This being done, the natives rowed alongside the Boudeuse, and a rope being lowered into the boat, one of them affixed to it a branch of the banana tree, a quantity of the fruit of that tree, and a small pig. This present was accepted, and, in return for it, M. Bougainville gave them some handkerchiefs and caps; and thus a friendly intercourse was established with these people. In a short time, upwards of a hundred boats surrounded the French ships: the former were laden with bananas, cocoa-nuts, and various other kinds of fruit, highly acceptable to the French, who gave them a number of toys, which proved equally acceptable to the Indians.—In order to carry on this traffic, the voyagers held up such articles as they meant to give for the fruit, and when the natives were satisfied with the quantity which was offered

*Boudeuse
Peak.*

* The French voyager seems to think it a sort of mystery how this solitary island was first peopled; however, we find he had seen four others, about the inhabiting of which the same doubts might have arisen, and some time afterwards he discovered a larger island, from whence the natives here spoken of might possibly have come.

† The cluster of islands above-mentioned were first discovered by Quiros, in the year 1606, and again visited by Rogge- wein, in the year 1722, who gave them the name of the Labyrinth.

ferred, it was let down by the ship's side in a net or basket, and the Indians having taken it out, returned their commodities by the same conveyance; but sometimes the basket was lowered when empty, and the natives put their effects into it before they had received the European goods, without seeming to harbour the least distrust or jealousy of those with whom they dealt, thereby giving the best proof of the integrity of their own hearts. When the evening advanced, the ships stood out farther from the coast, and the natives rowed back to the shore. During the night a number of fires were seen on the island, at small and nearly equal distances from each other, which the French imagining to be illuminations in honour of themselves, a number of sky-rockets were fired from both the ships, to return the compliment. On the morning of the 5th, the boats were sent in search of an anchoring-place, while the day was spent in plying to the windward of the island. The description which M. Bougainville gives of the appearance of this place, as seen from the ship, is very beautiful. "The mountains, though of great height, are every where cloathed with the finest verdure, even to the extreme points of their most lofty summits, one peak in particular, runs up to an enormous height, tapering gradually as it rises; yet it was every where cloathed with the most beautiful foliage, forming the appearance of a pyramid, adorned with garlands, and well carved. The lower land consists of an intermixture of woods and meadows, while the coast is a level ground, sheltered by the mountains, and abounding in cocoa-nut and other trees, beneath the shade of which are situated the houses of the inhabitants."—As M. Bougainville coasted the island he was charmed with the appearance of a noble cascade, which falling immediately from the summit of a mountain into the sea, produced a most elegant effect. On the shore, very near to the fall of this cascade, was a little town, and the coast appeared to be free from breakers. It was the wish of the adventurers to have cast their anchor within view of such an enchanting prospect; but after repeated soundings, they found that the bottom consisted only of rocks; and they were therefore under a necessity of seeking another anchoring place. Soon after the dawn of the day, the natives rowed along-side the ships, and brought with them fowls, pigeons, shells, and other things which they bartered for earrings, and pieces of iron. Both parties dealt with the same ease and mutual confidence as they had done on the preceding day; and among the number of visitors were several women, whose cloaths barely sufficed to hide their charms, which could not fail of attracting the eyes of the seamen. One of the Indians slept all night on board the *Etoile*, and seemed not to entertain any fear. The ships plied to windward during the night, and by the morning of the 6th they had nearly reached its most northern extremity, when they discovered another isle; but as the passage between the two islands appeared to be rendered dangerous by a number of breakers, M. Bougainville came to a resolution of returning to the bay which they had seen when they first discovered land, where he hoped to find a convenient anchoring-place, and where after different soundings, the ships were at length safely moored. The natives now put off in their boats and surrounded the ships in greater numbers than they had yet done, exhibiting many tokens of regard, and perpetually crying out *Tayo*, which was afterwards found, (as we have observed) to signify Friend. The strangers were much pleased with some nails and toys which the officers and sailors gave them. These boats were crowded with women, whose beauty of face was at least equal to that of the ladies of Europe, and their symmetry of body much superior. Almost all of them were naked, the old men and women having taken previous care to divest them of those coverings which might otherwise have prevented their charms from taking the wished-for effect.

These lovely lasses eyed the sailors with looks the most emphatically expressive, yet with a degree of

timidity, which is at once the characteristic and the ornament of the sex. It was not however necessary that these females should give any plain indications of their meaning: the Indian men saved them this trouble, intimating that the favours of the ladies might be purchased upon easy terms: they even urged each of the seamen respectively to make choice of a girl with whom he would chuse to retire to the shore; and their gestures appeared not less extravagant than those of the same people as recited in the account of Captain Cook's voyage. M. Bougainville and his officers did all in their power to preserve order and decorum, and to prevent any of these tempting creatures from coming into the ship; but their efforts were unsuccessful:—one of them, notwithstanding every precaution got on board, and took her seat on the quarter-deck, near the hatch-way, which was open to give air to some of the crew, while others were working at the capstern. She had scarcely seated herself when she let fall a cloth that covered her, with an air of negligence, and both seamen and marines now eagerly crowded to the hatch-way; and the capstern was worked with great cheerfulness and expedition. After some time the officers succeeded in bringing the crew into some kind of order, though as M. Bougainville confesses, they found it equally difficult to restrain the force of their own passions. The commodore's cook, having eluded the vigilance of the officers, got from the ship, and having selected a mistress from one of the boats, went on shore with her; where he had no sooner arrived than the natives crowded about him, and pulled off all his cloaths. They now examined with curious attention every part of his body, while he stood trembling under their hands, in continual apprehension of being murdered, or otherwise abused; but his fears were ill founded; for they had no sooner finished the examination than they gave him back his cloaths, put into his pockets several things which they had taken out of them, and then introduced his girl to him, urging him to gratify those passions which had impelled him to come on shore; but his fears had destroyed all ideas of love, nor could even the beauty of his mistress recal them: the natives were obliged to take him back to the ship, where he told M. Bougainville, that he had nothing to fear from his anger, for he had lately suffered such exquisite misery, that all other punishment would be light in comparison of it. The commander and some of his officers now went on shore to take a view of the watering-place, and were no sooner landed than the natives flocked round them in prodigious numbers, regarding them with looks of inexpressible curiosity; some of them, bolder than the rest, came and touched the French, and put aside their cloaths, to find if they were formed like themselves. The islanders, who wore no kind of arms, testified great pleasure at this visit of our voyagers. A person, who appeared to be the principal man among the Indians, took M. Bougainville's party to his house, where they found an old man, the father of the chief, and several women. These last paid their compliments to the strangers, by placing their hands on their breasts, and frequently repeating the word *Tayo*. The old man was a venerable figure, whose long white beard and hair added dignity to his person, which was exceedingly graceful and well formed. He had none of the decrepitude of age, no wrinkles on his face, and his body was nervous and fleshy. The behaviour of this man was wholly different from that of all the rest of his countrymen; for he expressed no sign of admiration or curiosity, and left the room without returning the compliments of his visitors, and with an air that testified his uneasiness at their arrival. M. Bougainville even imagines, that he feared a new race of men were coming to settle on the island, and might disturb that happy repose in which its inhabitants had hitherto lived. The house of the chief was about twenty feet in width, and eight in length, and covered with thatch, from which hung a cylinder, above a yard long, formed of the twigs of the ozier, and adorned with

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with feathers. Two wooden figures were observed, which M. Bougainville thought were idols; and that one of them was the god of the natives. The figure which our author took for the god, was fixed upright against one of the pillars of the house, and over-against it stood the other, which he calls the goddess, leaning against and fastened to the reeds which form the walls of the house. These figures stood on pedestals of hard black wood; about two yards high; one yard in circumference; shaped like a tower hollowed out, and carved. The chief having desired his guests to seat themselves on a grass-plat in the front of his house, he presented them with a collation, consisting of broiled fish, water, and fruit. While they were regaling themselves; he produced two collars, formed of ozier, and adorned with sharks teeth, and black feathers. These collars, which resembled the prodigious large ruffs worn by the French in the reign of Francis the First, were put on the necks of M. Bougainville, and a gentleman of his party. The chief having likewise presented our author with some pieces of cloth, the French were about to take their leave of this hospitable Indian, when one of them found that his pocket had been picked of his pistol; on which a complaint was made to the chief, who immediately reprimanded several of his household, and would have searched them all, but this the commodore would not permit, contenting himself with intimating to the chief, that the weapon which had been stolen would kill the thief.—M. Bougainville was attended to the coast by the chief and his family. As the company passed along, they observed an Indian, remarkable for the fine proportion and symmetry of his figure, reclined at the foot of a tree; who prevailed on the French to sit down by him, and sung them an excellent song, to the slow music of a flute, which another blew with his nose, in the manner already described. The company now proceeded to their boats, in which a few of the Indians embarked, and went to spend the evening and sleep on board. The islanders seemed to be under no kind of restraint, but to have the fullest confidence in the hospitality of the French, who treated them in a very elegant manner, and concluded the evening with a band of music, and a display of fire-works; at which, however, the Indians, seemed more terrified than delighted. The chief went on board M. Bougainville's ship the following day, and took with him a present of some fowls and a hog: he likewise gave a full proof of the integrity of his heart, by returning the stolen pistol. The name of this chief was *Ereti*: he remained on board several hours, and then went on shore with M. Bougainville, who by this time had made the necessary preparations for landing the sick, and filling the water tanks.

As soon as the boats crew had landed, the commodore fixed on a spot on the borders of a rivulet, where he gave orders for the forming of a camp, for the protection as well of the sick men and their attendants, as the waterers and others, whose business might call them on shore. For some time *Ereti* beheld the marines under arms; and regarded the preparations which were making to form the camp, without any apparent uneasiness, and then took his leave. In a few hours, however, he returned; bringing with him his father and some others of the most eminent men on that part of the island, who remonstrated with M. Bougainville on the impropriety and injustice of his taking possession of their country; at the same time intimating that they were welcome to remain there during the day, for any period of time he might think proper, but insisting that the party should return on board every night. The commodore, on the contrary, as peremptorily insisted that he would form the encampment, and endeavoured to convince the natives how necessary it was that he should do so in order to procure wood and water, and to have the better opportunity of trafficking with the islanders.

The Indians now retired and held a conference on the occasion; at the close of which *Ereti* came to M.

Bougainville, and desired to know whether the French proposed to take up their residence on the island for life, and if not, how long they intended to stay?—In answer to this, the commodore put eighteen small stones into his hands, intimating, that he should remain there only so many days. Hereupon a third council was held, the result of which was, that an elderly man, of great authority, was dispatched to the commodore, and endeavoured to prevail on him to depart in nine days; which, however, he positively refused to do, and thus the matter ended.

After this the islanders became again easy and happy. *Ereti* complimented M. Bougainville with the use of a large building, that had been erected on the side of the rivulet, for the purpose of laying up the Indian boats; which were instantly removed at the command of the chief. Under this building tents were set up for the accommodation of the sick, and other tents for various uses. A sufficient number of musquets were carried on shore; to arm thirty mariners, all the workmen, and even the invalids, in case of necessity. M. Bougainville passed the first night on shore, in company with *Ereti*; who added his supper to that of the commodore's, invited a few select friends to partake of the repast, and gave orders that a crowd of Indians, whose curiosity had brought them to the spot, should be dispersed. He then desired to see some fire-works, which he beheld with a mixture of pleasure and astonishment. Late in the evening he sent for one of his wives, who slept in the tent allotted to the use of the prince of Nassau. [M. Bougainville says that this woman was old and ugly.]

The camp was compleated on the following day, and the building intirely inclosed; except at one entrance; where a guard was constantly stationed. None of the Indians were admitted into this building but *Ereti*, and his friends of both sexes. A crowd of people were constantly about the place; but they made way for any one who had permission to enter; on the motion of a small stick, which a Frenchman held in his hand. To this place the natives resorted from all quarters, bringing poultry, hogs; fish, fruit, and cloth; in exchange for which they received buttons; beads, tools, nails, and trinkets of various kinds, on which they appeared to set a high value. These benevolent islanders vied with each other which should oblige their visitors most; and when the French were observed collecting shells, and gathering plants, a number of women and children instantly employed themselves in the same manner, bringing the same plants in great abundance, and variety of fine shells. M. Bougainville now applied to *Ereti*, for information where he might cut wood, and was directed to the mountains, where the hard wood grows, the low lands producing only a gum-tree, and fruit-trees of various kinds. The chief even marked the trees which were proper for cutting, and pointed out the side on which they should be felled. The islanders assisted them in cutting the wood, and carrying it down to the boats, and likewise helped them to fill water; and roll the casks to the coasts. For these services they received a number of nails proportioned to the industry they had exerted, but it was necessary for the French to be constantly on their guard, to prevent their thieving the articles which were brought on shore, nor were even their pockets safe from the depredations of these people, who, as M. Bougainville says, are as ingenious in the art, as the pick-pockets of Europe. Yet he supposes that these islanders do not rob each other, as none of their effects were kept under locks and keys, and he attributes their attempts to rob Europeans to an insatiable curiosity for articles which they had never before seen. Guards were stationed, and patrols appointed, to protect the French property, notwithstanding which, the islanders found means to steal several things, and they even pelted the guards with stones. These pillagers hid themselves in a marsh behind the camp, which was over-grown with reeds; but a part of this marsh was cleared, by order of the commodore;

modore, who directed, that when any more thieves were seen, they should be fired at, Ereti even hinted, that this measure was necessary, but, pointing to his own house, seemed very solicitous that M. Bougainville would not fire that way. Orders were now given for some of the ships boats to anchor before the camp, and point their several guns so as to protect it. The article of thieving excepted, every other intercourse between the French and Indians was carried on in the most harmonious manner. The seamen made several incursions into the island unarmed, sometimes in small parties, and sometimes singly; when the natives invited them into their houses, gave them provisions, and presented the young damsels to their embraces. On these occasions the hut was instantly crowded with numbers of both sexes, who surrounded the young lovers, and eyed them with looks of the most intense curiosity. Leaves and flowers were immediately strewed on the ground, and while some played on flutes, others sang a kind of song sacred to the rites of love.—The people of Otaheite seemed astonished at the embarrassment of some of the Frenchmen on these occasions; but M. Bougainville is of opinion, that there was not a man of the whole crew who had not got the better of his European delicacy, by making a public sacrifice to Venus.

M. Bougainville now proceeds to a description of the beauties of the interior parts of the island. He has often walked out, with only a few attendants, and arrived at places beautiful beyond the power of pen or pencil to paint. Trees abounding with fruit of the most delicious kinds, were frequently found on meadows intersected by rivulets, which gave an agreeable coolness to the air. On these enchanting spots numbers of the natives revel in the profuse gifts of nature, unincumbered with the cares of the busy world. Our author met with many little societies, reposing at their ease, under the shade of trees, who welcomed the strangers in the most friendly manner. Those he saw on his way made room for his passage with a degree of civility that would have done honour to the most polished European; and in every place he found evident marks of the content and happiness of the people; while he was treated with the utmost hospitality. M. Bougainville gave Ereti some ducks and geese, and a couple of turkeys, that might raise a breed of those birds. He likewise presented him with some garden seeds, and advised him to cultivate some ground in the European manner; and a spot being fixed on by the French, it was inclosed, and several of the crew employed in digging it. The natives were much pleased with the implements of gardening, and happy in having wheat, barley, oats, rice, &c. put into the ground; as were likewise onions, and a variety of pot-herbs. The commodore is of opinion, that his generosity in this particular will not be thrown away, as the people of Otaheite seem to have a taste for agriculture; and he thinks they might soon be brought to cultivate, in a proper manner the finest soil in the world: they have indeed a sort of kitchen gardens near their huts, which produce yams, potatoes, and other edible roots.

Soon after the camp was formed, the commodore was visited on board the ship by Toutaa, [Tootahah] the chief of a district near that of Ereti, who was a very tall man, and most admirably well made; he was attended by several gentlemen, hardly one of whom was less than six feet in height. Toutaa brought with him cloth, hogs, fowls, and fruit, which he presented to M. Bougainville, who complimented him with some silk stuffs, trinkets, nails, &c.

Toutaa invited M. Bougainville to his house, where in the midst of a large assembly, he presented him with a fine young girl, whom the commodore conjectures to have been one of his wives; and the musicians instantly began the bridal hymn—the reader may guess the rest.—One of the Indians happening to be killed, his countrymen complained to M. Bougainville of this violation of the rights of hospitality. The dead

body being conveyed to one of the huts, some persons were sent to examine it, when it appeared that he fell by a gun-shot wound; on which all possible enquiry was made after the offender, but he could not be discovered; and how he came to be shot remained a mystery; for M. Bougainville says, that none of the crew had that day left the ship with fire-arms, nor had any of those on shore been permitted to leave the camp. It was evident, however, that the natives in general conceived their countryman to have been the aggressor; for their dealings with the Europeans were not intermitted; tho' some few of them moved off their furniture to the mountains, and even the house of Ereti was stripped; but a few presents from the commodore regained his friendship and esteem. Early in the morning of the 12th, the cable of the Boudeuse parting, that ship ran foul of the Etoile, but the vessels were happily got clear of each other, before any damage had been sustained. A boat was now sent to sound for some convenient passage, as the ships were in evident danger of being driven on shore; and at this unfortunate juncture, news arrived that three of the Indians had been either murdered or wounded in their huts, and that in consequence of this unhappy circumstance a general terror had seized the inhabitants. The women, children, and old men, had fled up the country, taking their effects with them, and even carrying off the bodies of the deceased. The commodore, on receiving this intelligence, went on shore, and selecting four marines, on whom rested the suspicion of having perpetrated this foul deed, he ordered them to be put in irons in the presence of Ereti, a circumstance that conciliated the affection of the Indians. M. Bougainville, apprehensive that the natives might revenge the injury they had sustained in the persons of their countrymen, spent a considerable part of the night in the camp, and gave orders for a reinforcement of the guards.—But the situation of the French was every way so advantageous, that in all probability, they might have been an over-match for the united forces of the natives. The night however was spent in perfect repose, except some slight alarms, occasioned by thieving interlopers.

The commodore's concern arose more from the apprehended loss of his ships, than from any hostile efforts that might be made by the Indians. After ten at night, the wind blew violently; the sea rolled to an enormous height; the rain descended in torrents, and the whole scene was tempestuous in a high degree. M. Bougainville went on board soon after midnight, when a violent squall of wind was driving the ships towards the shore. Happily the storm was soon over, and a breeze from the shore prevented the vessels being stranded. About day-break another cable, and the hawser of the Boudeuse parted, when she was almost close on the shore, on which the surges beat with unremitting fury. At this time too, as an aggravation of their misfortunes, the buoys of the anchors were missing; but it was doubtful whether the natives had stolen them, or whether they had sunk.

Some little time before noon another cable parted, and the Boudeuse drove towards the shore. They now let go their sheet anchor, but it could be of no service to them, as they were so near the breakers, that the ship must have stranded before a sufficient length of cable could have been veered out, to have given the anchor time to reach the bottom. Thus situated, within a moment of despair, a breeze off shore operated in their favour; yet this wind soon changed, though not till it enabled them to get a distance from the shore, by the help of a hawser from a stream-anchor of the Etoile, which ship happening to be anchored in firmer ground than the Boudeuse, was, undoubtedly, the great means of saving that vessel and her crew from destruction. On occasion of this singular escape, M. Bougainville pays a grateful compliment to M. de la Giraudais, the commander of the Etoile, to whose friendship and abilities,

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ties he deems himself greatly indebted for the preservation of the *Boudeuse*.

Soon after day-light, it was observed, that the camp was totally destitute of its usual visitors, not an Indian was to be seen near it, nor even a single boat sailing on the river. The natives had quitted their houses, and the whole country appeared to be depopulated. The prince of Nassau now went on shore, with a small party, and, at about three miles from the camp, found Ereti, with a considerable number of his subjects. When the chief recollected the prince, he advanced towards him with a mixed countenance expressive of hope and terror. Many women were now with Ereti, who dropping on their knees at the foot of the prince, kissed his hands, and bathed in tears, exclaimed, *Tayo mati*, You are our friends, and you kill us.—The prince succeeded in his endeavours to inspire them with fresh confidence; and M. Bougainville had the pleasure of observing from on board, by the help of his glasses, that the natives hastened to the camp, carrying with them fowls, fruits, &c. so that there could be no doubt but that peace was re-established. The commodore instantly left the ship, and taking with him a quantity of silk, stuffs, and a variety of other articles, he presented them to the principal persons, intimating how unhappy he was on account of the misfortune which had happened, and assuring them that the perpetrators of so foul a deed should not escape unpunished. The Indians caressed the commander; the natives in general were happy that peace was restored, and the market soon became more crowded than ever; so that in two days only, more refreshments were brought in than had been before, and the whole place had the appearance of a fair. The Indians having requested to see some muskets fired; were not a little alarmed when they found that the animals fired at were instantly killed. The boat which the commodore had sent to sound, having found an excellent passage to the northward, the *Etoile* sailed on the 14th, and being got safe without the reef, her commander sent the boat to the *Boudeuse*, in which was an officer, who having surveyed the passage, and conducted the *Etoile* to a place of safety, returned to take the same care of M. Bougainville's ship. The crew of the *Boudeuse* now laboured incessantly in completing her stock of water and in bringing her effects on board. The commodore took possession of the island, for his sovereign, by an inscription carved on an oak plank, and burying in a bottle, near the building they had occupied, a writing, containing the names of the several officers concerned in this expedition; and this method he followed invariably, at all the places he discovered in the course of his voyage. The *Boudeuse* set sail early in the morning of the 15th, and the commodore congratulated himself on having got clear of the reefs, when the wind suddenly dying away, the tide, and a swelling sea drove the ship violently towards the rocks, on which she must have been instantly dashed in pieces, and every man on board have perished, except the few who could swim remarkably well. But at the moment when she was ready to strike, a western breeze sprang up, which in about two hours, conveyed the voyagers clear of all those dangers they had dreaded. M. Bougainville joined the *Etoile* before the evening, and a strong gale springing up about midnight, they set all their sails and soon got perfectly clear of the coast. What happened at his taking leave of the people of Otaheite is related as follows.—Soon after the dawn of day, when the Indians observed that their visitors were making preparations for their departure, Ereti came hastily on board, in the first boat that was ready. He now clasped in his arms, embraced, and wept over these new-made acquaintances, whom he was about to part with for ever. This scene was scarcely ended, when a larger boat in which were the wives of the generous chief, came along side the ship, laden with a variety of refreshments. This vessel likewise brought off the Indian who, on their first arrival, had slept on board the

Etoile. This man was called *Aotourou*. Ereti presented him to M. Bougainville, intimating his determined resolution to sail with the strangers, and intreating permission that he might do so. His request being complied with, Ereti presented him to the officers respectively, saying, That he intrusted a well-beloved friend to the care and protection of friends equally beloved. Ereti having accepted some presents returned to the boat, in which were a number of weeping beauties, made still more lovely by their tears: With him went Aotourou, to take a melancholy leave of a lovely girl. He took three pearls from his ears, which he delivered as a love-token to the desponding beauty; embraced her affectionately, tore himself from her arms, and left it to time and tears to restore her serenity of mind. The following is M. Bougainville's description of the island.—“There is a fine bay about ten miles in depth, between a cape which advances to the north and the south-east point of the island. Towards the bottom of this bay the coast is almost level, and this part appears to be the first peopled, as well as the most agreeable part of the country. In a passage between the two most northerly islands, there is good anchorage for thirty vessels. The rest of the coast is mountainous land, and in most places is incompassed by reefs of rocks, some of which are almost covered by the sea, while others are left sufficiently destitute of water to be considered as islands. On these the natives kindle fires every night, that the crews of their boats may fish in safety. Between these rocks are spaces through which a ship may enter, but she will find it difficult to get anchorage. The mountains at a distance from the coast are much higher than it is usual for hills to be in countries of no greater extent. These, being covered with verdure and fruits of various, beautiful, and delicious kinds, afford the richest prospect that the imagination can form an idea of. Springs issuing from the mountains form themselves into rivulets, which meandering thro' the country, serve at once to fertilise and adorn it. On the level parts of the island the houses are erected, under the shade of fruit trees; not in regular towns and villages, but separately, and where the fancy of the owner shall fix the spot. Public walks, kept in the neatest order, lead from one residence to another throughout the island, so that the whole appears one scene of enchanted ground. The principal fruits of the island are plantains, cocoa-nuts, yams, curassol okras, and the bread-fruit. Indico and sugar-canes grow wild; and two substances proper for dying, one red and the other yellow, were found among the natives; but the French could not learn from what vegetable they were produced.

“While Aotourou was on board the *Boudeuse* it appeared, that he was acquainted with many of the plants and fruits in the possession of the French, which he called by their Indian names. Indeed, the same productions are common to most countries within the tropics. The natives use the cedar-wood, which grows on the mountains, for the construction of the largest boats, and they make a sort of pikes of a very heavy black wood. Their smaller boats are made of the wood of the bread-fruit tree, which is extremely soft, and full of gum. The island of Otaheite produces very rich pearls, which are worn by the women and children, but they were secreted almost as soon as the French landed; and were seen no more during their stay. A sort of castanets, instruments used by the Indian dancers, are formed out of the shells of the pearl-oysters.

“M. Bougainville obtained by his traffic with the natives, about 140 hogs, and more than 800 fowls; and he might have procured much larger numbers, if his stay had been longer. No venomous animals were seen on this island, nor any of those noxious insects, which are common to, and the greatest curse of, hot climates. There can remain no doubt of the salubrity of the air of Otaheite; for though the French laboured hard all day in the heat of the sun, were frequently in the water, and slept all night in the

open

open air, on the bare ground, not a single person contracted any disorder, while those who landed for the cure of the scurvy recovered very fast, and many of them acquired so much strength, that their cure was perfected on board the ships. And what affords an undoubted proof of the healthiness of the climate, is the strength of its inhabitants, who grow to an extreme old age, without feeling any of its inconveniences, though they sleep only on a few leaves strewed on the ground, in huts ill adapted to defend themselves from the inclemencies of the weather. The chief articles of food are fish and vegetable, flesh is seldom eaten even by grown persons; and by the young women and children never. Their drink is pure water; and from this temperance doubtless arises, in a great measure, that freedom from disease, which is one of their greatest blessings. These people were averse to the taste and smell of every thing strong, particularly of tobacco, spices, brandy and wine. The natives of Otaheite are of two distinct tribes, having hardly any personal resemblance; yet practising the same customs, associating together in the most friendly manner, and conversing in the same dialect." [The first race of these people are much taller, larger, and better proportioned than the other. Few of these are less than six feet high, and so extremely well made, that, as our author says, "in order to paint a Hercules or a Mars, one could nowhere find such beautiful models."] Their features are perfectly like those of the inhabitants of Europe, their hair is black, and their skins rather brown, but this is attributed to their being so much exposed to the sun and air.

"The other Indians are about the middle stature, have almost the features and complexion of Malattos; and rough, curled hair, as strong as the bristles of a hog. Aotourou was of this tribe, and the son of one of the chiefs of the island.*

"Both the tribes shave the upper part of the face, permitting the beard on the chin to grow, and a whisker on each lip; some of them bind the hair on the top of the head, while others cut it short, but all of them rub the oil of the cocoa-nut into the hair and beard. They permit all their nails to grow a great length, except that of the middle-finger of the right-hand. Among these people one cripple only was seen, and it was supposed that he got his hurt by a fall.†" There are some other particulars mentioned by the French author which are so exactly alike with the accounts of the Captains Wallis and Cook, that we have purposely omitted them.

"The people of Otaheite stain the lower parts of their backs, and their thighs, with a deep blue, the method of doing which having been already mentioned in our account of Captain Cook's voyage, need not be here repeated. M. Bougainville mentions it as a singular circumstance, that the practice of painting the body has always prevailed among the people of all countries, at the time when they bordered on a state of nature, it is, indeed, a well known fact, that the ancient Britons were found stained with wood, when Julius Cæsar made his first descent on this island. Our author represents these islanders as good natured and benevolent in a high degree. He says, that, though the several districts are governed each by its own chief, public war, or private animosity seemed to be equally unknown on the island. The natives seem not to entertain even the slightest doubt of the integrity of each other, and appear to enjoy, in common, whatever is necessary to the support of life. Their houses are always open night and day, and whoever enters may freely eat of whatever he finds.

In like manner they gather fruit from every tree, and all the level country being a kind of continued orchard, seems to be but one common property. Yet were these people, with such exalted ideas of general benevolence, most dextrous in stealing the property of the French. The chiefs, however, did not encourage their inferiors in these depredations, on the contrary, they requested the officers to kill those who should be detected in an act of theft; but they would never take this disagreeable task on themselves. When a thief was pointed out to Ereti, he would run after till he had overtaken him, and then compelling him to restore the stolen goods, he punished the offence by a number of stripes.—Although the inhabitants of Otaheite maintain perpetual peace among themselves, yet it seldom happens, but that they are engaged in war with the natives of the adjacent islands.—

"They have large vessels, called *Periaguas*, in which they descend on the enemies country, and even engage in sea-fights. A pike and a bow with a sling are all their arms. If Aotourou's information is to be depended on, the consequence of their battles are very fatal to the vanquished. The men and boys, who are made prisoners, are stripped of their skins, and the beards of the men are taken off, and carried away in triumph, as ensigns of the victory. The conquerors take with them the women and girls, with whom they frequently cohabit. Aotourou declared himself the son of one of these alliances, his mother being a native of *Opia*, an island not far distant from Otaheite, with the inhabitants of which they are frequently at war. M. Bougainville ascribes the difference between these two races of people, to this intercourse with the captive women of the adjacent islands. The principal people on the island have a number of servants, who submit to their orders with the most unreserved obedience; and, in each district, the will of the chief is a law, from the authority of which there is no appeal; but the chief himself does not come to any resolution respecting matters of great importance, till he has previously consulted with the principal inhabitants."

M. Bougainville says, that when the moon exhibits a certain aspect, which bears the name of *Malama Tamai*, [the moon in a state of war] the natives offer up human sacrifices. He also mentions one circumstance, as a proof that these people originated on the continent, from whence their ancestors must have emigrated. When any one sneezes his companions cry out, *Evaroua-t-eatoua*, that is, may the good genius awaken thee; or, may not the evil genius lull thee asleep.

The principal people on the island appear to have many wives; and our author says polygamy is common among them all, as the rich are chiefly distinguished from the poor by keeping a greater number of the fair sex; for universal love is the characteristic of the inhabitants of Otaheite. Both the parents seem equally fond of nursing their infants. The men employ themselves principally in war, fishing and agriculture, while the women have little to do, but to render themselves agreeable by their assiduity to please; they submit implicitly to the will of the men, and the woman who should prostitute herself without the permission of her husband, would atone for her infidelity with her life. But that liberty to gratify her passions, in what way she pleases, is so easily obtained, that these fair ones are not under the least temptation, to disobedience; in fact, the wife generally yields her person at the solicitation of her husband.

The commodore having engaged Aotourou to come on

* Our author says that this Indian's want of personal beauty, was amply recompensed by the goodness of his understanding; but this assertion has been flatly contradicted by the testimony of several English gentlemen, who saw Aotourou, during his residence at Paris, and who represented him as one of the most ignorant blockheads they ever knew.

† The surgeon informed M. Bougainville, that many of the natives were marked with the small-pox; and he says, he took

every precaution that the venereal disease should not be communicated to these unhappy, unoffending people, but it appears from Captain Cook's account, that some of the Frenchmen were base enough to plant this dreadful malady in a country where, from Bougainville's own account, it is more likely to spread than any other part of the world, on account of the extreme attachment of the inhabitants to the act of venery.

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on board, was at great expence to bring him to Paris, and to render his residence easy, improving, and entertaining. M. Bougainville informs us, that a gentleman of Paris, distinguished by his skill in teaching the art of speech to persons born deaf and dumb, repeatedly examined Aotourou, and found that he could not naturally pronounce any of the French nasal vowels, and but very few of the consonants.

Aotourou informed the commodore, that an English ship had arrived at Otaheite about eight months before the French touched at that island. This (says our author) was the vessel commanded by Captain Wallace; and he ascribes the knowledge of iron, which was observed among the natives, to this visit of the English, especially as they call it *Aouri*, which he says is not unlike our word *iron*. On the morning of the 16th of April, 1768, M. Bougainville discovered what he thought to be three other islands; but it was afterwards found to be only one, the high lands, of which had, at a distance, given it the appearance of separate islands. At a considerable distance from this island they saw another, which Aotourou told them was called *Oumaitia*; that the natives of it were in alliance with the people of Otaheite; that there was a girl on the island to whom he had a strong attachment; and that if the commodore would touch there, he would meet with the same kind of necessities, and the same hospitable treatment as he had experienced among his countrymen.

The commander, however, deaf to all these persuasive arguments, held on his way, and lost sight of the island the same day. The succeeding night proved remarkably fair, and the stars appearing with unclouded lustre, Aotourou pointed out a constellation in the shoulder of Orion, and expressed a wish that the ship's course might be directed by it, in consequence of which they would, in two days time, arrive at a fine island where he had a numerous acquaintance, and it was conjectured from his hints, that he had also a child there. As M. Bougainville persisted in his resolution not to alter the ship's course, Aotourou became very uneasy, and endeavoured to persuade him to steer for the desired port, by assuring him that the island abounded in hogs, fowls, fruits, and what he seemed to think would be the most prevailing argument, fine women, who were abundantly liberal of their favours. Being angry that his reasons did not operate with the commodore, he ran to the steerage, and seizing the wheel of the helm tried to steer for his favourite isle, nor was it without great difficulty on the part of the helm's-man, and equal vexation on the part of the poor Indian, that he was prevented from carrying his design into execution.

Early on the following morning, he climbed to the mast-head, where he remained several hours, anxiously looking out for the spot which had so much attracted his regard. On the preceding night he pointed out a great number of stars, and informed M. Bougainville of their names in the language of Otaheite; and it was afterwards certainly known, that this islander was not unacquainted with the phases of the moon, and that he was learned in those prognosticks which evince an approaching change in the weather. It likewise appeared that his countrymen were not uninformed in this kind of knowledge, so useful to people whose wants or curiosity frequently carry them to sea, where they have no compass to direct their course, except their own judgment and the sight of the celestial constellations; and M. Bougainville says that the natives of Otaheite are fully convinced that the sun and moon are peopled.

The weather continued fine till the end of April, at which time the principal pilot on board the *Boudeuse*, died of an apoplectic fit. In the beginning of the month of May, three islands were discovered at the distance of ten or twelve leagues to the north-west; but these were unknown to Aotourou, who imagined that it was M. Bougainville's country. The moon shone bright in the night, during which they kept sight of islands, and in the morning steered

for the largest, the eastern shore of which they coasted, and found it about nine miles in length. The coasts of this island are remarkably steep, and, indeed, the whole of it is little else than an enormous hill cloathed with trees. Several fires were seen on shore, and a small number of houses covered with reeds, under the shade of cocoa-nut-trees, and more than twenty of the natives running hastily along the coast. The two smaller islands were each about a mile and a half in length, and separated from the larger one by an arm of the sea. In shape and appearance they were very like the former.

The commodore had given directions to steer between the islands, when a boat with five Indians in her was observed coming off towards the ship; she advanced very near; and though every sign of friendly invitation was made, not one of the natives would venture on board. They had no kind of cloathing but a bandage round the waist, and as they could not be prevailed on to come up the ship's side, Aotourou stripped himself, leaving on nothing more than what they wore, and addressed them in the language of Otaheite; but they understood not a word of what he said. As they held up some cocoa-nuts and other vegetables, and seemed to wish to barter them for some trinkets which were shewn them, M. Bougainville ordered out one of the ship's boats, with a view to visit the strangers; but they no sooner learned his intention, than they rowed off with all possible expedition, and he did not think proper to follow them. In a little time many boats advanced towards the ships, some of them rowing and others sailing. These, less diffident than the former, came close under the ship's side, but none of the islanders would venture on board. They exchanged pieces of an exquisitely fine shell, yams, cocoa-nuts, and a water-hen of most beautiful plumage, for small pieces of red stuff; but they did not seem fond of ear-rings, knives, nails, nor iron of any kind; which had been so eagerly coveted by the inhabitants of Otaheite. One of these Indians brought a cock with him, but he would not part with it upon any terms. They had also some pieces of cloth of the same kind as that manufactured at Otaheite; but not of so fine a fabrick, and died black, brown, and red, but none of the colours were good of their kinds. They were likewise possessed of a kind of wood hardened by fire, lances, mats, and fish-hooks made of bones. M. Bougainville conjectures from the features of those islanders, that they are not of so amiable a disposition as the natives of Otaheite; and he represents them as such dextrous thieves, that it was almost impossible to guard against their depredations. These people are of the middle size, and exceedingly alert; they are of a deep brown complexion, but one was seen among them who was much fairer than any of the others; they had no beards, so it was supposed they were plucked up by the roots, and their hair, which was universally black, stood almost erect on their heads; their hands and breasts were painted with deep blue.

Their boats are built in a most ingenious taste, and are furnished with out-riggers. The head and stern of the vessel are equally flat with its sides, and over each is a small deck. In the centre is a row of wooden pegs, the tops of which are inclosed in a shell of the purest white; the sail is formed of matting, and its shape triangular, being extended by means of sticks. In these boats the islanders followed the French vessels a considerable distance out to sea, while several others from the smaller islands, joined the naval procession, and produced an effect that was highly agreeable. In one of these last-mentioned boats was an old woman remarkably distinguished by the ugliness of her features. As the weather now fell calm, the commodore gave up, from an apprehension of danger, his project of sailing between the islands, though the breadth of the channel was more than four miles. They now therefore sailed in the open sea, and on the evening of the same day, the man at the mast-head had sight of other land, even while they were yet in view

view, by the aid of a bright moon, of the islands they had lately left.

On the morning of the 5th, it appeared that the newly discovered land was a beautiful island consisting of alternate mountains and vallies, clothed with the richest verdure, and finely shadowed by the spreading branches of the cocoa-nut, and a variety of other trees. Near the westernmost point of this island is a ledge of rocks, and the sea breaks with violence on many parts of the coasts, so that it would be difficult to land, except in very few places. Many boats put off from the island, and sailed round the ships; though they were then going at the rate of at least seven knots an hour. These boats, however, one only excepted, would not venture near the ships; but that one went along-side, and her crew made signs for the French to land, which they would have done, but the breakers rendered it impossible. At this time the man at the mast-head observed a number of the Indians boats sailing to the southward. On the following day another island was seen to the westward of the ships course, in the neighbourhood of which were two smaller islands; but none of these could be distinctly beheld on account of some thick fogs, which intercepted the view. The last-mentioned islands are situated nearly where Tasman the Dutch navigator has placed a number of islands which he discovered, and to which he gave the names of Heemskirk, Prince William, Pylstaart, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam.—The longitude of these islands corresponds likewise very nearly with those which navigators have called Solomon's Isles, so that it is most probable they are the same. M. Bougainville conjectures that the number of boats which were observed sailing to the southward, is a vindication that there are other islands at no great distance; and, indeed, this opinion seems to be well grounded. To all these islands the commodore gave the general name of the *Archipelago of the Navigators*.

Archipelago
the Navi-
tors.

Forlorn Hope.

On the morning of the 11th, another island was discovered, which received the name of the *Forlorn Hope*. At a distance, it had the appearance of two islands, but this deception was occasioned by its shape; for it consisted of two hills joined by a low land, which could not be seen far out at sea. At this period, and some days before and afterwards, the weather was extremely unfavourable, the winds being adverse, and the rains and calms alternate. M. Bougainville (on this circumstance) observes, that in the ocean which has obtained the name of Pacific, the approach to land is generally announced by violent tempests, which becomes still more violent in proportion as the moon decreases, the vicinity of the islands is generally foreboded by thick clouds at the horizon, and equally weather; and the precaution necessary to be taken to prevent a vessel's running foul of shoals, may be more easily conceived than described. In the present instance it was impossible to proceed with the necessary degree of precaution; for the crew were in want of provisions, and water in particular, grew very scarce; so that they were obliged to take advantage of every breeze of wind, both by night and day, and run all hazards for fear of starving. Thus situated, it may be presumed that they thought themselves sufficiently unhappy; but their distress was aggravated by the greater number of the crew of each ship being attacked by the scurvy, which inflamed their mouths to such a degree, that they could scarcely have swallowed those refreshments of which they stood much in need. Salt beef, pork, and dried pulse, constituted the whole fare of those who remained in health for the sick, however, there were yet some few articles of fresh provisions remaining. At this unfortunate juncture the disease, consequent on an illicit commerce between the sexes made its appearance, attended by all its most disagreeable symptoms, Aotourou was so extremely ill of it, that though seeming to despise its effects, he was obliged to submit himself to the care of the surgeons.

The ships now steered a westerly course, and on the morning of the 22d, two islands were discovered, one

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of which received the name of *Aurora*, from the early hour on which it was seen; and the other of *Whitson-side Isle*, from the day on which it was discovered. The track of the vessels was now so directed as that they might have passed between the two islands; but an unexpected calm prevented this manœuvre. Proceeding to the northward of this first-discovered island, a rising land, in a conical form; was observed to bear north by west, which received the name of the *Peak of the Etoile*. In the afternoon, mountainous lands at thirty miles distant were seen appearing, as it were over and beyond the island of *Aurora*.

1767
Aurora Island.
Whitson-side
Isle.

Peak Etoile.

On the 23d it was discovered, that the land last seen was a separate island, the appearance of which was lofty, its descent steep, and the whole clothed with trees. A number of boats were seen coasting the shore, but none of them approached the ships: smoke was seen issuing from among the woods, but no habitation was observed. In the morning the commodore dispatched three boats very well manned and armed to take in wood; and to learn the necessary particulars respecting the country, while the ship's guns were brought to bear on the island, in order to protect the boat's crew from any insult that might be offered them by the natives. M. Bougainville himself went on shore in the afternoon, where he found the Indians assisting the French, in carrying to the boats a quantity of wood which had been cut.

The information obtained from the officer commanding the boat's crew was, That on his first landing, the natives assembled on the shore, armed with bows and arrows, intimating, by signs, that the strangers must retreat. The French officer, however, gave orders for landing, and while his people advanced, the Indians retreated, but with their bows bent, and in an attitude of self-defence. At length, they were ordered to halt, while the prince of Nassau approached the Indians, who no longer retired when they saw only one person advancing. The prince having given them some remnants of red cloth, their esteem appeared to be at once conciliated. The commanding officer now stationed himself at the entrance of a wood, and sent out a party in search of refreshments, while another was dispatched to cut fire-wood. The natives now came forward with an appearance of friendship, and distributed some fruit among the seamen, to whom they likewise gave some arrows, but refused to accept any thing in exchange. Their numbers were considerable, and those who were not armed with bows and arrows, had provided themselves with stones, as instruments of defence.

These people intimated, that they were at war with the natives of a different district on the island, and even while they were hinting this circumstance, an armed party of Indians approached from the westward, while the former appeared determined not to retreat from their enemies; but the valour of these latter was rendered unnecessary to be exerted by the want of courage in the others. Matters were in this situation when M. Bougainville landed on the island, where he remained till his boats were laden with the articles he wanted. This being done, he took possession of the place, by the act of burying at the foot of a tree an inscription, carved on an oak-plank, and then he retreated to the ship. It was imagined, that this early retreat of the French prevented an attack which the islanders had meditated, as they seemed to be making preparations for what they had not yet in their power to carry into execution, but no sooner had the boats put off, than the Indians hastened to the beach, and complimented them with a shower of arrows, and a volley of stones; some of them even plunged into the waves, aiming their fury at the supposed invaders, and hurling their vengeance on the insolent strangers. When, at length, one of the seamen having been wounded by a stone, a discharge of musquets drove the islanders to their native woods, evidently wounded, from their cries and exclamations.

M. Bougainville gives the following description of the natives of this island, which he called the *Isle of Lepers*;

X x x

Lepers;

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Lepers, from observing that many of the inhabitants were afflicted with the leprosy: Some of them are mulattoes, and others perfect negroes; their hair is woolly, and generally black, but in some instances very light-brown, approaching to yellow. Few women were seen among them, but those few were equally disagreeable as the men, who are represented as low in stature, ill favoured, and disproportionably made.

The women of this singular country carry their children in a bag of cloth, slung at their backs. On these cloths there are elegant drawings in a fine dye of crimson. The noses of the men are pierced and hung with ornaments; and it is presumed, that they pluck out their beards, as none of them were observed to have any. They wear a bracelet on the arm, which had the appearance of ivory, and pieces of tortoise-shells round their necks. Clubs, stones, bows and arrows form the armour of these people, the arrows are made of reeds pointed with bone. On the points of these bones are inverted darts, which prevent the arrow's being drawn without tearing the flesh of the wounded person. The boats of these islanders bore a strong resemblance to those of the Indians of the Isle of Navigators, but these vessels did not approach the ships so near as to furnish the French with an opportunity of giving a description of their construction. —Near the beach on which M. Bougainville landed, is a lofty hill, extremely steep, yet clothed with a super-abundance of verdure. The vegetable productions of the Isle of Lepers, are far inferior to those of Otaheite, owing, as is supposed, to the lightness of the soil, and its want of depth. Figs of a species not before known, were found in this country, and several paths were seen cut through the woods, and inclosed by pallisades about a yard in height. It was conjectured, that these inclosures marked the boundaries of the landed property of different persons. Half a dozen hovels only were seen, into which no person could enter but upon hands and knees, yet the inhabitants were very numerous, and it is supposed they must be very miserable, from the perpetual wars among the natives of different districts on the island. M. Bougainville says, that the sound of a drum, harsh and dissonant to the ear, was frequently heard in the wood, near the top of the above-mentioned hill; and this he imagines to have been a signal for the Indians to rally their forces; for no sooner had the discharge of the fire-arms dispersed the multitude, than this drum was heard, and when the islanders in enmity with the others appeared, the drum was beat with suspended violence.

Aotourou formed a very contemptible opinion of the inhabitants of the Isle of Lepers, whose persons appeared beyond description odious in his eyes; and of whose language he had not the slightest idea.

On the 23d more land was discovered, which on the 25th was observed to enclose almost all the horizon, so that the ships were surrounded in one extensive gulph, while the coast of the newly discovered country contained many other gulphs, or large inlets, across which several boats were observed rowing from one shore to the other.

The night of the 25th was spent in tacking, and in the morning it was observed, that the currents had carried the vessel several miles more to the south than their reckoning. The number of isles now seen was so great, that they could not be counted, nor could the end of the extensive countries be discerned. Steering north-west by west, the land had a very beautiful aspect, being diversified with fine trees, between spots of land that had the appearance of being cultivated. Some parts of the mountains being barren, and spotted in different places with a red earth, M. Bougainville conjectures from that circumstance, that they contained some mineral substances.

A great inlet to the westward having been seen on the preceding day, the ships now arrived in it, and saw a number of negro Indians on the south coast of it, while others approached the vessels in their boats,

but when they came to about the distance of a musket-shot, they would advance no nearer, nor could any sign of invitation from the French induce them to alter their resolution. —The land on the north shore is of a moderate height, and clothed with trees. On this shore many negroes were seen, and several boats put off towards the ships; but these, like the former, refused to come on board. At the distance of about eight miles from this spot, two islands were seen, which formed the entrance of a fine bay, which the boats were sent to examine, and after they had been gone a few hours, the sound of musquets was heard, which made the commodore very uneasy. On their return in the evening it appeared, that one of them, in disobedience to the orders of the commander, had left her consort, and going near on shore, the Indians discharged two arrows at the crew, which outrage was returned by the musquetry, and some larger guns. A projecting point of land prevented the boat's being seen from the ships, but the incessant firing induced the commodore to imagine, that she was engaged with a very large number of the enemies boats, two of which she had certainly encountered.

Preparations were making for dispatching the long-boat to her assistance, when she was descried, coming round the above-mentioned point of land.

The drums were now heard incessantly beating, and the cries of the wounded Indians, who retreated to the woods. "I immediately made signal to the boat (says he) to come on board, and I took my measures to prevent our being dishonoured for the future, by such an abuse of the superiority of our power." The country last-mentioned, consisted of a number of small islands, off which there is tolerable good anchorage, but at such a distance from the coast, that a ship could not cover any boats that should land, which, as the islands are clothed with thick woods, would be the more necessary. These Indians went naked, and, except a bandage round the waist, wore the same kind of ornaments as those on the Island of Lepers, whom they resembled in all respects, except not being quite so black; and the productions of the island were likewise the same. The commodore very properly declined any attempt to trade with these people, whom he could not suppose would barter their essential injuries. On the morning of the 27th they again sailed, and, in a few hours had sight of a fine plantation of trees, between which there were regular walks resembling those of an European garden. Many of the natives were seen near this spot, and as an inlet was observed at no small distance, the commodore ordered the boats to be hoisted out, but they found that it was impracticable to land.

The ships now quitted the great cluster of islands they had lately visited, which received the general name of *The Archipelago of the great Cyclades*, which it is conjectured, occupies no less than three degrees of latitude, and five of longitude. M. Bougainville says, that these islands are not the same that Quiros called *Tierra Austral del Espirito Santo*; but that Roggewein saw the northern extremity of them, which he denominated *Groningen*, and *Tienhoven*. Our author now recites a very singular fact: On board the store-ship was a person reported to be a woman, which was almost confirmed by her want of beard and voice, and her shape. The commodore going on board the *Etoile*, enquired into the fact, when the party confessed her sex, while floods of tears streamed down her face: her story is extraordinary. —Born in Burgundy, and left an orphan, she was ruined by the fatal issue of a law suit; on which she resolved to drop the habit of her sex, and served a gentleman at Paris; but hearing of M. Bougainville's intended expedition round the world, she repaired to Rochfort, where just before the ships embarked, she entered into the service of M. de Commerçon, who went out with a view of increasing his botanical knowledge. She followed her master, with astonishing courage and resolution, through deep snows to the hoary tops of the mountains

tains in the freights of Maghellan, carrying loads of herbs, plants, arms, and provisions; with unpeckable courage and unwearied toil. While our adventurers were at Otaheite, the men of that island flocked round our heroine, and exclaiming, "this is a woman;" would have treated her as such, but that an officer rescued her from their hands, and ordered her to be delivered, unviolated, on board the ship. M. Bougainville observes; that this is the first woman that ever circumnavigated the globe, and remarks on the singularity of her situation, if the ships should have been wrecked on some desert isle in the great ocean. The name of this extraordinary woman is Baré; and she is as celebrated for her chastity as her courage.

On the night between the 4th and 5th of June, some breakers were seen at half a league distance, by the light of the moon. In the morning it appeared to be a low, flat, sandy isle abounding in birds, which received the name of the *Shoal of Diana*. About this period several species of fruit, and some pieces of wood floated by the ship, and a kind of flying fish was seen, larger than the common sort, the body of which was black, and the wings red. A sand-bank was discovered on the 6th, on which the sea broke violently, and the tops of rocks were seen at intermediate spaces. At this time the salt provisions on board were become so putrid, that it was almost impossible for men, even on the point of starving to swallow them; and therefore the rats were industriously sought after, and eaten in preference to them. The remaining pease would serve only forty days, and the bread two months; so that it became highly necessary to think of steering to the northward.

On the 10th, before day-break, an agreeable fragrance impregnated the air, announcing that land was near; and it was accordingly discovered before sun-rising. This is described as a most delicious country, divided near the sea-coast into groves and plains, behind which the land rises in the form of an amphitheatre, till the tops of the mountains are lost in the clouds. The most lofty of this chain of mountains was seen above seventy miles in-land. The whole country appeared to be rich and fertile, but the deplorable situation the ships companies were reduced to, would not admit of their staying to take a more accurate survey of it. On the 10th a prodigious swell from the south-east drove the ships violently towards land, and they were soon within about two miles of it; and the night was passed in this dangerous situation, taking advantage of every slight breeze to clear the shore. A number of boats were now seen coasting the island, on many parts of which fires were observed. A turtle was found here in the belly of a shark. For several successive days there was so thick a fog, that the *Boudeuse* was obliged to fire frequent guns to keep company with the *Etoile*, on board of which was a part of their provisions. Several shell fish, called cornets, leaped into the ship in the night, and it is known of these fish, that they are accustomed to keep at the bottom of the sea, it is evident that the vessels must have been in very shallow water. On the 16th the weather became fine, and on the following day several islands were discovered, one of which was called, *Ushant*, from its similitude to the island of that name. By this time our voyagers were reduced to very great extremities. The allowance of bread and pease was considerably reduced; and a fear of the consequences that might arise, obliged the commodore to forbid the eating of leather.* On the 18th not less than nine or ten islands were discovered, and on the 20th, a still farther number. The navigators now struggled at once with a variety of inconveniences occasioned by foul ships, damaged rigging, crazy masts and tempestuous weather. On the 25th, high land was discovered, which appeared to

terminate in a cape, which they doubled with a degree of transport that may be more easily conceived than described, as it was the point they had wished for a sight of, from a certainty that it would enable them to quit the Archipelago of islands, amidst which they had been long in hourly dangers of shipwreck or starving. This cape was called *Cape Deliverance*; and the name of the gulph of the *Louisiade*, was given to the bay, of which the cape forms the easternmost point. — North of *Cape Deliverance*, about sixty leagues, land was discovered, which proved to be two small islands; and two days afterwards an officer was sent to examine several creeks, in the hope of finding anchorage, while the ships sailed slowly after the boats, ready to join them on the first signal.

The natives now advanced towards the ship in several boats, carrying from two or three to upwards of twenty men each. These boats had no out-riggers, and their crews were as black as the negroes on the coast of Guinea, some of them had reddish hair, and that of all of them, were long and curled. They wore white ornaments on their foreheads and necks; and were armed with lances and bows; they kept almost a continual shouting, and seemed rather inclined for war than peace. When the boats returned on board, the officer reported, that the sea broke on all parts of the coast, that he had found only one small river, that the land was every way covered with wood, and that the mountains ran down close to the sea-shore. The natives dwell on the mountains, but they have a few huts on the banks of some of the small creeks. Some of them followed one of the ship's boats, and seemed almost resolved on the attack; and one of the Indians repeatedly put himself in an attitude to have thrown his lance; but he desisted from his purpose and no mischief was done.

M. Bougainville says, that he was now advanced too far to return; but that he hoped to find a passage, though the weather was so foggy that he could not discern any object at the distance of more than two leagues. In the morning of the 1st of July, the ships were just on the station they had quitted the preceding night, having been impelled forward, and driven back, by the tides. Nothing remarkable happened but the discovery of a race, in the middle of a passage, to which was given the name of *Dennis's Race*, from that of the master of the *Boudeuse*. A race is a part of any channel or strait where there are opposite tides, or a rapid and dangerous current, and such are even sometimes met with in the open seas. Boats were now sent to find anchorage in a fine bay; and the account of their expedition is as follows: That a number of the Indian boats, in which were 150 of the natives, armed with shields, lances, and bows, came from the banks of a rivulet on which their habitations were situated, and rowed hastily towards the French boats, which they surrounded, and, with hideous outcries, began the attack with their bows and lances. The French discharged their musquets; but the natives covering themselves with their shields, the fight continued till a second firing terrified them so, that they made a hasty retreat, some of them swimming to shore.

Two of their boats were taken, on the stern of which was the figure of a man's head with a long beard, the eyes being mother of pearl, the ears tortoise-shell, and the lips were dyed of a bright red, besides their weapons and utensils, there were found in their boats cocoa-nuts, and several fruits, the species of which were not known, the jaw of a man half broiled, and various other things. The natives of this coast are negroes, whose hair curls naturally, and they have a method of colouring it yellow, red, and white; their cloathing consists only of a piece of matting round

* There was yet on board a she-goat, which had been brought from Falkland's Islands; she yielded milk daily; but this was insufficient to save her life, the starving crew demanded the victim, and the butcher who had hitherto been her feeder, wept as

he plunged the knife into the breast of his favourite. Soon after this, a dog, which had been put on board at the freights of Maghellan fell also a sacrifice to the dire demands of hunger.

Cape Deliverance.
Gulph of Louisiade.

Dennis's Race

1768 round their waists. This river received the name of *Warrior's River*, and the whole spot, that of the *Ile and Bay of Choiseul*. Two days afterwards a cape was discovered which was called *Cape L' Averi*; on which were mountains of an astonishing height. On the 4th other mountains had been discovered, from which came off five or six Indians, and after lying on their oars some time, they accepted some trifles which were thrown to them: They now exhibited some cocoanuts, saying, *bouca, bouca, onelle!* and seemed greatly pleased when the French repeated the same words. They then intreated that they would fetch some cocoanuts, but they had scarcely left the ship's side, when one of them discharged an arrow, by which, however, no person was wounded. The people were altogether naked, had long ears bored, and curled short hair, which some of them had dyed red, and they had also white spots on their bodies. Their teeth were red, probably from the chewing of betel.

Boeka land. This island, which was named *Boeka*, appeared to be cultivated, and, from the number of huts that were seen, it probably abounds with inhabitants. The cocoa-nut, and other trees, dispersed over a beautiful plain, was a sufficient temptation for landing, but the rapidity of the current prevented the possibility of it.

Two more islands were seen on the 5th, and, as wood and water were expended, and disease reigning aboard, the commodore resolved to land here, and on the following afternoon, the ships came to an anchor. The casks were sent on shore, and tents erected for the sick, on a commodious spot, where there were four rivulets near together, and where wood for the carpenters use, as well for burning, was very plenty, there were no inhabitants near the place, so that the sick had an opportunity of ranging the woods, fearless of any attack of the natives, and every thing seemed to conspire to render this spot the most eligible imaginable; but there was one great inconvenience, no fruit could be found. Two huts were discovered on the bank of a rivulet not far from the encampment, and a boat, near which was seen the remains of fires, some calcined shells, and the skeletons of some animals heads, which were taken for those of the wild boar, some fresh bananas were found, which proves that the natives lately left the place. This island produces a large blue crested pigeon, which has so plaintive a note, that the seamen mistook it for the cries of men in the neighbourhood of the mountains.

M. Bougainville now relates an extraordinary incident: A seaman being looking over the shells, found a plate of lead, buried in the sand, on which the following letters were very visible;

HOR'D HERE

ICK MAJESTY's

The mark of the nails with which the lead had been fastened appeared; and it is plain that the natives must have torn off the plate and broke it. This circumstance gave rise to a diligent search, and, at about six miles from the watering-place, the spot was found where the English had formed their encampment. Several trees were seen which had been felled, and others which had been sawn in pieces. A very large and conspicuous tree was found, on which the inscription had been nailed; it stood in the midst of a spacious place, and it appeared that the plate had been pulled down but a very short time. There were other trees to which the ends of ropes were fastened. One of the trees which had been cut down, had put forth fresh twigs, apparently of the growth of four months. M. Bougainville mentioned it as a very singular circumstance, that, amidst so many islands, he should

happen to land on that so lately visited by a rival nation. Diligent search was now made for food and refreshments, but almost in vain; for nothing could be found but a few cabbage-trees, and thatch palms. No fish could be caught; and though a few wild bears were seen, not one of them was taken. A small number of pigeons indeed were shot, the feathers of which were of green and gold.*

No time was now lost in the necessary repairs of the ships, and an equal division was made of the provisions, which now began to run extremely short. A third part of the late allowance of pease was taken off. From the commodore, to the lowest person on board, all fared alike: their situation, like death, banished all distinction. On the 13th, there was an eclipse of the sun, which was clearly seen, and the proper astronomical and nautical remarks made on it. The name of *Port Praslin* was given to this harbour, *Port Praslin*, an inscription having been first buried under the spot where the eclipse had been observed.

The *Etoile* being a light vessel, and there being no stones to ballast her, after the provisions had been taken out, this important business was necessarily performed with wood, a fatiguing and unwholesome task in so damp a country.

A sailor who was hauling the fishing-net, in search of a scarce fish called the Hammer-oyster, having been bitten by a shark whose bite is poisonous, was cured in a few hours by a profuse perspiration, produced by taking flower-de-luce water and treacle.

Aotourou having remarked the progress of the cure, intimated that at Otaheite there were sea-snakes, whose bite is mortal in every instance. On the 22d repeated shocks of an earthquake were felt for about two minutes. The sea rose and fell several times, so that the concussions were felt on board the ships. Notwithstanding the extreme bad weather which prevailed, the crews divided into separate parties, went to the woods every day, in hopes to shoot some turtle-doves, and gather cabbage-trees and thatch-palms; but it generally happened that they returned without any success, and wet to the skin. At length, however, they found some mangle apples, and a kind of pruens, but too late to be of any service, as they were now on the point of departure. A kind of ivy was successfully applied in the cure of the scurvy.

An immense cascade was seen, falling from numerous rocks into a hundred basins of water, and at once shaded and adorned by stately trees, some of which grow even in the reservoirs.—The situation of the ships companies now became so dreadful, that no time could be lost. In the afternoon of the 24th, a favourable breeze enabling the ships to get to sea, they sailed accordingly, though the crew were still in a sad situation.

M. Bougainville remarks that this country must be *New Britain*, and that the great bay must be the same which Dampier calls St. George's Bay, but that he had the happiness to land on a part of it where his wants could be supplied by the inhabitants. A succession of islands having been seen in the offing, M. Bougainville named them after the officers. The field-tents were now cut up, to make trousers for the seamen, who had been repeatedly clothed during the voyage, to enable them to sustain the inclemencies of so many different climates. But the best change of cloathing was now delivered out; and at this period an ounce of bread was deducted from their scanty allowance. Their salt provisions were now so bad, as to be nauseous in a high degree; yet their starving situation impelled them to feed on them; but even at this melancholy period, no one yielded himself a prey to melancholy; and the sailors, influenced by the example of the officers, employed every evening in dancing,

* An insect of a most wonderful texture was found on this island, the body and wings of which appeared so much like the leaf of a tree as scarcely to be distinguished from it, even on a nice inspection. When the wings are extended, each forms the half of a leaf, and when they are inclosed it is intire. The

upper side of the body is of a brighter hue than the under parts, and it has six legs, the upper joints of which resemble parts of leaves. This curiosity was preserved in spirits, and is in the cabinet of the French King.

dancing, dispelling by their mirth, some of the pangs of hunger. New Britain continued in sight till the beginning of August, when the ships being nearer to land than they had been before, several Indians boats came off, the crews of which were negros, with woolly heads, which they had covered with powder. They were tall and active, and wore no other cloaths than leaves round the middle. They held out something that had the appearance of bread, and invited the French to land, but they refused to enter the ships, though an attempt was made to conciliate their friendship, by presents of some pieces of stuff. They accepted what was given, and threw a stone from a sling in return; instantly retreating, with loud vociferations. On the following day a large number assembled along-side the *Boudeuse*; a person, who had the appearance of authority, carrying a red staff, knobbed at each end, in his hand. On approaching the ship, he held his hand over his head for a considerable time. The hair of these negros was painted red, some of them were adorned with feathers, ear-rings made of the seed of some herb, or circular plates descending from their necks; others had the nose pierced, and rings ran through it, but the general ornament was a bracelet, made of the half of a shell. The French were anxious to gain the esteem of these people, but in vain;—they eagerly grasped at whatever was given them, but would make no present in return. The roots of a few yams were all that could be obtained from them. Two of their boats being observed approaching in the night, a rocket was fired, on which they instantly rowed off.

On the 31st a number of Indian boats attacked the *Etoile* with a volley of stones and arrows, but by a single discharge of musquetry, she got rid of these troublesome companions.

Two islands were seen on the 4th of August, that were supposed to be the same as those called by Dampier, Matthias and Stormy Islands. A third island was seen on the 5th, and afterwards they discovered the northern point of New Britain.

They saw a flat island on the 7th of the same month, which abounded with cocoa-nut trees, and from the houses appearing on the shore, seemed to have been well inhabited. To this they gave the name of the *Isle of Anchorets*. Many fishing-boats were seen here; but no notice was taken of the vessel by the fishermen. A great number of small islands were discovered the next day, in the endeavour to clear which, the commodore experienced many and great dangers. At last, however, he effected his purpose, a breeze that increased with the rising sun, greatly contributed to his deliverance.

Coasting along he afterwards came in sight of two lofty peaks, to which he gave the appellation of the *Two Cyclops*; and on the 15th saw two high mountains upon the continent, near which were two small islands; and two others were observed on the 23d, when the French attempted to land; but two boats crews sent for that purpose reported that there were no fruits fit for food growing upon them, and that they were entirely uninhabited.

From the rippling of a strong tide, it was this day reported that there were breakers a-head; and afterwards the ships actually passed over a shoal, but without much danger or damage. Forty of the company were now afflicted with the scurvy, of which M. Denys, first master of the *Boudeuse* died, greatly regretted by his companions.*

Still surrounded by islands,† they now steered a southerly course, and on the following night sailed out of this labyrinth, through a channel about three leagues in width. There were a number of small isles seen on each side of the channel, which they had

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denominated *French Passage*. On the 26th, they saw a small island, and afterwards a steep hill, which they called in their language, *Big Thomas*, and three islands more were discovered in the vicinity. 1768
French Passage.
Big Thomas.

To the south-west of several other isles that were seen the next day, M. Bougainville gave orders to a boat belonging to the *Etoile*, to steer in quest of anchorage, and for the sake of enquiring into the nature of their produce. On two of these the crew landed, but had no reason to suppose that they were inhabited, and the French were just on the point of returning when an Indian made up to the boat, to whom they intimated that they were in want of refreshment. This man presented them with a kind of meal and some water, in return for which he received a handkerchief, a looking-glass, and some other trifles, at which he seemed to laugh, as thinking them below his notice, from whence it might reasonably be concluded that he had come from one of the neighbouring Dutch settlements.‡ However, a turtle of 200lb. weight was taken by the crew of the *Boudeuse*.

The commodore discovered the island of Ceram, on the last day of the month. This place is partly wild, and partly cleared. It is mountainous, and runs in a parallel east and west. A number of fires which the adventurers observed upon it, intimated that it was well peopled. Early in the morning, on the first of September, the French found themselves at the entrance of a bay, on the banks of which they beheld a number of fires. They soon observed two boats under sail, constructed on the plan of those of the Malays. A Dutch pendant was now hoisted, and a gun fired, but the commodore confesses his error in this procedure, as the people of Ceram are at variance with the Dutch, whom they have almost totally routed from their island. M. Bougainville having been thus unsuccessful through mistake, returned from the bay, and employed the rest of the day in plying between the islands Bonao, Kelang, and Manapo.—— Sometime before midnight, a number of fires attracted their attention to the island of Boero, where there is a Dutch factory, well provided with the necessary refreshments.

The above-mentioned Dutch factory is at the entrance of the gulph of Cajeli, which the French had sight of at day-break. The joy on this occasion is not to be expressed, for at this time not half the seamen were able to perform any duty: and the scurvy had raged so violently, that no man on board was perfectly clear of it. What few provisions were on board were absolutely rotten, and stunk intolerably. Thus circumstanced, their change of situation must have been peculiarly happy. From midnight the fragrant breeze had wafted the aromatic flavour of the plants, which abound in the Moluccas. “The aspect, (says our author) of a pretty large town, situated in the bottom of a gulph, of ships at anchor there, the cattle grazing in the meadows, caused transports which I have felt, but which I cannot describe.” The commodore hoisted Dutch colours, and fired a gun; but though several boats were sailing in the bay, none of them came along-side. In a few hours a piragua, rowed by Indians, advanced towards the ship, and the commanding officer inquired in Dutch who they were, but refused to go on board. M. Bougainville, however, proceeded under all his sails, and in the afternoon came to an anchor opposite the factory.

The Dutch soldiers, one of whom spoke French, now came on board the *Boudeuse*, demanding the reason of the commodore's entering that port, when he must know that the ships of the Dutch East India Company had an exclusive right to that privilege. He was answered in brief, that necessity was the motive; that hunger must preclude the force of treaties, and

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* The liberal use of wine and lemonade, in some measure checked the progress of this cruel disorder.

† None of them appeared to be inhabited, though all of them were clothed with verdure.

‡ Meaning, upon the islands formerly seven, but by earthquakes, those scourges of nature, reduced now to five in number only.

1768 and that they would depart as soon as their wants were supplied. The soldiers soon returned with the copy of an order from the governor of Amboyna, who presides over the resident of Boero, forbidding him to admit foreign ships into that port. The resident, therefore, intreated M. Bougainville to declare in writing the cause of his putting in there, that he might transmit such declaration to the governor of Amboyna, in justification of his own conduct. This request being complied with, all difficulties were at an end, the resident having performed his duty as a servant of the company, was anxious to discharge the superior duties of humanity. The commodore and his officers visited him on shore, were received in the most friendly manner, and accepted his invitation to supper.

The resident and his company beheld with equal pleasure and surprise the effects that hunger had on the appetites of the guests, nor were they willing to eat themselves, lest they should deprive their visitants of their full share of the repast. M. Bougainville professes that he was supremely happy, because he had previously sent on board what would be an equal feast to both the ships companies. A contract was now made, that while the ships should remain in that harbour, venison should be daily supplied to the crews, that eighteen oxen, a number of sheep and poultry, and a quantity of rice (to supply the place of bread) should be put on board. The resident was likewise kind enough to furnish the sick with a quantity of pulse from the company's garden, but much could not be obtained, as it is not generally cultivated on the island. The sick were now brought on shore, and the majority of the seamen were likewise indulged in walking about for their health and pleasure. The commodore hired the slaves belonging to the company to fill the water-casks, and to carry the several necessaries on board. M. Bougainville and his officers were gratified with the pleasure of stag-hunting, and he mentions the deer of this country as most exquisite food. The Dutch originally transported them hither. This island is described as a delightful composition of woods, hills, plains, and well cultivated vallies. The town of Cajeli, and about 14 Indian dwellings, formed the Dutch settlement. A stone fort which the Dutch had originally erected, was accidentally blown up in the year 1689; since which time it has had no inclosure but that of pallisadoes, with a battery of six small cannons. About fifty white people are all that reside on the island, of whom a serjeant and twenty-five men, commanded by the resident, form a part. The negroes who reside in the interior parts of the country subsist by the cultivation of rice.

The Moors and the Alfourians are the genuine natives of this country, the former are protected by the Dutch factory, who endeavour to inspire them with the dread of all foreigners. These people are principally kept in awe by the influence of their own chiefs, for whom the Dutch resident professed a sincere regard.* The natives of Boero are not treated as slaves of the Dutch, their slaves being procured from the islands of Ceram or Celebes. Unlimited freedom and independance appear to reign among the Alfourians, who, residing on the mountains in the interior parts of the island, subsist on the produce of their hunting, with fruits and sago. It is presumed they are not Mahometans, because they eat swine's flesh. The principal people among the Alfourians pay occasional visits to the Dutch resident.

The chief products of this island are various kinds of wood, particularly black and white ebony; and there is a fine plantation of pepper. The fruits are pine-apples, citrons, lemons, bitter oranges, shad-docks, bananas, and cocoa-nuts. Very good barley is likewise a produce of this country. Parrots, and

a variety of other birds, many of them extremely beautiful, abound in the woods. There is likewise the wild cat, whose bag under the belly serves for the conveyance of its young. The bats and serpents are of an enormous size, the latter of which are said to have a swallow capacious enough for the reception of a whole sheep. There is a snake too, which posting itself to the trees, darts into the eye of the passenger who happens to look up, and the bite of this animal is certain death. Crocodiles of an astonishing size reside on the banks of the rivers, devouring such beasts as fall in their way; and men are only protected from their fury by carrying torches. M. Bougainville asserts, that these crocodiles, which roam for prey in the night, have been even known to seize people in their boats.

The name of the resident at Boero is Ouman, he is by birth a Batavian, and is married to a native of Amboyna. He lives in great elegance and splendour, attended by no less than 100 slaves. M. Bougainville speaks of his politeness and hospitality in very high terms. After having twice regaled the French officers in the ceremonious way, he bid adieu to all set forms, but his house was constantly as open to them as if it had been their own; they always found good viands and liquors, and our author thinks this was no inconsiderable degree of civility to persons, so lately on the point of starving. The resident's house is constructed in the Chinese taste, in the middle of a garden, which is intersected by a river; the house itself is elegantly furnished. Its approach is through an avenue of trees, which are planted down to the sea-side. The wife and daughter were habited in the Chinese manner, and were no way deficient in the essential requests of good breeding. Their chief employ consists in making nosegays, and selecting flowers proper for distillation. The astonishment of Aotourou, at the first sight of an European settlement, may be more easily conceived than described. He regarded every object with an intenseness of curiosity scarcely to be satisfied, but he was particularly charmed with the hospitality of the Dutch. He supposed every thing freely given, as he did not see any thing returned by way of barter. M. Bougainville says, that he behaved sensibly with respect to the Dutch, to whom he intimated the consequence he was of in his own country, and that his present voyage was merely pleasurable, with friends whom he esteemed. His constant practice was to imitate the manners of the French, both in their visits, and in their rural amusements. The knees of this Indian being distorted, he attributed to that circumstance, his not being taken with the commodore on his visit to the resident, and actually desired some of the seamen to press their weight on his knees to make them straight. He would frequently enquire whether Paris was as grand a place as Boero. Though the French were only six days on shore, the healthful air of the place, had so far contributed to the recovery of the sick, that by the help of the refreshments now ready to be put on board, it was very possible to perfect the cure at sea. The sick people were conveyed to the ships in the morning of the 7th, and before evening every one was on board, in expectation of the land-breeze, by which after much difficulty in weighing the anchor, they were enabled to sail about an hour before midnight, and get clear of the gulph of Cajeli before morning.

Having coasted the island of Boero, the isles of Manipa and Kilang were seen on the morning of the 8th, and on the 9th they had sight of the island of Xullabessic, where the Dutch have a factory, named Cleverblad, that is, clover leaf. There is a garrison consisting of twenty-five men, under the discipline of a serjeant, and commanded by a person who holds no higher rank than book-keeper to the Dutch East India Company. On the 10th the commodore buried his

* Dutch policy, in this, as in all their other settlement, is the same, by sowing a jealousy among the chiefs of their re-

spective dependants;—a plot is no sooner formed by one chief, than it is revealed by another.

his taylor, who fell a sacrifice to the scurvy, encreased when on the point of cure, by an excessive drinking of brandy. On the morning of the 11th they had sight of the island of Wawoni, and in a few hours saw that of Buton, the streights of which they entered on the following day, and observed a vessel of a square form, ranging the shore, and towing a piragua. The French ships were no sooner observed by this vessel than she furled her sail, and concealed herself behind a small island. A French seaman, whom M. Bougainville had engaged at Boero, said that the vessel in question was manned by a set of Indian pirates, who made a practice of taking prisoners in order to sell them. In the afternoon the ship sailed by a beautiful port on the coast of Celebes, the view of which was most delightfully variagated by mountains, hills and valleys, and clothed with an exuberance of verdure. In a few hours afterwards the island of Pangasani was in sight, to the northward of which appeared the highest mountains of Celebes. Pangasani is a flat island abounding in trees, and our author conjectures, that it produces spices; it is however certain, that it is well inhabited, from the number of fires that were seen on it during the night. On the morning of the 13th the ships were surrounded with Indian boats, bringing paroquets, cockatoes, fowls, eggs, and bananas, which the natives sold for Dutch money, or exchanged for knives. These people were inhabitants of a considerable district on the mountains of Buton, opposite the place where the ships lay at anchor. On this spot the land is cleared and cultivated, the property of different persons being divided by ditches. Some of the fields are inclosed by hedges, and there are houses in these fields, besides which there are several villages.

The produce of this country consists in potatoes, yams, rice, maize, &c. and the bananas are deemed as good as in any part of the world. Pine-apples, cocoa-nuts, and citrons, are very plentiful. The natives, are of a brown complexion, ordinary features, and low of stature. They profess the Mahometan faith, and speak the language common in the Molucca isles. They are very honest, though expert traders. They offered M. Bougainville some pieces of coarse cloth; but he does not say whether he dealt with them or not, he asked them for some nutmegs, which they said they procured from the Island of Ceram, and the neighbourhood of Banda; and his remark is, that the Dutch cannot supply them from those places. The coast of Pangasani is described as rising in the form of an amphitheatre, from the level of the coast which he imagines is frequently overflowed, because the dwellings of the natives were observed to be situated on the slope of the hills. The people of Buton consider the inhabitants of Pangasani as pirates, and each party is provided against the attacks of the other by a dagger, which is always worn, stuck in the girdle.

The ships sailed on the morning of the 14th, but coming to anchor in a few hours afterwards a number of piraguas surrounded the Boudeuse, one of which hoisting Dutch colours, the rest retreated, that she might come along-side. It appeared that this boat belonged to one of the chiefs of the country, to whom alone the Dutch permit the distinction of carrying their colours. M. Bougainville sailed again on the 15th, and in the afternoon of that day dispatched his barge after a boat which was seen in a large bay, with a view to procure a pilot, and the boat readily came, having an Indian on board, who, for thirteen shillings readily engaged in the pilotage, but his intended services were rendered unnecessary, by the sun happening to shine with great lustre on a spot which directed their passing out of the channel. As opposing winds and tides now obliged the ships to come to an anchor, the piraguas come off in great numbers, bringing pieces of cotton, articles of curiosity, and variety of refreshments. At the approach of evening, the ships got clear of the narrow pass, and anchored in Buton Bay.

The coast of Buton abounds in inclosures proper for the catching fish, while the risings are bespread with habitations. The opposite shore is perpendicular; and after passing the galley both sides are steep, hanging in some places over the channel. The coast of Pangasani has two or three small houses on it, though it is little else than a solid rock, yet well clothed with trees. The Indian pilot above-mentioned gave the best instructions in his power, respecting the mode of passing the gut; but he appeared totally unskilled in the European art of navigation. Another Indian, supposed to be the pilot's father, went on board the Boudeuse in the morning, and remained till the evening. They both drank plentifully of brandy, but would eat only bananas, and chew betel, absolutely refusing to taste of the ship's provisions. On the morning of the 17th, while the ships were under sail, the Indians came off in great numbers, bringing fruit, poultry, and eggs, which they sold at such moderate rates, that even the common seamen could possess themselves of those refreshments, in very great abundance.

This morning five of the *Orencaies*, or chiefs of Buton, came off in a boat of the European form, with Dutch colours hoisted at its poop. These people were dressed in jackets and long breeches, with turbans, and each of them had a silver headed cane, with the company's mark on it. They gave M. Bougainville a roe-buck, and received in return, each a quantity of silk stuffs. They paid many compliments to the French nation, so freely drinking the health of his most christian majesty, and the king of Buton, that they were at length, obliged to be helped down the ship's side into their boats. The commodore inquired of the *Orencaies*, whether any spices grew on the island of Buton, to which they replied in the negative, and were easily credited, on account of the weakness of the Dutch settlement, which is nothing more than a few huts, built of the bamboo cane, and inclosed with pallisadoes. The guard, on the part of the company, consists only of a serjeant and three men. The coast opposite Buton is inclosed, cultivated, and well peopled, nor is the island itself less populous, or less fruitful.

In the morning the Indian pilot visited the commodore and informed him, that the south-east wind would blow freshest exactly at noon. This proved to be strictly true, and was a circumstance so well known to the natives, that all the boats which had surrounded the ship retired before the sun had gained the meridian.—M. Bougainville, taking advantage of the pilot's advice, got out to sea with a fair wind, steering for the island of Saleyor, which he discovered on the 18th. On this island the Dutch have a small settlement, the principal resident at which is the book-keeper. This day at noon there islands were discovered, which were called *North Island*, *South Island*, and *Isle of Passage*; which last was so denominated from the ships passing near it, for the advantage of a safe navigation. By day-light on the 19th they were within about a league of the coast of Celebes, which is described as one of the finest countries in these parts.—Immense herds of cattle graze on the plains, which are adorned with groves, while the coast is one continued plantation of the cocoa-nut-tree. The plains are in most places cultivated and covered with houses, while the mountains behind them add dignity and ornament to the landscape.

This day M. Bougainville chased a Malayan boat, in hope of obtaining a pilot, acquainted with the coast, but she fled at his approach, nor even brought to, after he had fired several guns at her. He conjectures that the Boudeuse was mistaken for a Dutch ship, and observes that the generality of people on the coast are pirates, who are always made slaves when they are taken by the Dutch. The ships having, during the evening, steered between an island named Tanakeka, and three small isles, orders were given at midnight, to carry all the sail possible, in order to come within sight of the isles of Alambar.

North Island,
South Island,
Isle of Passage.

1768

At midnight, between the 21st and 22d, a boat was observed advancing towards the ships; but though guns were fired, she bore off in the apprehension, as conjectured, that they were Dutch vessels.

In the afternoon of the 22d, the north-east of Madura was seen from the mast-head, and a number of fishing boats were observed, some at anchor, and some employed in their business. On the following morning four ships were seen, two of which hoisted Dutch colours, and one of them was spoken with by the *Boudeuse*, which proved to be a snow from Malacca, bound for Japara. M. Bougainville now coasted the land of Java, the shore of which is level, but the interior country abounds in lofty mountains. At sun-rise on the 26th, the coast of Java appeared. In the afternoon the commodore spoke with a Dutchman who commanded a boat bound for the isles of Amboyna and Ternate, who said that, according to his reckoning, he was then twenty-six leagues from Batavia. Having come to an anchor for the night, the ship sailed early in the morning of the 27th, and on the following night, came to an anchor, in the fear of having even past the port of Batavia; but having sight of the church of that town in the morning, they proceeded, and soon anchored in the road, happy, after so many toils, difficulties and dangers, to have reached a spot which they conceived would soon put a period to all their misfortunes, by insuring them a safe arrival in Europe.

M. Bougainville resolved to make his stay at Batavia as short as possible, but the want of biscuit, a sufficient quantity of which was not baked, compelled him to stay longer than he had intended. A Dutch officer came on board, with a written paper, of which the Frenchman understood not a word; but the cockswain having enquired who their visitants were, demanded a certificate written and signed by the commanding officer. M. Bougainville, who had sent an officer on shore to wait on the governor, declined to give any answer till his return. This officer came back late in the evening, with an account that his excellency was at his country-house, but that he had been with the shebander, who promised to introduce the commodore to the Dutch general, on the following day. The heat of this climate requires that visits should be made early in the morning; M. Bougainville therefore set out soon after day-break, and, after waiting on the shebander was by him conducted to the governor-general, who was then at one of his country residences, about nine miles from the town. The behaviour of this chief of an important district, was equally sincere and obliging, he approved of the conduct of the resident at Boero, in his treatment of the French, during the hour of their distress. He gave permission for the sick to be lodged in the hospital, and issued the proper orders for their being received. The furnishing of the necessary supplies was left to the shebander, and when all matters of business were ended, the governor asked the commodore if he would salute the citadel. To this an affirmative answer was given, on condition that the salute should be properly returned. These preliminaries being adjusted, M. Bougainville went on board his ship, saluted with fifteen guns, and was complimented with the same number.

The sick people were now sent to the hospital, 28 in number, most of whom were now troubled with the bloody-flux, and the rest with the scurvy. The officers having taken lodgings in the town, fixed a day for paying a visit of ceremony to the governor, at his country-seat, called Jacatra; after which they visited in form, an officer called *Schout-by-Nacht*, or rear admiral; who is a member of the regency, and has a vote in every matter respecting maritime affairs. This gentleman lives with a degree of splendour that would not disgrace a prince. M. Bougainville mentions the theatre of Batavia as an elegant building; but of the performances he was not qualified to judge, from a total ignorance of the language. His curiosity impelled him to take a view of the Chinese come-

dies, but of these also he could form no judgment but from sight. Exclusive of the exhibitions on the regular theatres, he says that a kind of pantomime is daily performed on scaffolds, erected in the Chinese quarter of the city. It is a singularity of the Chinese comedy, that the characters of men are represented by women; nor is it unfrequent to see the actors entertain the spectators with a boxing-match. Our ingenious voyager represents the neighbourhood of Batavia as elegant beyond description. The neatness is all Dutch; the magnificence, he says, is Parisian. A clergyman of Batavia, Mr. Mohr, distinguished for his immense riches, and his extensive knowledge, has erected in the garden of one of his country-houses, one of the most superb observatories in the world, and has furnished it with a great variety of instruments of the construction of European artists; our author observes "That he is doubtless the richest of all the children of Urania."—The water of Batavia is of so bad a quality that the people of fortune import Seltzer water from Holland, for their common drinking at a most enormous expence. The houses of this city are built only one story high, on account of the frequent earthquakes, which would be of pernicious consequence to buildings of a lofty construction. The riches of the Batavians are marked by the magnificent taste in which their houses are furnished; yet is the city said to be much inferior to what it was some years ago; and it is certain the rent of houses is not half as much as it was; yet will this place always be rich, through the refined policy of the Dutch, which makes it difficult for any man, after he has amassed a fortune to transmit it to Europe; for any money intended to be sent to Holland, must pass through the hands of the company, who charge eight *per cent.* for the care of sending it to Europe; exclusive of which the current money of Batavia would sustain a loss of no less than twenty-eight *per cent.*, even if it could be smuggled out of the country. The distinction of rank he says, is observed in the strictest degree at Batavia, and the *Etiquette* is never dispensed with. The gradation of rank is as follows, viz. The high regency, the court of justice, the ecclesiastics, the company's servants, the sea-officers, and those of the military. There is no appeal from the court of justice. This court, about twenty years since, sentenced to death the governor of Ceylon, who had been convicted of most infamous oppression in his government; and he was executed opposite the citadel at Batavia. If any of the respective sovereigns of the island of Java offend against the established Dutch policy, they are put to death in the most inhuman manner. On these melancholy occasions, the unhappy sufferers are dressed in white drawers, and are never beheaded, from a conviction prevalent among them that appearing in any other dress, or visiting the other world without their heads, would be productive of the most fatal consequences; nor do the Dutch dare to controul these opinions, as the immediate consequence of such a procedure on their part, would be a revolt of the Javanese.—The Dutch company have an exclusive right to a large part of the island of Java. The island of Madura formerly belonged to them, but the chief of it revolted from their authority, and the son of this revolting king, is at present the governor of that very island of which his father had been sovereign. The Dutch, equally deep in every stroke of their politics, have seized the province of Balimburan, in consequence of the sovereign of that district having revolted from their authority. It is asserted, that the English erected him a fort, and supplied him with arms and ammunition to combat that slavery, which he thought the more an indignity because it was imposed on him by a merchantile nation. After a war of two years, and after repeated battles, in the last of which the Javanese prince and his family were made prisoners. The Dutch became final conquerors, and the routed sovereign being lodged in the citadel at Batavia, soon fell a sacrifice to the grief that preyed on his mind.—When M. Bougainville arrived

arrived at Batavia, it was in agitation to send the son and the other branches of this unhappy family to the Cape of Good Hope, in order that they might spend the remains of a wretched existence on the Island of Roben. The several chiefs of the different districts of the Island of Java, are surrounded with Dutch guards, so that they are kings only in name. From these, however, the Dutch receive arrack, rice, sugar, coffee and tin, in return for which they supply opium, the sale of which is very profitable, from the great quantities consumed by the Javanese.

Before the crews of the *Boudeuse* and *Etoile* had been ten days at Batavia, the diseases common to that climate began to attack them with all their fury. From a vigorous state of health the people were, in a few days, reduced to the brink of the grave, nor could the commodore's utmost diligence enable him to transact his affairs with a proper degree of dispatch, as the illness of the Shebander himself prevented the acceleration of his business.

Every officer on board the *Boudeuse* began to experience the fatal effects of the climate; and, at length Aotourou felt the dreadful influence of this pestiferous climate, and it is supposed, that nothing but the readiness with which he took the prescriptions offered him, could have saved him from the most fatal consequences of the contagion. For a long time after he left Batavia, he distinguished it by the name of *Enoua Mate*, "the land which kills."

The ships sailed on the 16th of October, 1768, and cleared the straits of Sunda on the 19th in the afternoon. By this time the crew were all perfectly cured of the scurvy; but a few of them remained ill of the bloody-flux. On the 20th, the ships were in sight of the Isle of France, and on the 8th of November, the *Boudeuse* anchored in the port of that island, the *Etoile*, which had been unavoidably left behind, anchoring in the same port on the following day. At this place the ships were repaired, and the commodore left behind him on the island several persons, who desired to add to the numbers already in that colony.—And here he expresses his happiness that he was enabled, after so tedious a voyage, to enrich this colony with inhabitants and necessaries, but he laments in the most pathetic terms the death of the Chevalier de Bouchage, an ensign on board the king's ship, whose abilities as an officer could be surpassed only by his virtues and accomplishments as a man.

M. Bougainville speaks in high terms of the forges for making iron, which are established on this island, and he even prefers them to those of Europe. M. Bougainville sailed from this place the 12th of December, 1768, leaving the *Etoile* behind him, to undergo some necessary repairs, and this ship did not arrive in France till a month after the *Boudeuse*. Without encountering any singular accident, the adventurers had sight of the Cape of Good Hope on the 18th of January, and came to an anchor in Table Bay, on the following morning. M. Bougainville omits a description of the cape, which has been so often and so accurately described by our circumnavigators, and other voyages; one circumstance, however, he fails not to mention, that they killed a quadruped, named the Giraffe, which was seventeen feet in height, and that they took the young one alive, which measured seven feet. "None of these (says our author) had been seen after that which was brought to Rome in the time of Cæsar, and shewn in the amphitheatre." M. Bougainville sailed from the cape on the 17th, and came to anchor off the island of St. Helena, on the 4th of February, where he remained till the 6th, and then got under sail in pursuance of his voyage to France. On the 25th of this month the commodore fell in with the *Swallow*, commanded by Captain Carteret, as has been already related.

Nothing material happened from this time till they had sight of the isle of Ushant, when a violent squall of wind had nearly blasted all the hopes of so fine a voyage. The commodore bore away for St. Maloes,

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which port he entered after an absence of two years and four months from his native country; during all which time he had buried only seven of his crew; a circumstance that will be deemed quite astonishing, when we reflect on the variety of dangers they had encountered.

We have mentioned that M. Bougainville brought Aotourou to Paris, where he took great pains to have him instructed, yet when he had been almost two years among Frenchmen, he could speak but a very few words of their language, partly owing to a natural defect in his pronunciation already intimated, and partly to his being arrived at thirty years of age without his memory being exercised by study. M. Bougainville says he must have created a world of ideas in a mind as indolent as his body, before he could have adapted them to French words proper to express them. Though Aotourou was thus deficient in the language of France, yet the streets of Paris were quite familiar to him. He frequently bought things and was seldom defrauded in the purchase. None of the publick diversions had any charms for him but the opera, to which he went regularly; for he knew the nights on which it was to be performed, and paid the same for admittance as other people: his great fondness for dancing was what rendered the opera so agreeable to him. He was exceedingly grateful to those who conferred any obligations on him, nor did he ever forget their persons or their favours. The Duchess of Choiseul was the first in the list of his friends, and he expressed more gratitude for the polite attention with which she treated him than even for the numerous presents which he received at her hands: and as often as he heard of that lady's being arrived from her country-seat, he would immediately go and visit her. After a residence of eleven months at Paris, Aotourou was put on board the *Brison*, at Rochelle, which ship was destined to convey him thence to his own country. M. Bougainville gave about 1500l. sterling, towards the fitting out the *Brison* for this voyage; and the Duchess of Choiseul ordered a considerable sum to be expended in cattle, feeds, implements of husbandry, &c. which were shipped for the use of the natives of Otaheite.*

While Aotourou was at Paris, in 1769, a comet appeared, which furnished M. Bougainville with an opportunity of knowing that this kind of stars had been frequently observed at Otaheite; but that the natives do not suppose that they are in any respect portentous of evil consequences;—but what we call shooting-stars, are by these people deemed evil-genii.

M. Bougainville has made many philosophical reflections on the character of this Indian; and many others are interspersed in the course of his voyage, the principal of which we have selected. The French commander has also given a description of the establishment of the Spaniards at Rio de la Plata, as also an account of the missions in Paraguay, which though we considered as too long to be inserted in the midst of his narration, yet we think of too much importance to be omitted. We shall, therefore, here present it to our readers.

"The river de la Plata, (says our author) takes a Paraguan southerly course to the 34th degree of latitude, where it is united with the river Uruguai, making one stream, which runs still southerly to the Ocean. The Jesuits have advanced a false principle of geography, and other authors have fallen into their errors, by supposing the River de la Plata to spring from the lake of Xarages. This lake, which has been the subject of much inquiry, is now supposed to have no existence. By order of the courts of Spain and Portugal; the Marquis of Valdelirais, and Don George Menezes, undertook to determine the limits of the possessions of these two powers; and accordingly several Spaniards

* M. Bougainville concludes this part of his narrative with the following very humane and equally political wish. "O may Aotourou soon see his countrymen again!"

1769 and Portuguese officers, traversed this large district of America, between the years 1751 and 1755. The Spaniards embarked on the river Paraguay, and the Portuguese proceeded from a settlement belonging to the crown of Portugal, called Maragoffo, situated on the interior boundaries of the Brasils, at about twelve degrees south latitude, and proceeded up the river Caourou, which, according to the maps of the Jesuits, is described as falling into the lake Xarages. But how great was their surprise and disappointment at meeting in the 14th degree of south latitude in the river Paraguay, without finding any thing to justify the supposition of the existence of the lake! Hence it was concluded that the periodical inundations of the river over a considerable tract of adjacent country, having been received in low grounds, formed a body of water, which, by former navigators was taken for the ideal lake. The source of the Paraguay, or Rio de la Plata, is among the mountains, between the two oceans, and between five and six degrees south latitude, and it empties itself into the river of Amazons. The Uruguai arises in the Captainship of St. Vincent's in the Brasils; and the Parana, in the mountains to the east north-east of Rio Janeiro, whence it flows to the westward, and then changes its course to the south.—It appears from the account of the Abbé Prevost, that Diaz de Solis, first discovered the Parana in 1515, and called it after himself; but that in 1526, Sebastian Cabot named it la Plata, or, Of Silver, on account of the many pieces of silver, which he observed in the possession of the natives of that country. The fort of Espiritu Santo was erected by Cabot, who had scarcely time to see it completed before it was levelled with the earth. In 1535, Don Pedro de Mendoza, great cup-bearer to the emperor, failed for the river de la Plata, and founded Buenos Ayres; but this undertaking proved extremely unsuccessful; and after Mendoza's death, the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, unable to defend themselves against the depredations of the Indians, and living in perpetual dread of famine, fled for sanctuary to Assumption, now the capital of Paraguay, which was built by the followers of Mendoza, soon became well inhabited, and of course considerably enlarged. Don Pedro Artiz de Zarara, governor of Paraguay, rebuilt Buenos Ayres, upon an improved plan, in the year 1580, and it soon became the principal resort of ships, navigating the South Seas; soon after which it was an episcopal see, and the place of residence of the chief magistrate. The situation of Buenos Ayres is computed to be in 34 deg. 56 min. south lat. and 61 deg. 5 min. west longitude from Paris. The inhabitants, including negros, do not exceed twenty thousand, notwithstanding which, the town covers a very large space of ground, owing to the generality of the habitations having no more than a ground-floor, with spacious court-yards, and extensive gardens. The public market is held in a grand square, the angles of which are formed by the governor's palace, the town-hall, the cathedral, and the episcopal palace. There is no harbour at Buenos Ayres, so that ships of any considerable burden are obliged to sail to Encenada de Baragon, about ten leagues east south-east of the town, or else receive and deliver their freights by means of small boats. Adjoining to the Jesuits convent there is a building, called the house for the exercises of women, where married and unmarried people, without the consent of their husbands or friends, sequester themselves for the space of twelve days, during which time various religious exercises are practised, almost without intermission. There are holy ceremonies appointed for the slaves; and such of the negros, as pay four reals per annum to the Dominicans, are admitted members of some religious community, and intitled to certain holidays, to hear mass, and a decent interment at the expence of the friars. This community of negros acknowledge St. Benedict of Palermo, and the Virgin Mary for their patrons, and on the days dedicated to these saints, they select two persons to represent

the kings of Spain and Portugal, who are followed by all the negros of the order, parading through the streets from the rising to the setting of the sun, singing, dancing, representing battles, and repeating religious incantations. The grounds near Buenos Ayres are extremely fruitful, producing all the real necessaries of life; but it is entirely uncultivated at only three leagues distance; and in crossing the plains scarcely a hovel is to be met with; so that passengers are frequently under the necessity of sleeping in their carriages, and those who go on horseback are often, for many successive nights, exposed to the inclemency of the weather. Horses and black cattle abound in these plains, and the latter are frequently killed by travellers, who take away sufficient for a few meals, and leave the rest for the birds and beasts of prey. The only furious animals known here are wild dogs and tigers, the former, which are said to have been originally brought from Europe, are both fierce and numerous, perhaps owing to their food; and the climate seems greatly to have altered their species;—the latter are of the usual kind, but are not very frequently met with. In the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres wood is so extremely scarce, that very little is to be found that will serve for fuel, and what is used in erecting and repairing houses, or in refitting vessels, is transported from Paraguay.—The Indians inhabiting this part of America are of a copper complexion, seldom exceeding five feet in stature, and of a very forbidding aspect. Their chief is distinguished by a thong of leather tied round his forehead, to which are fastened several plates of copper. The arms they use are bows and arrows, slings and balls. These are about the circumference of a two pound cannon ball, and being received in leathern cups at the ends of cords of about six or seven feet long, they throw them when on horseback, with such amazing force and dexterity, as to be almost at a certainty of killing an animal at the distance of three hundred yards. Some years ago a number of delinquents, escaping the punishment they were sentenced to, retreated to the north of the Maldonados, where being joined by some deserters and Indian women, they have formed a community of desperados. They frequently plunder the Spanish settlements, and carry their spoils to the boundaries of the Brasils, where they receive in exchange for them fire-arms and cloaths from the Paulists, another desperate race of robbers, supposed to be between six and seven hundred in number, who removed from Brasil farther to the north west about the sixteenth century, since which time they have continually traversed the adjacent country in parties; and such travellers as are so unfortunate as to meet with them, generally fall victims to their cruelty and rapine.—The governments of Tucuman and Paraguay, with the missions of the Jesuits, are dependent upon the governor-general of la Plata, who, in all matters relating to the silver mines of Potosi, is under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Peru.—A mint having been lately established at Potosi, the silver will not in future be brought from hence in the ore, but refined on the spot.—Two hundred carts, attended by three hundred men, go annually from Buenos Ayres to fetch salt from the lakes adjacent to the sea in 43 deg. south lat. and the necessity of obtaining salt, is the only motive that induces the Spaniards to travel so far south of Buenos Ayres, where the country exhibits a melancholy prospect of dreary and uncultivated lands.

The principal commerce of Buenos Ayres is with Peru and Chili, to which provinces they send cotton, mules, some skins, and about 400,000 Spanish pounds weight of the Paraguay herb, or South Sea tea, every year; great part of which last article is consumed by the laborious in the Peruvian mines, it being esteemed a most excellent preventive against the effects of the noxious vapours arising from those inexhaustible funds of treasure. Notwithstanding there is but little trade at Buenos Ayres, it is a place of such great riches that the register ships frequently carry away a million

of dollars each: and if they were inclined to extend their skins and fur trade, those articles alone would, undoubtedly, acquire them immense treasure.

Montevideo was built between forty and fifty years since, upon a peninsula, to the north of the river, and about ninety miles above its mouth. The town has a bay, affording safe anchorage, but in boisterous weather some skill must be exerted, to keep clear of a chain of hidden rocks of the coast point of the bay, which are called Punta de les Carretas. The town of Montevideo affords every refreshment; and the air being particulary salubrious, renders it still more inviting to voyagers, who generally find here a happy renewal of that health and vigour which from various causes, must inevitably be impaired by a long residence on the stormy element.

The Jesuits took up their residence at Paraguay, in the year 1580, and in the time of Philip the Third formed their celebrated missions, called by the Europeans [Paraguay or Uruguai.] These missions are thirty-seven in number; twenty-nine being on one side of the river Uruguai, and eight on the opposite shore.—The Jesuits undertook to convert the natives of this tract of America to the Roman Catholic religion; and in order to encourage them to pursue this difficult task with a proper degree of spirit, they were rendered independant of the governor's authority, and allowed an annual stipend of sixty thousand piaſtres for their necessary expences. And, in order to indemnify the crown for this expence, a tax of one piaſtre per head was levied upon all the Indians between the age of eighteen and sixty. Notwithstanding the many and great obstacles which would have dispirited less determined men, the Jesuits, by a steady perseverance, the most ardent zeal, and a strict attention to the genius and disposition of those savages, at length civilised their manners, implanted in their minds the principles of the christian religion, and made them happy within themselves and useful to the community.—In the year 1757, the Spanish Monarch having given up the colonies on the left shore of the river to the Portuguese in exchange for Santo Sacramento, with a view to suppress the smuggling trade, the Indians of the ceded colonies, disgusted at being driven from their cultivated lands took up arms against the Spaniards. Don Joseph Andonaighi, governor-general of the province De la Plata, and Don Joachim de Viana, governor of Montevideo, marched against and entirely defeated them. Soon after this battle the insurrections being quelled, Viana left Buenos Ayres, and was accompanied as far as the Maldondoes by seven Indian families where they settled, leading a life of exemplary prudence and industry. The situation of these reclaimed people gives an idea of what the poets call the golden age: they knew no distinction of rank, were neither incumbered with riches, nor oppressed with poverty; and as all their wants were supplied from the warehouses appointed to receive the produce of the common labour, they had no incitement to use sinister and clandestine means to obtain private property. The country, in which the missions are situated, reaches about four hundred and fifty miles east and west, and about six hundred miles north and south, and the number of the inhabitants is computed to be three hundred thousand. There are immense forests of all kinds of wood, and extensive meadows, watered by innumerable small rivers and brooks, which produce pasture sufficient for upwards of two millions of cattle.—The country was divided into districts, over each of which two Jesuits were appointed to preside; one of whom acted as rector, and the other as his cu-

rate. The Indians lived in a state of the most absolute submission to their rectors; who severely chastised them for misdemeanours, and annually appointed a number of inferior officers called corregidors to take cognizance of petty offences. Near the church are two buildings; one of which was inhabited by a great number of girls, who were instructed in various occupations. The other building was occupied by young negro men, who were brought up to various handicraft professions, and one department of this building was appointed to the teaching of music; sculpture, architecture, &c. The rector's house stood between these buildings; and had communications with each, which he visited every day to see the provisions justly distributed, and the proper decorum in other respects strictly observed.—

The intire expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions having been resolved upon, Don Francis Buccarelli was appointed to carry this design into execution; and he accordingly sailed for Buenos Ayres, arrived there in the beginning of 1767, and immediately sent the dispatches with which he was charged to the governors of Peru and Chili; and the commanders of Cordoua, Mendoza, Corrientes; Santa Fe, Salta, Montevideo, and Paraguay. These dispatches were accompanied by letters strictly injoining the persons to whom the dispatches from the court were directed, not to open them till an appointed day. As it was a matter of doubt whether the Indians would tamely submit to see Jesuits arrested in the colonies, all the preparations for carrying the king's orders into execution, were conducted with the most profound secrecy. The time for accomplishing this grand design at length arrived, and the different governors being previously instructed to open their letters, and to proceed according to their contents with all imaginable dispatch, the general execution began about two o'clock in the morning, when the Jesuits with equal horror and astonishment, found their habitations invested by the Spanish troops. They evinced a high degree of philosophical resignation and humility in quietly submitting to their fate.

On the thirteenth of September a cacique belonging to each colony, and all the corregidors, arrived at Buenos Ayres. These people were politically detached from their companions by the following stratagem, with a design of securing them as hostages, in case any resistance had been made. The governor-general sent for them under pretence of communicating the substance of the king's letters; and these deluded people were not informed of the events that happened till they received the account from the mouth of the governor, who gave them a general audience immediately upon their arrival; when the governor informed them that he came to free them from the slavery they had long groaned under, and directing them to one of the houses formerly occupied by the Jesuits, they were there properly provided for at the king's expence. The Jesuits had established other missions than those above mentioned to the South of Uruguai, and were making great progress southward of Chili, towards the island of Chiloe, but the unexpected turn of affairs in Europe utterly destroyed a work, the completion of which had been an object of great attention for a long series of years.—

Such is M. Bougainville's account of this extraordinary revolution which surprized all the world. Our circumnavigator seems in this, and many other instances, to have proved himself an accurate observer; and one calculated to do honour to the French nation.

PORTUGUESE VOYAGES TO THE EAST INDIES.

THE VOYAGE OF PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL.

1500

AFTER having given an account of the circum-navigators according to our promise, we return to the voyages of the Portuguese, in whose service Vasquez de Gama had opened a way to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and had already made overtures towards a treaty of trade and commerce with the Samorin of Calicut.

A resolution was now taken by the court of Lisbon to prosecute these valuable eastern discoveries. For this purpose, thirteen vessels of different sizes were fitted out, and the command given to Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a gentleman of great merit, to whom, on the 8th of March, in the year 1500, the king delivered the Flag of the Cross. The fleet contained 1200 men, with whom went eight Franciscan friars, eight chaplains, and a chaplain-major. Their instructions were to begin with preaching, and in case that failed, to proceed to the decision of the sword. The names of the captains of the ships were Sancho de Toar, of Cabral's vessel, Nicholas Coello, Don Luis Coutinho, Simon de Myfaranda; Simon Layton, Bartholomew Diaz, who discovered the Cape of Good Hope; Diego Diaz (his brother, who had been purser to De Gama, in the former voyage.) The captain of the caravels were Pedro de Atayde, and Vasquez de Silveira, Ayres Correa, was factor of the fleet, and was to remain as such at Calicut.

In case the king of Calicut readily consented to the settling of the factory, Cabral was secretly to importune him to prohibit the Moors from trading thither, or in any other of his ports; and to promise on that condition, to import from Portugal, the same sorts of commodities, better and cheaper, than those the Moors brought. They were also to touch at Melinda, on the coast of Africa, in order to land the ambassador, (brought from thence by Gama) and send the king a present. The 9th of March the fleet set sail from Belem, the king accompanying Cabral to the water-side. On the 18th they came in sight of the Canaries, and the 22d passed by St. Jago. The 28th De Atayde's ship was separated, and no more heard of. They sailed till the 24th of April, and then discovered land; which lying so far to the west, they concluded was some coast which Gama had not seen in his voyage. The men who were sent on shore, brought word that it was a fruitful country, full of trees, and well inhabited. The people were swarthy and naked, and use bows and arrows. At night a storm arising, they ran along coast for a port; which having found, they called it Puerto Segwis, or the Safe Port. Here mass was said on shore, great numbers of the natives assembling to look on, who were very civil and merry. They trucked parrots for paper and cloth. Cabral called this country *Tierra de Santa Cruz*, from the stone cross he erected, which afterwards took the name of *Brasil*. Here he left two banished men, to inform themselves concerning the country, and sent a letter to Portugal to acquaint the king with this new discovery.

They departed on the 2d of May for the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 12th there appeared a comet in the east, which for ten days continually increased, and was visible both day and night. This was the fore-runner of a violent storm, which arose on the 23d, in the north-east, mixed with rain: it was succeeded at night by a calm. On the 28th it blew hard again, and they were forced to take in their sails; but a

water-spout appearing to the north-east, and a calm ensuing, they not being acquainted with such a phenomenon took it for a sign of fair weather, when on a sudden a furious wind sprang up, that not having time to furl their sails, four ships perished, with all their men, among whom was Bartholomew Diaz, the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope. The other seven remained half full of water, and had sunk, but that their sails being torn. The wind veering to the south-west, the storm still continued; and in this manner they were tost about for two days without sails, the day being so dark, that the ships could not see one another, and expecting every moment to be swallowed up. But on the third day the wind abating, the fleet joined again, and they began to hope all was over, when presently after, the wind coming about to the east and north-east, began to blow with greater fury than ever, and the waves to swell as high as mountains; so that one moment the ships seemed to be tossed above the clouds, and the next to be plunged in the bottom of the deep. This dreadful tempest continued for twenty days together: in the day the water looked as black as pitch, and at night appeared like flames of fire. At length, the winds abating, they found they had passed the Cape of Good Hope during the storm, which, however, had separated four of the ships. On the 16th of July they fell in close with the coast of Africa, in twenty-seven degrees south, which appeared to be populous: yet none of the natives came to look at them, nor would the general suffer his men to land, having no hopes of getting provisions there. Running on along the shore, and being near Sofala (with which as yet the pilot was not acquainted) they saw two islands, and near one of them two ships at anchor, which, on sight of the Portuguese, made towards shore; but being pursued, were overtaken, and yielded without resistance: They belonged to the Moors, and came from the mines of Sofala, laden for Melinda, with gold, most of which they threw into the sea, in their flight. The general treated the commander courteously, expressed sorrow for his loss, and restored all that was taken, as being a relation of the king of Melinda, who was a friend of the Portuguese. The Moor, being willing to recover his gold again, asked Cabral if he had any witches on board, who might conjure it up from the bottom of the sea. The general answered, That the Christians neither practised nor believed in witchcraft. Being informed that he had overshot Sofala, he proceeded, and on the 20th arrived at Mozambique, where he took in water, and a pilot to carry him to Quiloa, an island 100 leagues beyond, in about nine degrees south, where he was joined by two of the separated ships. The dominions of this prince extended from Cape Corientes almost as far as Mombassa, near 400 leagues of coast, which is very populous and full of towns, besides innumerable islands along it, that paid taxes; yet, for all this, he was of no great power, not being able to raise any considerable force. The country is very fruitful, and stored with small cattle. The water is excellent. Quiloa is a place of great trade for Sofala gold, for which there is a great resort of merchants from Arabia, Feelix, and other parts. The ships here, as in all other places, were built without nails, and rubbed over with wild frankincense, instead of pitch, there being none in these parts.

Brasil discovered.

Engraved for Moores. New & Complete Collection of Voyages & Travels.



*The Dress, Weapons, & manner of living of the TAPOYERS inhabitants of
BRASIL in SOUTH-AMERICA.*



View of the Harbour of S^t VINCENT, subject to the PORTUGUESE.

Being arrived at the ancient and noble city of Qui-loa, (where Ibrahim, a man renowned among his people, and rich with the trade of Sofala, then reigned) the general sent to acquaint the king, that he was come with a letter from the king of Portugal, and had brought merchandise, in order to settle trade with him, desiring an interview, and that it might be on the water, he having express orders not to land. The king consented, and the next day met him in a pinnace, accompanied with many attendants in boats, the streamers flying, and trumpets sounding. The king's letter being read, the sheik consented to a trade, and desired an account of the merchandise might be sent him the next day, promising to give gold in exchange. But next day, when the factor waited on him, he excused himself from performing his promise, alledging first, that the goods were not for his purpose; secondly, that he suspected the general came with a design to conquer his country; but the true reason was, that finding they were Christians, he had no mind to have any trade or correspondence with them. The general, after this baulk, stayed three or four days, to see if the king would alter his mind: but perceiving, that instead of complying with their demands, he was fortifying himself for fear of an attack, it was resolved to go on to Melinda, where he arrived on the second of August.—Here he found three Moorish ships of Guzarat, but the general would not suffer them to be attacked, in friendship to the king of Melinda. Being come to an anchor, he saluted the city with his ordnance. The king immediately sent to visit him, with a present of provision and fruits, saying he might command whatever his country afforded. Cabral returned thanks by a messenger, and gave him to understand that he came with a present and letter from the king his master, offering to serve him with his fleet where-ever he should command it. The present was the rich furniture of a horse. Ayres Correa, chief factor of the fleet, being sent with others to carry the letter and present, was met by several nobles at the water-side before the palace, attended by women with perfuming pans, and in this manner he was conducted to the king, who was much pleased with the letter, written both in Portuguese and Arabic, and kept Correa to discourse with him about Portugal. Next day the king had an interview with the general on the water, (the latter not caring to land) told him how much he was embarrassed by the king of Mombassa, for admitting the friendship of the Portuguese, and gave him two Guzarat pilots for Calicut.

Although the place stood near the shore, the king would ride down to the water-side in his new furniture.—On this occasion, some of his courtiers had got a live sheep at the foot of the steps, before his palace, and while the king was coming down, they opened its belly, and took out the bowels, over which the king rode, pronouncing certain words; a superstitious custom in this place. The general left with the king two banished men to inform themselves of the country; one of these, who was afterwards called Machado, learned the Arabic, and went by land to the streights of Mecca; from thence passing to Balagat, by way of Cambaya, settled with Sabay, who was then lord of Goa, pretending to be a Moor; and became afterwards very serviceable to Albuquerque.

About the 7th Cabral left Melinda, and on the 20th, arrived at Anfadiva, (Anchediva) where after waiting a few days for the ships of Mecca, and finding they did not come, he proceeded on his voyage; and the 13th of September cast anchor within a league of Calicut; and presently there came on board several pinnaces, with provisions to sell; and afterwards several of the principal nayres, with a compliment from the Samorin, expressing much satisfaction at his arrival, and making great offers of friendship. Upon this Cabral went nearer the city with his ships, and next day went one Gaspar to demand a safe conduct for a messenger, and with him the four Malabars,

whom de Gama had carried away, dressed in the Portuguese habit, the citizens seeing them return in good health and plight, were very glad, and so was the Samorin; but he would not see them as being but fishermen. He received Gaspar very well, and gave leave for any one to come on shore who had a mind. The general here upon sent Alonso Hurtado, with an interpreter, to acquaint the king, that he came from Portugal purely to settle trade and friendship, and desired hostages that he might wait on him in person. The pledges he desired were the cutwal, and Araxemenoka, one of the principal nayres. The king not caring to part with the persons he required, on account of their age and infirmities, proposed to send others in their stead. But afterwards, at the instigation of the Moors, was against sending any at all, upon the punctilio that the general's demand argued want of confidence in him. After three days debate, the Samorin being overcome with the prospect of the advantages arising from trade, complied to send the hostages: whereupon the general resolved to wait on the king on shore; ordering Sancho de Toar, whom he left to command in his absence, to use the hostages well, but not to deliver them to any person who came to demand them, although it should be in his name.

The 28th of December, the Samorin sent several of the principal nayres, with many servants and musical instruments to attend the general; who being informed that he waited for him in a gallery built on purpose to receive him, near the water-side, set out in all the state he could, accompanied with the boats of the fleet, and thirty of the principal persons belonging to it. The hostages were very loath to enter the ship, till they saw the general landed, apprehending, that as soon as they were aboard, he would return and detain them. While this parley was on foot, Cabral landed; on the shore many kaymals, pinakals, and other principal nayres waited for him. He was immediately taken up in a chair, and accompanied with all his attendants, carried to the serame, which was a lodge or hall, hung with carpets of Alkatis; at the farther end whereof, the king sat in an alcove, like a little oratory. Over his head hung the cloth of state, of crimson velvet, and under and about him were twenty silk cushions.

He had only a piece of white calico embroidered with gold about his middle; all the rest of his body being naked. On his head was a cap of cloth of gold. At his ears hung jewels, composed of diamonds, sapphires, and pearls; two of which were larger than walnuts; his arms, from the elbow to the wrist, and his legs, from the knees downwards, were loaded with a number of precious stones of great value. His fingers and toes were covered with rings. In that on his great toe was a large ruby, of a surprising lustre. Among the rest there was a diamond bigger than a large bean. But all this was nothing, in comparison to the richness of a girdle made with precious stones, set in gold, which cast a lustre that dazzled every body's eyes. Near the Samorin stood a chair of state, and his litter, all of gold and silver, curiously adorned with precious stones. There were three trumpets of gold, and seventeen of silver, whose mouths were set with stones also; and several silver lamps and censers, smoking with perfumes, besides a golden spitting basin. Six paces from him stood his brothers, who were next heirs to the crown; and a little farther several of his nobles all standing before him.

The general on his entrance would have gone up to kiss the Samorin's hand, but being informed it was not the custom there, he desisted, and took his seat in a chair placed near the king; which was the greatest honour that could be done him. He then delivered his letter of credit written in Arabic, which having been read by the Samorin, the general delivered his message, importing, that the king of Portugal was desirous of the Samorin's friendship, and to settle a factory at Calicut which should be supplied with all sorts of European goods; requesting, that either in exchange or for ready money his ships might have liberty

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liberty to lade with spices. The Samorin seemed pleased with the embassy, and told the general that the king his master should be welcome to whatever his city afforded; whilst they were talking the present was brought in, which consisted of a wrought silver basin gilt, a fountain of the same, a silver cup with a gilt cover, two wedges of silver, four cushions, (two of cloth of gold, and two of crimson velvet) a cloth of state of the same velvet, striped and bound with gold lace, a very fine carpet, and two rich pieces of arras. The audience being over, the king told the general that he might retire, either to his lodgings or ships; for that he was obliged to send for the hostages, who were not used to the sea, and he was sure would neither eat nor drink so long as they were on board; adding that if he came next day to conclude what was begun, they should be sent on board again. But this happy beginning had like to have been spoiled by an unreasonable distrust which happened to prevail on both sides. The general being come to the water-side, a servant belonging to one of the hostages by order of the clerk and comptroller of the king's household went before in a pinnace, to let them know that the general was coming on board. As soon as the hostages heard this, they all leaped into the water in order to get off in the pinnace:—Ayres Correa jumping immediately into his boat took some of them, but the rest got off, among whom was the cutwal. The general being come on board, ordered the hostages that were taken to be put under the hatches that they might not run away, and sent to the king, to complain of the rest, laying the blame upon the clerk and comptroller, and promising to deliver those he detained, as soon as his baggage and the men he had left to take care of it was brought on board. The next day the Samorin accompanied with 12,000 men came to the water-side, and sent on board the general's men and baggage, along with whom went thirty pinnaces, to fetch back the hostages; but none of theirs through fear of being detained, durst venture near enough to receive them. The Portuguese seemed also as backward to venture to deliver them; so that they remained still in custody, however, next morning the general resolved to send them on shore in his own boat, ordering his men to land them at a distance from the pinnaces. While they were preparing to put off with them, Araxemenoka the oldest of the pledges, and another, on a sudden leaped into the water; the former was taken again, but the other with five more of them escaped. Cabral, surpris'd at their insincerity, ordered Araxemenoka to be closely watched: but no messenger coming to demand him for three days, and the general observing that he would eat nothing all the while, in pity sent him with several weapons belonging to the Malabars, to the king, who thereupon ordered two Portuguese still on shore, to be returned. Three days more being elapsed without hearing of the Samorin, the general resolved to send to know whether he was inclined to finish the agreement already begun, in which case he proposed to send his chief factor on shore, provided hostages were delivered as before, every one was possessed with fear, so that Francisco Correa was the only man aboard the fleet who would undertake to deliver this message. The king received Correa kindly, said he was well pleased to have trade settled, and made no difficulty to send hostages, naming for that purpose two nephews of a rich Guzarat merchant, who were immediately sent aboard, and a handsome house provided for the factor Ayres Correa, to lodge his merchandise. And as the factor was not yet well known in the country, or acquainted with the rules observed in trade, and prices of commodities, the king ordered the grandfather of the hostages (to whom the house belonged) to instruct him therein; but the Guzarat neglected his orders, being a friend to the Moors; who by these means had their goods at their own price: the Gentiles, for fear of them, seldom going to the factory. On the other hand Correa, for want of

knowing the rates of Indian merchandise, always offered more than the commodities were worth, and so bought them too dear. The Moors likewise ordered it so, that whenever he went to speak to the Samorin, some of them might be present to thwart his measures. They also prevailed on Khojah Samiside, admiral of Calicut, to hinder those belonging to the factory from going on board, and to detain any of the ships which should remove near the shore. Cabral being informed of this, and fearing to be set upon by the king's fleet, in case he remained in the harbour, weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, resolving there to consult what was best to be done. The Samorin hereupon sent for Correa, and learning from him the cause thereof, desired him to send to the general to return, and forthwith gave orders to prevent the designs of the Moors. He also removed the Guzarat from about Correa, and in his place put another, named Cosebequin, who, though a Moor, was an honest man, and a friend to the Portuguese. For the Moors, who are natives of India, are always at strife with those who come from Cairo, and the Straights of Mecca; and Cosebequin was head of the former, as Samiside was of the latter. Further than this, the Samorin, to prevent the factory from being disturbed by the Moors, and that they might have the better opportunity of buying and selling to advantage, gave them a house by the water-side, for ever. This was done by writing; and a copy given; to which the king put his hand and seal, inclosed in a piece of cloth of gold, for the general to carry back to Portugal. It was the Samorin's pleasure also, that a flag, with the arms of Portugal, should be erected on the top of the house. After this, they had a pretty good vent for their goods by Cosebequin's means: The natives frequented the factory, and the Portuguese walked about in Calicut, with as much safety and as little molestation, as they could in Lisbon. However the merchants of Mecca obstructed their landing for their ships, and though complaint was made to the king, they received no redress: this was occasioned by the enmity of the two Moorish officers before-mentioned. The admiral being offended that the factor Correa had made greater application to the other than to him, contrived to be revenged, by getting the general to set upon a great ship of Ceylon, bound from Cochin to Cambaya with elephants. To effect this, he told Correa, that the owners of the ship had refused the Samorin one of those creatures; and that therefore if the Portuguese should take the vessel, they would not only oblige the king, and forward their own business, but also possess themselves of a great quantity of spice, which belonged to the merchants of Mecca. His design was that the Portuguese should receive damage in the attempt, that ship being of great bulk; and to this purpose gave notice to the owners, that they might be the better provided: he concluded at least in case his stratagem did not succeed, that the Portuguese would disoblige the merchants of Cochin. The general sent word that to oblige the king, he would willingly undertake the business though he was sensible it was a dangerous attempt; but expected, as it could not be done without loss of men, that he should not be offended if his sailors killed those who were in the Cambaya ship. This having been allowed as reasonable, the general sent after the ship Pedro de Attayda with his caraval (wherein were sixty men, besides some Moors sent by the admiral) who gave her chase; but being a ship of 600 tons and 300 men: she made no account of the caraval, which was small, till some of their balls reaching her, she bore down upon them, pouring in her shot: but being fiercely attacked by the Portuguese, and receiving a ball between wind and water, she quickly made off, and was pursued into the bay of Cananor, where she was taken. There were on board seven elephants, worth in Calicut 30,000*l.* one of which was killed and eaten by their men. The king next day came to the water-side, and was strangely surpris'd, to see such a vessel taken by one that was not about a sixth part of her bulk, praising the action, and treating the men:

men: but the general having discovered the fraud, in order to gain the friendship of the king of Cochin, restored the ship to the owners, making satisfaction for the damages. Here it was that Duarte Pacheco Percyra, gave the first marks of that heroic valour, for which he was afterwards rewarded.

The taking this ship terrified the Moors of Calicut more than ever, who imagined the king set the Portuguese on, in revenge of their injuries; and finding the latter was capable of bringing a great trade to his port, was careless whether they continued in his dominions or not. Upon this, they joined in a body, and waited on the Samorin, representing how much concerned they were to find, that those new comers should be so highly prized by him, while those who had so long supported the trade of Calicut, and given proofs of their fidelity, should be held of no account. They insinuated that the Portuguese were pirates, and could not possibly come to India for the sake of trade, since the profits arising from thence, could not (as they alledged) go near to defray the expences of a voyage of 5000 leagues, with so many ships and men. They even affirmed, that their design was to plunder the country, and take the city, if they could once get the least footing in it; that they would turn the house which the king had given them for a factory into a fort; and from thence make war upon him in a little time: they concluded, by threatening to remove to some other city of Malabar, in case he continued to give the Portuguese so much countenance, and them so little.

The king having heard this complaint, assured them of his friendship, and that he would not forsake them in favour of any strangers, he told them the reason for sending the general to take the Cochin ship was, to try the valour of the Portuguese, and that he permitted them to trade as he did other merchants, in order to bring their money into his country. For all this, the Moors were not satisfied, because the king did not command the Portuguese to quit Calicut, and permit their trading in his port. After this, they openly intermeddled in their affairs, and gave them what opposition they could in buying of spices. Their design was to pick a quarrel with these new comers, that they might at length come to blows: in which case they concluded, they should be able to destroy them by their numbers; in the mean time, incensing the common people as much as possible against them. By means of these subtle dealings in the Moors, in three months time there were but two ships laden with spices, and at dear rates; although the Samorin had promised that all the fleet should be laden in twenty days; and that they should be laden before all strangers. It was also discovered that the Moors bought up spices privately, at a lower price than the Portuguese could get them for; and shipped them off contrary to an order of the king in favour of the latter. The general being troubled at these things, judged they could not happen without the consent of the Samorin; for which reason he sent to expostulate with the prince, and let him know how little had been performed of all that had been promised him; intreating, that as the time for returning to Portugal was now come, that he would cause him to be dispatched without more delay. The Samorin seemed to be surprised and concerned, that the ships were still unladen. He said he could not believe that the Moors would offer to disobey his commands by a clandestine buying of species, and lading their vessels: but declared, if they had deceived him, that he would punish them for it; and gave the Portuguese leave to search their ships, and take all the spices they found in them, only paying the price which the Moors gave for them. As the Moors waited for an occasion to quarrel with the Portuguese, they thought this a very fit one. Immediately one of the principal among them, began to lade his ship openly; and the better to succeed in his scheme, got some Moors and gentiles, whom the factor took for his friends, to persuade him, that if he did not send to seize the same, he would ne-

ver be able to freight the fleet. Correa giving credit to what they told him, sent to desire the general to take the ship: but he, apprehensive that it would cause the Moors to rise against the factory, argued against it; Correa pressed again, and Cabral declined it a second time; but the factor persisting in his opposition, and engaging to answer for all damages that should happen on that occasion, the general, at length, much against his will, on the 16th of December, sent word to those on board the Moorish ship, that they must instantly depart, by virtue of the authority he had from the Samorin. The Moors making slight of the general's commands, he next day sent all his boats to bring the ship into the harbour. This being known to the Moors on shore, they immediately rose in a tumultuous manner, and after incensing the rabble, repaired to the palace, where, the better to gain the king over to their side, they alledged that the Portuguese had gotten a much greater quantity of spices and drugs than they had; yet, that not content with the larger share, they, like thieves and pirates, would needs run away with all; intreating that they might have liberty to take satisfaction for the injury. The inconstant king granted them their request; and the revengeful Moors hastened back to assault the factory. It was encompassed with a wall ten feet high, and in it were seventy men, including the friars; but among them all, there were only eight brass bows, besides their swords. The first party of the Moors that advanced were so few that the Portuguese took them for a parcel of mob, and resolved to defend the gates of the factory with their cloaks and rapiers: but their numbers increased so fast, and they galled the defendants so much with their arrows and spears that, after losing five men, they shut the gates with no small difficulty, and betook themselves to the walls with their brass bows: but Correa perceiving their numbers to amount, in a little time, to four thousand, with several nayres amongst them, and that it was impossible to hold out long against such a force without aid from the ships, set up a flag on the top of the factory to give notice of their distress. The general being sick in bed, and unable to assist them in person, sent Sancho de Toar with all the boats, and what men they had; but finding the enemy so numerous, he would not venture to land, nor even go too near the shore, for fear they should send out their vessels to take him.—Many of the besieged being wounded with the spears and arrows, which showered on them as thick as hail; and seeing the Moors preparing huge engines to batter down the walls, they resolved to quit the factory by a door that opened to the water-side, hoping to save themselves by the boats, but the enemy pressing them close, and the boats not advancing, only twenty escaped, though not unwounded; all the rest being either taken or killed: among the latter was Ayres Correa; but his son Antonio, (who afterwards acquired great reputation by his actions in India) got off, being then only eleven years of age. The merchandise that was seized on this occasion, amounted to 4000 ducats, and of the men that were then prisoners, four died of their wounds.

The general was greatly concerned at this disaster, and finding that the Samorin sent no apology for what had happened, it was resolved to take revenge immediately, that he might not have time to prevent it, by arming his fleet. Hereupon Cabral gave orders to attack ten large ships that lay in the harbour. After some resistance, they were taken. Six hundred of the men were either killed or drowned; those who remained alive were kept to serve as sailors. In the ships were found spices, and other merchandises, with three elephants, which were killed and salted for provisions. The goods being taken out, the vessels were burnt in sight of crowds of Moors on the shore, and, in the almadias, which came out to succour their friends, but were soon repulsed with loss. The general, not thinking this sufficient, ordered his ships in the night to spread, and advance as near the shore as possible, with their boats before them; at
break

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The factory assaulted.

1500

Cochin.

break of day, the ordnance began to play upon the town, which did great damage both among the houses and inhabitants, who crowded to avoid or repel the danger, and fell thick every shot. Several of the temples were demolished, with part of the king's palace, and the terror was so great among the citizens, that the Samorin himself fled, who narrowly escaped a bullet, (from the boats) a nayre being killed just behind him. Towards evening they gave over the cannonade, to follow two large ships, which (on sight of what was doing, as they were making into the port) fled to Panderane, where there were five more at anchor, but not being able to get near them, the general pursued his voyage to Cochin, where it was resolved to settle a factory, and took two Moorish ships in his passage, which he burned, after taking out their cargoes of rice, he arrived at that city the 20th of December. Cochin is the capital of a kingdom of the same name, 19 leagues south of Calicut, it stands upon a river, is very strong, and has a safe and a capacious port; the land about it is low, and divided into many islands. It is built after the manner of Calicut, and inhabited by Gentiles and Moors, who came from sundry parts to trade. There were two, each of whom had fifty ships. Provisions are not plentiful; but there is pepper enough, most of that which is at Calicut being brought from hence; yet the greater resort of merchants being at this latter place, makes it the richer of the two. The country being of no great extent, and the king not intitled to coin money, he was therefore but poor. Besides, he was subject to the Samorin, who on his accession to the throne, went to Cochin, and disposed of the crown as he thought fit. He was also obliged to assist the king of Calicut in all his wars, and to be of the same religion.

The general having cast anchor, sent a Gentile convert, called Michael Joghi, to the king to inform him of his coming, of what he had done at Calicut, and of his desire to trade to his port, with either merchandise or ready money. The king, (whose name was Trimumpara) left it to his own choice, and let him know that he might send whom he would to land for that purpose; dispatching, at the same time, two of his principal nayres as hostages, on condition, that he should change them every day, because, if they once ate on ship board, they never appeared in his presence any more. The General pleased with this hopeful beginning appointed Gonzalo Gil Barbosa, for factor: and sent with him a clerk, an interpreter, and four banished men, as servants. The king sent the register of the city, and several nobles to receive the factor and bring him to court. Here they found nothing of that state which they saw at Calicut. The prince was but meanly clad, and his court had nothing but bare walls, with certain seats round them, railed or boxed in like a theatre, in one of which Trimumpara sat. The factor being introduced, offered the present from the general, which consisted of a silver basin, for washing hands, full of saffron, a large silver ewer, filled with rose water, and some branches of coral. The king received them with pleasure, returning the general thanks, and after he had talked a while with the factor, ordered them to be well lodged. The general would not venture more men on shore, for fear of such an accident as happened at Calicut, but the event shewed there was no reason for distrust, for by the kind usage the Portuguese met with, by the dispatch that was made in lading their ships, and the willingness with which the natives assisted them on all occasions, it plainly appeared, that Trimumpara was a prince of an honest disposition, and that their differing with the Samorin, was the best fortune that could have attended them.

The ships being laden, and the general on shore, there came two Indian christians from Cranganor, or Cranganor, a city near Cochin, who were brothers, (one of them named Joseph) and desirous to go to Portugal, with a design to visit Rome and Jerusalem. Cabral asked them whether the place they came from was

inhabited solely by Christians? and, whether they belonged to the Greek or Latin church? One of them answered, That the inhabitants were a mixture of Gentiles, Christians, Jews, and strangers, who were merchants of Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Arabia; that the christians paid the king tribute, and dwelt in a part of the city by themselves; that they had a church in which they had crosses, but no images or bells, (but the priests in calling the people to prayers, observed the order of the Greeks.) That they had their popes, under whom were twelve cardinals, and two patriarchs, with many bishops and archbishops, who all resided in Armenia: thither he said went the bishops of Cranganor to receive their dignity, and added he had been there to be ordained priest by the pope; that the same method was observed by all the clergy within his jurisdiction, which extended over India and Chatay; that the two patriarchs resided in those two provinces, and the bishops were dispersed in the cities belonging to them; that their pope was called Catholicos, and their tonsure was made in the form of a cross. They were both admitted on board.—After this there came two messengers from the kings of Cananor and Coulan; inviting Cabral to their harbour, and promising him spices cheaper than he could have at Cochin. The general returned them thanks, and excused himself from going, in regard he was already laden: but promised to visit them on his return to India. He had scarcely taken in his cargo, when twenty-five great ships, besides smaller vessels, appeared on the coast. The King of Cochin being informed of their design, immediately sent the general word, that they came on purpose to seek him out, and had 15,000 soldiers on board: offering, at the same time, to assist him with what he wanted. Cabral returned thanks, but said, he should be able, with the few he had, to make them repent their errand. The general observing that they hovered about, and did not venture within a league of his fleet, weighed anchor, and went out against them: but a storm arising, and the wind shifting contrary, he was obliged to return.

On the next day, the 10th of January, the wind proving very fair, the general prepared to move towards the enemy; but missing Sancho de Toar's ship, which was the second in size, and best provided with men, he thought fit to change his resolution, and make the best of his way home. He was followed all day by the Calicut fleet, which at night left him. This accident prevented him from returning to Cochin, as he had proposed, to set on shore ten nayres, hostages; who, after five days fasting, were reconciled to eat on board, by the general's good words. On the fifteenth they anchored before Cananor, 31 leagues to the north of Cochin. This city is very large. The houses are of earth, and covered with slates. There is a fine bay before it. The country produces plenty of ginger, cardamons, tamarinds, mirabolans, cassia, and the like; but no more pepper than is consumed in the country. The Moors drove here a great trade. The pools, near the city, breed alligators. Here are adders likewise so poisonous, that they were supposed to kill men with their breath, and bats as large as kites, the head being like that of a fox: they are very good to eat: provisions are plenty. The king was a Bramin, and one of the three independent princes of Malabar, but not so rich as either the prince of Calicut or Coulan. Here the general took in 400 quintals of cinnamon: and it being judged, that the reason why he did not buy more, was for want of money, the king sent to tell him, he might have what he would on trust. This generous offer Cabral declined with thanks; and took on board an ambassador, sent by the king to cultivate Friendship with the court of Portugal. Afterwards he departed, making his way across the gulph, lying between India and Africa: about the middle of which, on the thirty-first of January, he took a great merchant-ship; but finding it belonged to the king of Cambaya, let it go again, sending word that the design of his coming to India was not to make war with any of the princes belonging

ing to it, though he had been forced to it by the Samorin's breach of peace. He took nothing out of the ship but a pilot, to conduct him through the gulf. Being arrived near the African coast, the 12th of February a storm suddenly arose, by which in the night, the ship of Sancho de Toar was driven on shore, and taking fire was burnt; but all the men were saved. Following their course in this tempest, they passed by Melinda, not being able to put in there, nor at any other place upon the coast, till they came to Mozambique, where they cast anchor in order to refit their ships and take in water.

Cabral, in the mean time, sent de Toar to discover Sofala, and the fleet being in readiness, some time after he proceeded on his voyage. Near the Cape of Good Hope, they were attacked by several violent storms, in which one of the ships was separated; at last they doubled it the 22d of May, and had favourable weather till they came to Cape Verd, where they

met with Diego Diaz, who having been separated from the fleet in its way to the Indies, was driven into the Red sea, where he lost his boat and most of his men, by sickness and want of provisions. The pilot not venturing to carry him to India, he returned towards Portugal, with only seven men on board; who, after quitting the Arabic gulf, grew strong and able to manage the tackle.

The general finding there came no more ships, departed for Lisbon, where he arrived the 31st of July, 1501. He was followed in a few days by the ship which separated from him at the Cape of Good Hope, and after that came in de Toar, who brought an account that Sofala was a small island, close to the continent, inhabited by Caffres; that the Moors from India traded there for gold, whereof there were mines up the country. Of the twelve ships that went out of Portugal, only six returned, the other six being never heard of more.

THE VOYAGE OF JUAN DE NUEVA.

BEFORE Cabral returned, the king of Portugal in the month of March 1501, sent another fleet to India; but as he imagined the contention begun in the first voyage at Calicut was at an end, and that a trade had been settled there by Cabral as well as at Quiloa and Sofala, he thought fit to send no more than three ships and a caraval, with only 400 men in them, two carrying merchandise to Sofala, and two to Calicut. He appointed Juan de Nueva general, [admiral] of this fleet a native of Galicia, and an experienced seaman. His instructions were to touch at San Blas, and, in case he missed any of his ships, to wait there for them ten days, and after which he was to proceed to Sofala, and if a factory was not already established, he was to settle one if possible. Then he was to call at Quiloa, and thence sail over to Calicut; where if he found Cabral, he should acknowledge him as general, and get him to establish a factory at Sofala on his return, in case his own attempt should prove in vain. De Nueva (having discovered the island of Conception in eight degrees south latitude) got safe to San Blas (beyond the Cape of Good Hope) where in an old shoe was found a letter written by Pedro de Atayde, before-mentioned, which gave an account how matters stood at Calicut, Cochinchina and Cananor. Concluding, upon this, that it was not proper to leave the caraval at Sofala, having but few men, they passed on; and in August arrived at Mozambique, then at Quiloa, having found an island, which, from the commander, was called Juan de Nueva. At Melinda, the king informed them of what had passed in India, as the banished man had done at Quiloa. Not far from the former they chased two great ships, and took and burned one of them. From thence they crossed the gulf to Anchedivia, where they arrived in November; and while they stayed to take in water, seven large ships of Cambaya passed by, in their way to the streights of Mecca; but not caring to engage did not stop. The fleet being come to anchor, the general had a conference with the king, who pressed him to leave his ships there: but De Nueva, desirous first to talk to the factor at Cochinchina, declined that offer. On his way thither, he took a ship belonging to the Moors of Calicut, after a vigorous defence, and caused it to be burned. Being arrived at Cochinchina, the factory, with the rest of the company, came on board, and acquainted him, that the king was greatly offended with Cabral, for leaving the port without seeing him, and carrying away the hostages; that, notwithstanding, they were all kindly entertained, that at night they were lodged

in the palace; and if in the day any of them went abroad, they had nayres to attend them; observing that this care was taken by the king to defend them from the Moors, who had one night set fire to their house. He also told the general that they had prejudiced the merchants of the country so much against the Portuguese commodities, that they would not take them in exchange for those of India, observing withal, that if he had not brought money, they would not part with their spices. This having been the general's case, he returned immediately to Cananor; but money being required there as well as at Cochinchina, and it coming to the king's ear, that he had brought none, that prince, rather than he should return with empty ships, was so generous as to become his security for 1000 quintals of pepper, 50 of ginger, and 450 of cinnamon, besides some linen cloth, till the factor, whom he left at Cananor, with two clerks, should sell the merchandise put into his custody. After the lading was taken in, on the 15th of December, the king sent him word, that above eighty praws appeared to the northward, sent by the Samorin to attack him; and advised him to land with his men and ordnance. The general sent to thank the king, but let him know withal, that he did not fear to meet his enemy by sea. Next morning, by day-break, about one hundred ships and praws full of Moors, entered the bay. As soon as the general perceived them, he removed into the middle of it, and ordered his ships to pour in their shot upon the enemy without intermission; by which means they durst not approach to lay the Portuguese on board, and having brought no ordnance with them, they could do their foes no harm at a distance.

It was to this want of cannon, doubtless, that the Portuguese owed their safety, and boldness to face them so long. Having slain many of the Moors, and sunk several of their vessels, without a man being hurt on their side, the enemy towards evening hung out a flag. The general at first supposing it to be some artifice, continued his fire: but perceiving they did not take their flag down, and most of his ordnance being burst with shooting, at length gave over, and answered them with another flag. Whereupon a Moor was sent in a small boat to desire a truce till next day, which was granted, on condition that they should quit the harbour and put out to sea, which they did. At the same time the general quitted his station also, and came to anchor near them; but finding in the night that the enemy came in their boats with an intent, as was supposed, to fire his ships, he removed

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farther off; and as they still followed him, he ordered a gun to be shot at them, on which they retreated, and stood away for Calicut.—De Nueva immediately after this, took his leave of the king of Cananor, and set sail for Portugal, where he arrived safely with all his ships. After his departure, there came to Cana-

nor one of his men who had been taken prisoner at Calicut, and was sent by the Samorin to excuse what had been done both to him and the former general Pedro Alvarez Cabral, offering to lade his ships, if he would come to Calicut, and give him sufficient pledges for his security.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF VASQUEZ DE GAMA.

THE reader has already had an account of the first voyage of Vasquez de Gama, and proper reasons were assigned for deferring the relation of the second, which now comes in according to the rule that we prescribed ourselves.—

As it appeared from Cabral's account that it would be necessary to apply force in India, or quit the attempt of establishing a settlement there, the king sent out three squadrons, in March, 1502; the first of ten ships, commanded by Vasquez de Gama, now on his second voyage. The second of five ships, under Vincent Sodre, which was to range the coast of Cochin and Cananor, and hinder the Moors (that is the Turks and Arabs) from trading in the Indies by watching the mouth of the red sea. The third was under Stephen de Gama, but all were subordinate to Vasquez. The whole consisted of twenty ships; and they were gone before Juan de Nueva arrived.—The command of this fleet was first conferred on Pedro Alvarez de Cabral: but on farther consideration, it was given to Vasquez de Gama to whom the king delivered the flag with great honour, in the cathedral church, giving him the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas. With him returned the ambassadors of Cochin and Cananor, who had been much honoured by his Portuguese majesty. The two first squadrons departed in March; the second, not till the first of May. Don Vasquez off Cape Verd met with a caraval bound for Lisbon, with much gold from La Mina, some of which he shewed to the ambassadors, and they, surprized, said, it did not agree with the account the Venetian ambassador in Portugal, had given them, viz. that the Portuguese without the help of Venice, could scarcely put ships to sea. This was spoken out of envy, because they were like to lose their trade with India by way of Egypt.

Having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and passed the currents, Don Vasquez, with four of the smallest vessels, struck off for Sofala, and sent the rest of the fleet before him to Mozambique. He went pursuant to the king's orders, not only to observe the situation of that city, and see if there was a convenient place for building a fort, but also to inspect the gold of the country. He made friendship with the king, and obtained leave to settle a factory: after which, mutual presents passed between them. Having spent twenty-five days in this transaction, he departed, and in turning out of the river, lost one of his ships, but saved the men.

Having reached Mozambique, he made friendship with the king, who was so averse to it in his first voyage; and obtained leave to settle a factory: the whole intent whereof was, to provide victualling for the Portuguese fleets which should touch there in their voyage either going or coming. From hence departing, he arrived at Quiloa, the twelfth of July, with a resolution to force the king to become tributary for his ill usage to Cabral. As soon as he came to anchor, Ibrahim, more through fear than any thing else, paid him a visit on ship-board, Don Vasquez knowing that he was not to be trusted, and having him in his power, without farther ceremony, threatened to confine him under the hatches unless he immediately

agreed to pay his master tribute.—The captive prince promised 2000 miticals of gold yearly; and gave for pledge one Mahomet, a wealthy Moor, whom he mortally hated, in order to get rid of him. For the moment Ibrahim got back to Quiloa, he refused to perform his agreement; not so much to save the money, as to provoke the general to kill his security. But the Moor finding the tribute came not, thought fit to pay the sum himself, and was released. Here Stephen de Gama joined the general with his fleet, and both together proceeded on their voyage. He was put by Melinda, and forced to water eight leagues beyond it in a bay, whence spreading his fleet, that no ship might escape him, he took several; but was most severe upon those of Calicut.—Being arrived on the coast of India, near Mount Deli, to the north of Cananor, he met a ship of great bulk, called the Mars, belonging to the Sultan of Egypt, which was very richly laden, and full of Moors of quality, who were going on pilgrimage to Mecca. This ship being taken, after a vigorous resistance; the general went on board; and sending for the principal Moors, ordered them to produce such merchandises as they had; threatening, otherwise to have them thrown into the sea. They pretended all their effects were at Calicut: but one of them having been flung over-board, bound hand and foot, the rest, through fear, delivered their goods. All the children were carried into the general's ship, and the remainder of the plunder was given to the sailors. After which, Stephen de Gama, by Don Vasquez's order, set fire to the vessel. But the Moors having broken up the hatches under which they were confined, and quenched the flames with the water that was in the ship, Stephen was commanded to lay them aboard. The Moors being made desperate with the apprehension of their danger, received him with great resolution; and even attempted to burn the other ships. As night came on, he was obliged to desist without doing his work: but the general gave orders that the vessel should be watched that the passengers might not, by favour of the darkness, escape to land which was near. All night long, the unhappy Moors called on their prophet to help them. In the morning Stephen de Gama was sent to execute his former orders. He boarded the ship, and setting fire to it drove the Moors into the poop, who still defended themselves; for some of the sailors would not leave the vessel till it was half burnt, many of the Moors when they saw the flames approach them, leaped into the sea with hatchets in their hands, and swimming, fought their pursuers; some even made up to and attacked the boats, doing much hurt: however, most of them were at length slain; and all those drowned who remained in the ship, which soon after sunk, so that of three hundred persons, among whom were thirty women, not one escaped the fire, sword, or water. A terrible instance of barbarity exercised by men calling themselves christians. The general being come to Cananor, sent to acquaint the king he desired to speak with him. For this purpose a wooden bridge was made, which entered a good way into the water, this was covered with carpets; and at the end towards land

land a house of wood was set up furnished also with carpets. The king arrived first attended by 10,000 nayres; the trumpets sounding, and other instruments playing before him. Soon after the general came accompanied with all the boats of the fleet furnished with flags, musical instruments, and ordnance, under the discharge of which he landed. There were carried before him two large silver basons gilt, to wash in, covered with pieces of coral and other things esteemed in the Indies. He was received at the head of the bridge by several nayres, placed there for the purpose, and the king came to the door of the house to meet him, where that prince embraced him, and then they walked in together to the room of audience, where there were placed two chairs, on one of which the king sat down, though contrary to the custom of the Indians, in respect to the general. At this interview, a treaty of friendship and commerce was concluded, and a factory granted at Cananor, in consequence of which, the general laded some of his ships, and then departed for Calicut.

When Gama arrived in the harbour, he took several praws, with about fifty Malabars in them, before it was known who he was: but forbore all hostilities against the city, to see if the king would take any notice of him. In some time there came a boat on board, carrying a flag with a Franciscan Friar, whom, at first sight, they took for one of those left with Ayres Correa. On entering the ship, he said *Deo gratias*; and then they discovered he was a Moor. He made an apology for coming in that disguise, which it seems, he put on the more easily to be admitted; being sent with a message from the Samorin to the general, about settling a trade at Calicut. Gama's answer was, that he should not talk of any such matter, till the king had made him satisfaction for the goods that were in the factory, when he consented to the death of Correa and the rest.

Three days were spent in messages backwards and forwards without any effect: when the general conceiving the drift was only to delay time, sent the Samorin word, that he would wait for his final answer no longer than noon; and in case in that time he did not comply with his demands, he would make cruel war on him with fire and sword, and would begin with those of his subjects whom he had taken prisoners. On this occasion, he called for an hour-glass; and told the Moor who carried the message, that as soon as it had run out so many times, he would infallibly put his threats in execution. The Samorin influenced by the Moors sent no answer; therefore when the time was expired, De Gama ordered a gun to be shot off, which was the signal for his Captains to hang the poor Malabars who were distributed aboard their ships, when dead, he ordered their feet and hands to be cut off, and sent in a praw guarded by two armed boats, with a letter for the Samorin, written in Arabic; giving him to understand that in such manner he proposed to reward him for his repeated breaches of faith and deceitful dealings; and that for the king his master's goods, he would recover them an hundred fold. Then he ordered three ships to advance as near the shore as possible in the night, and the next morning their ordnance was played without intermission upon the city whereby many of the houses were demolished, and among the rest the king's palace. This done, he departed for Cochin, leaving Vincent Sodre with six ships, to scour the coasts, and obstruct the Moorish trade.—As soon as Gama entered the harbour of Cochin, Trimumpara sent hostages on board and came in person to meet him on land. At this interview De Gama delivered him king Emanuel's letter and present. The letter imported thanks for the kind treatment Cabral had met with, and consent for settling a factory at Cochin. The present consisted of a crown of gold, thick set with jewels; a gold collar enamelled, two silver fountains wrought, two pieces of figured arras, a costly pavilion, and a

piece of crimson sattin, and another of fendal; Trimumpara received it with pleasure and the pavilion being set up to shew the use of it, a farther treaty of peace was concluded within it. The king also gave a house for the factory, and settled the rates at which spices were to be delivered. This agreement was reduced to writing, and signed by Trimumpara who sent the king of Portugal the following present: two gold bracelets, set with precious stones, a sash for the head, used by the Moors, of silver tissue, two yards and a half in length, two great pieces of fine Bengal callico, and a stone as big as a walnut reported to be good against poisons, and said to be taken out of the head of a beast, called in the Indies Bulgoldolf, and very rare to be found.

While Gama's ship was lading, a messenger came from the Samorin to acquaint him that if he would return to Calicut, all his goods should be restored him, and a trade granted, the general ordered the messenger to be confined, in order to punish him, if the Samorin proved deceitful. And against the advice of all his Captains, determined to go alone to Calicut, saying, that in case of necessity he would retreat to Sodre's squadron, which hovered on that coast. On his arrival in the road, the Samorin sent him word, that next day every thing should be concluded: but as soon as he understood that the general had left the rest of his ships behind, he ordered thirty-four praws to go out and take him. They set upon Gama's ship so suddenly, that to escape them he was obliged to cut one of his cables, and stand out to sea, for all this they did not give over the pursuit, but followed him so close, that he must infallibly have been taken but for Sodre's Ships, on sight whereof, the praws made off. At his return to Cochin he ordered the messenger to be hanged. The Samorin was much concerned at this; but finding he laid his snares in vain, to take Gama, he resolved to try whether he could persuade the king of Cochin to deny the Portuguese a liberty of trading in his ports, with this view he wrote him a letter, wherein he called the Portuguese, robbers, representing the danger that might attend entertaining such guests, and the displeasure it gave him. Trimumpara answered, that since they brought money to lay out in his country, it was his interest to encourage them: and that the Samorin would not be willing, at his request, to prohibit the Moors of Mecca from trading to Calicut. The Samorin replied, that he was sorry to find the king of Cochin preferred the friendship of christian strangers to his, and took part with his enemies; advising him once more to abandon them, as he tendered his own welfare.

The king of Cochin in his answer let the Samorin know, that he did not value his threatening, and that he should never, through fear of the consequence be induced to do a base or perfidious action. The Samorin finding he could not prevail by intreaty, resolved to apply force, as soon as the Portuguese were returned homewards. Mean time he commanded twenty-nine large ships to be fitted out, in order to attack them once more before they left the coast; imagining, that as the general's fleet was heavy laden, his would be better able to deal with it.

The king of Cochin told Gama nothing of what had passed between him and the Samorin, till he went to take his leave, at which time, as a farther proof of his integrity, he declared he would hazard the loss of his dominions, to serve the king of Portugal. The general, with many expressions of gratitude, assured him, that his master would never forget so many demonstrations as he had given of friendship, and engaged in his master's name, to afford him such effectual succour, that it would be in his power not only to secure his own kingdom, but to conquer others; adding that thence-forward such fierce war should be carried on against the Samorin, that far from being able to attack others, he would have enough to do to defend himself, and promised to send him a fleet of ships forthwith from Cananor. The king was the

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more pleased with the declaration of the general, as it was spoken before his nayres; who, in friendship to the Moors, were sorry that a factory had been granted to the Portuguese.

The general having sailed from Cochin, about three leagues from Padarane, descried the Moorish fleet before mentioned, which came to intercept him in his passage.—He then immediately bore down upon them: and Sodre, with two other captains, advancing before the rest, attacked two of the largest ships with so much fury, that many of the men leaped into the sea, to avoid their weapons.—Gama coming up with the rest of the fleet, the remainder of the enemies vessels made towards shore as fast as they could, nor would the general suffer his ships to follow them, for fear of the shoals. Mean while the Portuguese in their boats, slew all the Moors who defended themselves swimming in the water, to the number of 300 persons. In the two ships they found much China ware, silver vessels gilt, and other rich merchandise; but what exceeded all the rest, was an image of gold, weighing thirty pounds, of a monstrous shape: the eyes were two emeralds; part of it was covered with a garment of beaten gold, curiously wrought, and set with precious stones. On the breast of the idol was a large ruby, which sent forth a most brilliant light.

The goods being taken out, the ships were burnt, and Gama proceeding to Cananor, the king gave him

a house for the use of the factory, which he left there, consisting of 24 men, who were to be furnished with spices at a settled price, at Cochin. The two nations were to defend each other, and the king of Cananor was not to assist any prince against Trimumpara. Then Gama ordered Sodre to remain on that coast till February, and if, in the mean time, there was any likelihood of war breaking out between the kings of Calicut and Cochin, he should winter at the latter place; in case there was not, he was then to sail for the Red Sea, and take all ships of Mecca, bound to the Indies.

On the 20th of December, Gama departed for Portugal, with 13 ships, and came to Mozambique, where they refitted two that were leaky. At Cape Corientes they were detained by contrary winds and storms, which came with sudden squalls. Gama arrived at Cascais the first of September, where several noblemen went to receive and accompany him to court. He was preceded by his page, who carried a silver bason, containing the tribute of the king of Quiloa. His master gave him an honourable reception, justly due to his great services, and made him admiral of the Indian seas. He conferred on him also the title of Count of Videgueyra. Six days after came to Lisbon Stephen de Gama, whose ship had been separated from the rest at Cape Corientes, and in the way home had lost its main-mast in bad weather.

VARIOUS VOYAGES AND TRANSACTIONS OF PACHECO, ALBUQUERQUE, AND OTHER PORTUGUESE ADVENTURERS.

AS the Samorin envied the advantage which Trimumpara king of Cochin, made of the Portuguese trade, and was offended with him for encouraging the enemies of the Moors, whom he supported, which might endanger the loss of the trade of Arabia and Egypt, he got together 50,000 men at Panani, sixteen leagues from Cochin, and made other preparations for war. The people of Cochin fearing so great a power, were for delivering up the Portuguese to the Samorin, who demanded nothing more. But Trimumpara refused, and went out with three of his nephews and a small force, to meet the enemy; at the first charge he was forsaken by some of his nobles, yet assisted by the Portuguese, valiantly maintained a pass, till his nephews being killed, whereof one was general, and himself wounded, after stoutly resisting, he was forced to fly, and secure himself in the Island Vaipi, near to and more tenable than Cochin, which the Samorin took and burned: yet still he persisted not to deliver up the Portuguese.

Whilst the people of Cochin were besieged in the island, there sailed from Lisbon nine ships, under three different commanders: the first was Alonso (or Alphonso) de Albuquerque; the second, Francisco de Albuquerque; and the third, Antonio de Saldanna.—The last were to cruize in the mouth of the Red Sea, against the ships of Mecca; the others to return with their lading.—Francisco de Albuquerque arrived first with more ships than he brought out, having met with those of Vincent Sodre, who was cruising upon the Indian coast, and distressed by storm, as also a vessel that had been separated from Don Vasquez De Gama. Sodre had taken four ships of Calicut, which he carried to Cananor, and burned several small vessels, but this happened before the invasion of Cochin, to whose king he had offered his assistance, but was not admitted. Therefore sailing thence, he touched at Socotra and Guardafu, and, on the coast of Arabia, took some vessels of Cambaya and Calicut. Winter coming on, he put for shelter into a bay near the

islands Curiamuria, and found the Arabs of that coast called Badwins, who lived by their cattle, very tractable. After two months stay, they advised him to seek a good harbour, to avoid being cast away in the storms, which arose about that time. Sodre would not credit them, believing they said it only to get rid of him; but, when it was too late, found they spoke the truth, being, with his brother and all the crew lost in a sudden tempest. The other vessels, after being in great danger, and suffering much through hunger and thirst, escaped, and met Francisco de Albuquerque, with whom they sailed to Cochin.—The commander, immediately on his arrival, sent a present into the island, part whereof was 10,000 ducats. Then going on shore, Trimumpara ran and embraced him, crying, *Portugal! Portugal!* which words all the people with great cries repeated; and the Portuguese, to return the civility, cried, *Cochin! Cochin!* Francisco comforted the king, giving him assured hopes in the assistance of his ships, and the others he expected. Not to lose time, he fell upon those who held the island of Cochin for the king of Calicut, and killing many people, he expelled the rest. Thence he passed to Vaipi, and restored that country to its lawful prince. The territory of the lord of Repelim, was wasted with fire and sword, and only four Portuguese lost in this action.

The joy Trimumpara received in being restored by the assistance of the Portuguese, moved him to grant them leave to build a fort in Cochin. The work was begun when Alphonso de Albuquerque arrived, and it was called the Fort of St. Jago. A church was likewise then built, dedicated to St. Bartholomew. Five hundred men being put on board some vessels, taken from the enemy, they burned Repelim, after a stout defence made by 2000 nayres. Alphonso, ambitious of performing some notable exploit by himself, advanced against a town, whence a multitude of expert heathens issuing, brought him into great danger, which was increased by the assistance of 33 vessels of Calicut.

cut. But his brother Francisco coming up, they were put to flight, and many killed, as were 700 in the island Cabalam, where they thought to secure themselves. Duarte Pacheco destroyed another town, killing many of the inhabitants. As the Portuguese failed, fifty ships of Calicut met them, and they, (tho' victorious) now spent with fatigue, were surprised at the number: but the cannon being well played, the enemy deserted the fight.

Pepper was obtained with some expence of blood. The queen of Coulan offered lading for two ships. [Albuquerque] went thither and settled a trade, and to manage it, left behind a factor, and twenty-six men. The king of Calicut perceiving the success of the Portuguese, desired peace, which was granted, upon their own conditions; but after having fulfilled only a part of them, he renewed the war. As Trimumpara requested that some able commander might be left at Cochin with a military force to assist him, Duarte Pacheco was sent thither with his ships, two caravals, and 110 men.

Francisco de Albuquerque and his fleet lost. The Albuquerque now set out for Europe, where Alphonso arrived safe; * but Francisco and his ships were never heard of more; as for Pedro de Ataida, he was found at Melinda, where he had put in, after having weathered the fury of a violent tempest. The third commander, Antonio Saldanna, who was sent to cruise at the mouth of the Red Sea, came to anchor at St. Thomas's, after having lost Diego Fernandez Peteira. Ruy Lorenzo being separated from him by a storm, was driven up from Mozambique, from whence he sailed to Quiloa, and took some small prizes. Desirous however of doing some remarkable action, he sailed to the island of Zanzibar, twenty leagues from Mombassa, where he took twenty small vessels, and afterwards appeared before the town of that name.—The king fitted out several praws with an intention of taking his ship; but the long-boat defeated their purpose, took four praws, and killed several of their people.—The king afterwards made an attempt to defend the place with his army, but this was defeated, and his son slain in the engagement; after which the vanquished party offered to become tributary to the king of Portugal. From hence Lorenzo sailed to Melinda. In his way he took two small vessels, on board of which were twelve magistrates of Brava, who promised that city should likewise become tributary to the Portuguese. At this time the kings of Mombassa and Melinda being at war, were on the point of coming to a battle; but Saldanna arriving, the latter settled matters with the former.

While these things were passing, the Samorin of Calicut was not idle: he called round him the princes of Malabar, and assembled a body of 50,000 men for the sea as well as the land service. Forty thousand of these were embarked in 280 vessels, having with them 382 pieces of cannon, intended for the purpose of battering the new fort, while the land-force was to attack the fording-place of a river that passed to the island.

As many of the king of Cochin's subjects deserted him, that prince began to be in fear for the event. Pacheco however, encouraged alike his own people and their allies, and made proper preparations for maintaining the expected combat. He placed 25 men in the ship, and 39 in the fort; he put 23 men into one boat, and threw himself with 22 into another. The rest of his force consisted of 300 Malabars; and the king remained with his troops to guard the city. With this small power the Samorin, who had quartered himself in a neighbouring village, was defeated with great loss. His men were routed with great slaughter in three different engagements which they had in disputing the pass. At the same time 15000 of them were defeated by land; and afterwards four towns were burned by the victor in the pursuit.

The king of Cochin was still unhappy in those

about him, who continued to desert to the enemy, at which Pacheco was much displeased and five of the deserters, being secured, he obtained leave to punish them. When these were secured, the Portuguese commander caused it to be reported that they were hanged, with which, however, the king and his people were highly displeased.

The Samorin, notwithstanding his defeat, returned, and attempted another ford, and found the Portuguese and their allies again prepared for his reception. Diego Perez and Pedro Raphael were posted with two caravals and some boats, where the lord of Repelim was to attack with 3000 men. At this very juncture no less than 300 Moors deserted Pacheco, who wanting powder, sent to the prince of Cochin, but he did not relieve him; the messenger treacherously forbearing to deliver the message: but Pacheco overcoming all difficulties, killed 650 of the Samorin's men, who retired to a grove of palm-trees, where nine were slain so near him, that he was sprinkled with their blood; he afterwards lost 6000 more by the plague.

After this the king of Calicut made great preparations; and in the mean time fatigued Pacheco with several stratagems and treacheries. The Bramin conjurors proposed making a powder, which being thrown into the eyes of the Portuguese, would blind them, and so they would be easily overcome. Besides, they had a new invention of castles that were to destroy them, and the Moors of Cochin were underhand bribed to poison the water of the island. The powder was looked upon as ridiculous; but great care was taken by Pacheco to prevent the poison. The castles were eight in number, fifteen feet high; each placed upon two boats, and carrying many men. Pacheco had 160 men divided into four parties, the ford, the fort, in the caravals, and the ship; and herein consisted the principal strength of the kingdom of Cochin: for of the 30,000 men the king had at first, there were now but 8000 left, many of the principal men having deserted. The Samorin had brought 80,000 men, and lost 20,000. Whilst the towers were preparing, Pacheco, who was assaulted by a number of praws, in one attack killed some men, and took five boats; in another eight, with thirteen pieces of cannon.

Six bold negros offered to kill him, and in order thereto, came over as deserters; but he having intelligence, apprehended, and sent them to the king. The Samorin gave out, that the Portuguese of Cochin were all killed, to the intent that those who resided at Cananor and Coulan, should be destroyed. This brought them into great danger; one or two were killed, and many wounded. The king of Cochin was resolved to endure the utmost miseries, rather than abandon the Portuguese: but fearing these few must at last be over-powered by the multitude of the enemy, earnestly intreated Pacheco to quit the enterprise; Pacheco bid him be of good courage and not dishearten his subjects with any sign of fear. To cheer up the Portuguese, he went on board the ship, and made a most pathetic speech, which gave new vigour to them all, but much more his example at that very time; for scarce was the speech ended, when the enemy came to assail him, and burn his ship, but Pacheco used long beams, one end of which resting on the ship, the other hindered the approach of the flaming towers.

The enemy appeared with 290 small vessels, well stored with men and artillery, and eight castles, one carrying 40 men; two, 35 each; and every one of the other five, 30 men, with fire-works in front. The shore was covered with 30,000 men, with good artillery, and, at the head of them, the lord of Repelim, with a vast number of pioneers. The fight began, the odds being almost three hundred vessels to three. At first the artillery did no great hurt; but being continued, tore the towers to pieces, and when the smoke

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* Amongst other things which he brought home were a quantity of pearls, an exceeding large diamond, and two fine Ara-

bian horses, said to be the first of the breed that had ever been seen in Portugal.

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was somewhat allayed, the sea appeared covered with broken boats, arms, dead bodies, and others struggling with death: the fight was renewed with great loss to the enemy, and not one Portuguese killed. Next day the Samorin returned to the charge, and was beaten off with greater damage. Thus having lost 18,000 men in the space of five months, by the advice of his Bramins, he retired to do penance: and by consent of his council, desired a peace, which the king of Cochin granted. At this time Pacheco, pursuant to a message from the factor at Coulan, went thither, and made five ships of Moors submit, who obstructed the market of pepper, which afterwards he took at their own rate, without doing them any harm.

King Emanuel being informed by Don Vasquez de Gama, how necessary it was to appear with a greater force in India, fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships, the biggest that had yet been built in Portugal, with 1200 men on board, and gave the command of them to Lope Soares.

The first land of India he touched at, was Anchediva, where Antonio de Saldanna, and Ray Lorenzo were residing, in order to cruise on the coast of Cambaya against the Arabs of Mecca. But Lope Soares took them along with him to Cananor, where he staid to give the necessary orders, and then appearing before Calicut, had some prisoners taken in the late war, delivered to him: but because they did not give up all, he for two days battered the city, whereof he ruined great part, and killed 300 inhabitants. Then sailing to Cochin, (at which time Pacheco was upon his return to Coulan) the king informed him of the damage he received from Cranganor, a town but four leagues distant, and fortified by the Samorin.

Lope Soares, with great secrecy, provided twenty vessels, and sailed with them up the river, where he found five ships, and eighty praws well manned, which were, by two of the foremost ships burnt after a sharp engagement. Trimumpara was to have joined him, but came too late. A multitude of Indians and Moors, with showers of arrows endeavoured to hinder his landing, but the musqueteers made way, and having reached the town, burned it down to the ground, while the king of Calicut fled, but this victory, and another obtained by the king of Tanor against him, produced a peace at last.

Lope Soares left Manuel Tellez Barreto with four sails to secure the fort of Cochin, and set sail, in order to return home; but resolved in his way, to sail upon Panani, a town subject to Calicut. He was met by twenty praws, who pouring in their shot, drove him into a bay, where there waited seventeen great ships, well stored with cannon, and provided with 4000 men. After a fierce engagement, the ships were all burnt with their lading, which was very rich, and 700 Turks drowned, besides those that perished by fire and sword; with the loss of only twenty-three Portuguese. Soares sailed hence the beginning of January, and arrived at Lisbon on the 22d of July, 1506, with thirteen victorious ships laden with riches; three were of the foregoing year's fleet: of his own he lost Pedro Mendoza, who being stranded 14 leagues from Aquada de S. Blas, was never more heard of. One of the other three was that of Diego Fernandez Peteyra, who, after taking several prizes on the coast of Melinda, discovered the island Socatra.—The king placed Duarte Pacheco (who had so bravely defended Cochin) by his side, under a canopy, and went with him in that manner to church, to honour his great valour: but soon after imprisoned, and suffered him to die miserably. Such was the end of this great conqueror in those parts, and such the gratitude of Indian kings.

In the year 1507, Don Francisco de Almeyda sailed from Portugal, and arriving at Quiloa with his son Lorenzo, landed at the head of 500 men, and attacked the city in two places. When he entered, Emir Ibrahim fled and set up Portuguese colours in the field, which stopped the pursuit till he had got over to the

continent with his wives and riches. The city was plundered without the loss of one Portuguese, though a great number of the enemy was killed; Ibrahim was but an usurper, though the forty-fourth possessor of that island. When things were settled, Almeyda declared Mohammed Anconi (Ibrahim's relation, who had been serviceable to the Portuguese) king of that place, putting a crown of gold on his head, with great pomp. The new king at the same time declared, that had the lawful king Alfudail, murdered by the late usurper, been living, he would have resigned the crown to him, and actually appointed Alfudail's son his successor, though he himself had children. In twenty days the fort was raised, into which the viceroy put 550 men, and leaving a caraval and brigantine to cruise there, on the 8th of August, sailed with thirteen ships for Mombassa, seated, as has been noticed, like Quiloa, in an island which is about fourteen leagues in compass. The city is beautiful and strong, with a large bay for shipping. Two vessels that were sent to sound the bar, were played upon with eight pieces of cannon. But a ball falling luckily among the enemies powder, obliged them to quit the work, and after driving them from two smaller batteries, the fleet entered without farther resistance. Don Francisco then went to burn the ships of Cambaya in the port; and landing his men, entered the town the 15th of August, while the king fled out at the other end. In this action only five Portuguese were lost; of the Moors, 1513 were killed, and 1200 taken; after which the city being plundered, was burnt to the ground.

From thence Almeyda departed for India, and coming to Anchediva, there built a fort, into which he put eighty men, and then sailed to Onor, on the coast of Malabar, where being ill received, he burnt the town, and the ships that were in the harbour, here the viceroy was wounded with an arrow; and a party sent to attack 1500 of the enemy, were likely to have been defeated; but farther mischief was prevented by Timoja, governor of the city, a man of graceful presence, who excusing his king, and, in his name, offering vassalage to Portugal, appeased Almeyda. The viceroy then sailed to Cananor, where he had an interview with the king, who brought with him 5000 men well armed, and gave him leave to build a fort in the harbour; where he left Lorenzo de Brito with 150 men, and two vessels, to cruise upon the coast. Being informed at Cochin, that all in the factory at Coulan had been killed by the Moors, he sent his son thither, with three ships, and three caravals, which burnt twenty-four ships (belonging to Calicut, and other places) there prepared to receive them, only a few of the Moors being saved by swimming. Almeyda intended to have crowned Trimumpara at Cochin to reward his fidelity and gallantry: but he being retired to a religious life, it was thought fit to bestow that honour upon Nambadora, his nephew and successor, who was inaugurated with great solemnity, with a crown of gold set with jewels, carried from Portugal for that purpose.

King Emanuel sent Pedro de Annaya after Don Francisco, with six ships to build a fort at Sofola, famous for its gold trade; to secure which, he had already caused a fort to be built at Quiloa, another at Mozambique, and a factory to be settled at Melinda; Annaya raised a fort there, strong, though of wood, with leave of the king, who imagined that the Portuguese would be soon obliged to quit it, because the country was unhealthy; but finding himself deceived, he took the opportunity, when Annaya had sent away three of his ships, and his men were weakened through diseases caused by the bad air, to assault the place with 5000 Caffres; but great havock was made with the cannon; though only thirty-five Portuguese were able to bear arms. Afterwards falling out with fifteen or twenty Moors, they drove the enemy into a wood of palm trees; and attacking the town by night, with a few men, entered the king's house, who stood behind the door with a scymetar, and wounded Annaya in the neck;

neck; but was soon killed, with many more. Next day his son, with all the Moors, assaulted the fort, but in vain; for the fright cured many of the sick, who joined in the common defence. Afterwards the brothers fell out about the succession; and Annaya being gained by Solyman, crowned him; who for his own security, made an alliance with the Portuguese. Here Annaya found twenty Portuguese in a miserable condition. At Cape Corientes, being no longer able to keep their ship above water, they ran her ashore: after which, refusing to obey their captain, Lope Sanchez, they divided into several companies, and so travelled through those unknown countries. They suffered extreme hardships before they reached Sofala. All were lost except those twenty, and five found by Antonio de Magellanes, in the river of Quiloama.

The kingdom of Sofala is a large tract of land, 750 leagues in circumference; subject to the Monomotapa, whose empire bears the same name: it is watered by the Rio del Esperitu Sancto, and Cuama, the latter navigable 250 leagues: these, and many other rivers that fall into them, are famous for their golden sands. Most part of the land enjoys a temperate air, is pleasant, wholesome, and fruitful. Here are reared great flocks of sheep, with whose skins the natives are clothed, because of the cold south winds. Along the back of Cuama, the country is mountainous, covered with woods, and watered with many rivers, which make it delightful. Here it is the best peopled, and the common residence of the Monomotapa. It is stocked with elephants, (consequently ivory) and mines of gold, encompassed thirty leagues about with mountains, on the tops whereof the air is serene and clear. They are called the Mines of Manica, 50 leagues south-west of Sofala. There are others 150 leagues distant, none then much valued by their owners.

Here are some buildings of wonderful structure, with inscriptions of unknown characters; but the natives know nothing of their foundation. The inhabitants believe in one God, under the name of Mozime, and use no images. Witchcraft, theft, and adultery, are most severely punished by them. They have as many wives as they can maintain: those of the king are above 1000, but the first commands the rest, and her children inherit. In their funerals they are very superstitious. Their cloathing is cotton, the better sort mixed with some gold threads. The houses of wood. The king's attendance were more ceremonious than great, his guards was two hundred dogs, and he was followed by 500 jesters. He reigns sovereign over many princes; and because they shall not rebel, always kept their heirs about him. There were no law-suits among them. They fought on foot: their arms were arrows, javelins or darts, daggers, and small sharp hatchets. The women were so much respected, that if the king's son met one he gave her the way, and stopped till she passed. These mines of Sofala, believed by some to be the mines of Ophir, were first possessed by the Moors of Magadoxa, afterwards by those of Quiloa, whose kings enjoyed them, till Yulef, one of their governors rebelled, and usurped the sovereignty to himself, assuming the title of king, with whom Pedro de Annaya now treated.

Whilst these things happened at Sofala, in India, the Samorin of Calicut had stirred up the Sultan of Egypt, and hoped with his assistance to drive the Portuguese out of those seas. This was not carried on so privately, but the king of Cochin had intelligence of it, and advertised the viceroy Almeyda, who sent his son Lorenzo with eleven sail, to prevent the design. As he visited some ports, he learned, that in the road of Cananor was a fleet of 260 praws, whereof sixty exceeded our ships in bulk. He directed his course towards them, and after a very sharp engagement, they were put to flight, and some taken, but many sunk, and obliged to run a-ground, with great loss to the enemy, and of his own, only five or six men: soon after the fort of Anchedita was beset by

sixty well armed vessels of Moors and Gentiles, commanded by a renegado; but hearing that Lorenzo was coming to its relief, they went off with all possible speed.

The Moors perceiving their Trade was cut off by the Portuguese, thought to shun them by keeping out at sea in their voyage to Sumatra and Malacca, where they went for spice, striking through the Maldivia islands, and bearing away south of Ceylon. The viceroy sent his son from Cochin, with nine ships, to infest their course, when the pilots wandering through unknown seas, discovered that island. They anchored at the port of Gale, where many Moors were lading cinnamon, and taking in elephants for Cambaya. They, fearful of Don Lorenzo's anger, presented him in the name of the king, with 400 bahars of cinnamon. He well understood the contrivance, but thought it that time, better to dissemble, and content himself with the present, and discovery of Ceylon, planting there a cross, with an inscription, signifying the time of his arrival. In his return to Cochin, he fell upon the town of Biramjam, which he burned down, putting all to the sword, in revenge for the Portuguese killed at Coulan; because that town belonged to this crown. Meanwhile Pedro de Annaya, and most of his men died at Sofala, and not long after, the fort of Quiloa was raised by the Portuguese themselves; all being the effect of their ill usage towards the natives.

The king being informed by Diego Fernandez Pitteyra, that there were Christians at Socotra, who were subject to the Moors, he ordered Trifan de Cunna, and Alphonso de Alburquerque, to direct their course thither, and take the fort; to the intent his fleet might afterwards winter there, and so the navigation of that sea be secured. On the 6th of March, 1508, they sailed from Lisbon with 13 vessels, and 1300 fighting men; whereof some (being infected with the plague, at that time raging in the city) died by the way. When they came under the line, the sickness left them. They passed in sight of Cape St. Augustin, in Brasil, and in crossing the vast ocean between that place and the Cape of Good Hope. Trifan de Cunna ran so far to the southward, that some of his men perished with cold, and he discovered the islands still called by his name. Here being attacked by a storm, all the ships were parted, each running a different course, till they met again at Mozambique; except Alvaro Tellez, who being driven as far as Cape Guardafu, took six ships, so laden with all sorts of goods, that from them to his own vessel, he made a bridge of bales, thrown into the sea; over which the men passed as on dry land. Ruy Pereyra, who fell into Matatan-na, a port of Madagascar, being informed it abounded in spices, especially ginger, invited thither Trifan de Cunna; who came and anchored in a bay which his son, Nunno de Cunna, called de Donna Maria de Cunna, after a lady he courted; others name it of the Conception, at a town inhabited by the Moors, and governed by a Sheikh, in a close bay, which receives the great river Lulangan; they had a skirmish, and found the island produced little ginger.

Hence de Cunna sent Alphonso de Alburquerque, with four sail to Mozambique, whither coming afterwards, they proceeded to Melinda, whose king obliged him to fall upon Oja; a city, which being assisted by the king of Mombassa, infested him. The Arabs inhabited this country, where are seen some ancient and wonderful structures. Each city, and almost village, has a king, whom they call sheikh; the chief cities are Quiloa, Zanzibar, and Mombassa; but that of Melinda pretended to be the oldest, deducing his pedigree from those of Quitau, a city 18 leagues from him, which though ruined, shews the footsteps of its former grandeur, having been superior to Luziva. Parimunda, Lamo, Jaka, Oja, and other its neighbours. The country is watered by the river Gulimanja. George Alphonso going up this river five days, saw in the banks impenetrable woods, and in the waters an infinite number of sea-horses.

Trif-

1508

Tristan de Cunna (with six ships) appeared before the city Oja, standing 17 leagues from Melinda, on an open shore, secured with a wall towards the land, which hides it from the Caffres. He sent the sheikh word, that he had important affairs to communicate to him; who answered, That he was a subject of the Sultan of Cairo, head calif of the house of Mohammed, and therefore could not treat with people that were so much his enemies. Tristan, considering the danger of delays, as soon as day appeared, divided his men into two parts into boats; one part commanded by Alphonso de Alburquerque, the other by himself: and though the sea seemed to favour the Moors, who stood on shore to hinder their landing, they were forced to fly, entering at one gate, and running out at the other.

Nunno de Cunna, and Alphonso de Noronha, pursued the king, with many of his men, into a wood of palm-trees, and killed him in the midst of them. George Silveyra perceiving a grave Moor, who led a beautiful young woman through a path in the wood, ran at him, and the Moor, making signs to the woman to fly, whilst they fought, she followed him, signifying, she had rather die, or be taken with him, than escape alone. Silveyra seeing them strive who should give the greatest proof of affection, let them both go away: saying, "God forbid my sword should part so much love." The town was plundered, and then burnt with such precipitation, that some of the Portuguese perished in the flames.

What happened, being known at the city of Lamo, 15 leagues distant, its sheikh came and submitted himself, offered a tribute of six hundred meticals of gold yearly, and paid the first year in hand. The fleet went on to the city Brava, a populous place, before conquered, but then in rebellion, with 6000 armed men on the shore: but de Cunna and Alburquerque, next day landing with two bodies, in spite of showers of arrows, darts, and stones, scaled the walls, and routed the Moors; after washing the streets with their blood, and killing so many, that their number was not known. Of the Portuguese, forty-two were lost, half through covetousness; for over-loading a boat, they were drowned with the spoil, barbarously acquired, by cutting off the hands and ears of women, to save time in taking off their bracelets and ear-rings. The city being burnt and plundered, de Cunna set sail, and met off Cape Guardafu, Alvaro Tellez, who had been in a storm with a rich booty before spoken of. Having discovered the Cape, he stood for Socotora, (or Socotra) an island twenty leagues in length, and nine in breadth; it lies almost east and west, in the latitude of 12 deg. 40 min. It is the biggest about the mouth of the Red Sea; but has no ports fit for any number of ships to winter. Across the middle of it runs a ridge of hills as high as the clouds, yet the sand of the shore is carried up to the top by the north winds; this renders it barren not only of plants, but trees, excepting some small valleys, that are under shelter of those winds. It is distant from the coast of Arabia fifty leagues, and thirty from Cape Guardafu. The ports most used by the Portuguese, are, Zoko, inhabited by Moors; Calansea, to the westward, and Beni to the Eastward; the natives are unpolished. The valleys sheltered from sand produce apple and palm trees, and the best aloes; which for its excellency is called Zocotorinos. The common food is maize, or Indian wheat, tamarinds, and milk.

"They are all Jacobite Christians, like the Abassines. The men use the names of the apostles, the women chiefly that of Mary: they worship the crosses, which they wear on their cloaths, and set up in their churches; where they pray twice a-day in the Chaldean language, alternately as in a choir. They receive but one wife; use circumcision, fasting, and tythes. The men comely; the women so manly that they follow the war, and live like Amazons. Some of them for propagation making use of such men as arrive there. Their cloathing is some cloth and skins; their habitations, caves; their weapons stones and slings. They

were subject at that time to the Arabian king of Casshen."

De Cunna found here an indifferent fort, not ill manned, nor unprovided. Being provoked by the Sheikh's answer to his message, he resolved (though it was dangerous) to land with Alburquerque. The first who leaped on shore was his nephew, Don Alphonso de Noronha, with a few, but brave men. The sheikh received him with no great number, though with much gallantry, maintaining his ground, and threatening de Cunna; who, through a shower of bullets and stones, made his approach to the fort, and was briskly repulsed by the sheikh, whom then Don Alphonso struck down with his lance. Hence ensued a sharp skirmish; the Moors endeavouring to carry off their prince, and the Portuguese to hinder it; when he and eight more had been slain, the enemy fled to the castle, which was scaled; and those who entered, opening the gate for the rest, a bloody fight began within, the Moors disputing it to the last man; for out of 80, there was but one left alive, except a blind man, who was found in a well, and being asked how he got there, answered, "That blind men saw only one thing, which was the way to liberty, and which even blind men coveted." He had his liberty given him. The Portuguese lost six men. The natives who had kept off, hearing of their success, came to thank De Cunna for delivering them from the heavy yoke of those Mahometans, and were received under the protection of the king of Portugal, who having chosen Don Alphonso de Noronha to command the fort, if taken, De Cunna gave it him, with 100 men for a garrison. De Cunna wintered in those parts; after which, he sailed for India, and Alburquerque for the coasts of Arabia.

While these things delayed the fleet, the king of Calicut relying on the success, promised by his soothsayer (as foretold by a great earth-quake, and eclipse of the sun which happened so that the stars appeared for a considerable time) was arming against the Portuguese. But the Viceroy Almeyda sent out a squadron of ten ships, which the Samorin little expected, under the command of his son Lorenzo, who sailed to Dabul, discovered the fleet of Calicut, and would have engaged it, but that on account of the narrowness of the place, it was carried in council, not to attack them, for which, on his return to Cochin, he was severely reprimanded by his father, who broke all the officers, and sent them to Portugal.

Gonzalo Vaz, who followed Don Lorenzo, meeting a ship of Cananor, though with a Portuguese pass, sunk it, and all the Moors sewed up in a sail, that they might never be seen, but his villainy soon came to light: for one of the bodies being found on shore, and known to be the nephew of Mamala, a rich merchant of Malabar, the Samorin used it as an argument to gain the king of Cananor, who before wanted to break with the Portuguese. Lorenzo de Brito, captain of the foot there, on whom at first the suspicion fell, was presently besieged by 20,000 Moors, when assistance came from the Viceroy; but their magazine of provision taking fire, they were forced to eat vermin; and had been famished, but for abundance of lobsters which the sea being then rough, left behind, and was their only relief. The Samorin having sent a powerful supply, the king of Cananor gave an assault both by sea and land, with above 50,000 men, who were repulsed with great loss, and not one Portuguese killed. The king vexed at this, and terrified at the coming of de Cunna, sued for peace. After this the Viceroy went with de Cunna to fall upon Panani, a town subject to Calicut, where there were four ships of the Samorin, commanded by Cutioli, a courageous Moor. They went up the river through showers of balls from the shore, which is high; and the Moors ran into the water to meet their boats, but the Portuguese landing, attacked their trenches, where a strong Moor wounding Don Lorenzo, he with one stroke clove his head to his breast. The town being entered, all were put to

the sword; the ships and plunder also, though of great value, were burnt; and only the artillery saved, in this action above 500 of the enemy perished, and but 18 of the Portuguese, none of note.

After parting from de Cunna, the 20th of August, 1508, as before related, he sailed for the coast of Arabia, in Persia, pursuant to the king's order; having with him seven sail, and 460 fighting men. He first touched at Calayata, a beautiful strong town in the kingdom of Ormuz, but not so populous as heretofore: whose buildings are after the manner of Spain. The governor, having offered refreshments, and settled peace, he went to Curiat, ten leagues farther, where, being ill received, he stormed the town, and met with a vigorous opposition, but entered killing eighty of the enemy, with the loss of only three men.

The place being plundered and burnt, with fourteen vessels in the harbour, he sailed eight leagues farther to Mascat, a place stronger than any of the others, and well provided with men; who having heard of the destruction of Curiat, resorted from all parts to defend it. But the governor fearing the like disaster, made peace, and sent great stores of provisions; when on a sudden the cannon of the town began to play furiously upon the Portuguese ships, which drew off hastily, not knowing the cause of this change: till some time after they understood, that 2000 men, sent by the king of Ormuz, being arrived, their officers refused to stand to the treaty. But Albuquerque landing his men at break of day, assaulted the town so courageously that as the Portuguese entered at one gate, the Moors ran out at the other. All the houses were plundered except the governor's, who had given them notice when the relief came, but he was killed in the confusion, not being known. This done, they passed to Soar, all the inhabitants whereof fled except the governor, and some of the principal Moors, who yielded up to Albuquerque, and received back to hold of king Emanuel, under the same tribute they had paid to the king of Ormuz. The inhabitants of Orfucam, fifteen leagues farther, having deserted it, the town was plundered for the space of three days: and during this time, the general prepared to enter the harbour of Ormuz, which was the principal end of the voyage.

The city of Ormuz is situate on a little island, called Jerun, at the mouth of the Persian Gulph, about three leagues in compass, and so barren, that it produces nothing but salt and sulphur. The buildings of the city are sumptuous: it is the great market of all goods, brought thither from the East, West, and North, which is the reason, that though it has nothing of its own, it abounds in all things, and is plentifully supplied from the province of Mogostan in Persia, and the Islands Keyshom, Laree, and others. About the year 1273, king Malech Caez possessed all the land, from the Island Jerun, to that of Bahrayn, and bordered upon the king of Gordunshah, of the Province of Mogostan. This king subtilly obtained of Malech the island of Jerun, as a place of no worth, and after he was fortified therein, drove his benefactor out of all his dominions, and translating the city of Ormuz, where the king kept his court before, to this island, he grew so formidable, that the king of Persia, fearing he would refuse to pay the tribute the other had done, prepared to invade him; but he of Gordunshah prevented him, by imposing on himself a yearly tribute, and offering to do homage by his ambassadors, every five years. In this tyrant began the city and kingdom of Ormuz, afterwards possessed by his heirs, and others, for the most part violently.

About the end of September, when Albuquerque arrived there, Sayfaddin, a youth of twelve years of age, reigned; and over him, his slave Chojah Attar, a man subtle and courageous, who hearing what had been done by that commander, made preparations, laying an embargo upon the ships in the harbour, and hiring troops from the neighbouring provinces, Persians, Arabians, and others, so that when the

Portuguese fleet entered the port, there were in the town 30,000 fighting men; among them 400 Persians, most expert archers; and in the harbour, 400 vessels, sixty of considerable bulk, with 2500 men. Albuquerque, to shew those people the greatness of his resolution, came to an anchor among five of the largest ships, firing his cannon to strike a terror along the shore, which was soon covered with above 8000 men. Finding no message came from the king, he sent on board the biggest of those ships, which was of Cambaya, and seemed to ride admiral: the captain whereof presently repaired to him, and was received with civility and state. Albuquerque told him, he had orders to take the king of Ormuz into his protection, and grant him leave to trade in those seas, provided he paid a reasonable tribute: but in case of refusal, he was to make war.

The Moors delivered his message to the king and his governor Chojah Attar, who presently returned with one Chojah Beyram, to excuse their not having sent to know what the Portuguese demanded in that port, promising the governor should come next day. He came not, but the messages continued, in order to gain time to fortify the city, and receive farther supplies. Albuquerque saw into the matter, and told Beyram, he need only return with the acceptation of peace as offered, or the declaration of war. Beyram brought word, that Ormuz used not to pay, but receive tribute. As night drew on, the noise of warlike instruments and shouts was heard from all parts. The morning discovered the walls, shores, and vessels, crowded with armed men, while the windows and tops of the houses were filled with both sexes, and all ages, as spectators of what should ensue. Albuquerque began to play his cannon furiously, and was answered by the enemy; who taking advantage of the smoke, which hindered the sight, attacked his ships with 130 boats well manned, which did some damage, with showers of arrows; but received more, many being sunk, and the rest forced by the artillery to retire. Yet they made a second onset; but were so received that the sea was coloured with blood.

By this time Albuquerque had sunk two of the great ships, and taken a third, though with great opposition; forcing the Moors to leap into the sea; mean time, the rest of the Captains had mastered other ships, and running along the shore, set fire to above thirty more, which cutting their cables were drove flaming upon the Persian coast, where they burned others that lay aground, this struck so great a terror into all that multitude, that they fled to the city; and Chojah Attar sending to offer Albuquerque all that had been demanded, he stopped farther proceedings; but perceiving the deceitfulness of the Moors, threatened much worse effects of his anger, in case he persisted in his wiles. Thus, with the loss of only ten men, most of the enemy's vessels full of riches, were either burnt, sunk, or torn to pieces, and 1700 of them killed, the dead bodies floating upon the water. Many were seen with ornaments of beaten gold, which the Portuguese fished for, who observed that several were wounded with their own arrows; there being none used among the Portuguese.

Chojah Attar, considering the damage received, and what might ensue, called a council; wherein it was agreed to submit to Albuquerque's demands. The articles were drawn, and sworn to by both parties: their substance was, that the king of Ormuz did submit himself to king Emanuel, to the tribute of 15000 xeraphines yearly: and should assign the Portuguese ground to build a fort. The fort was immediately begun, and much advanced in a few days: but Chojah Attar could not bear with it. He feigned that ambassadors were come to receive the tribute they used to pay to the king of Persia; therefore desired Albuquerque to give them an answer, since his king was now subject to the king of Portugal. He guessed at the design, and desired Chojah Attar would send somebody to him, who might carry the answer. The messengers being come, he put bullets and

spears

1507

Misceaniage
there.

spears into their hands, telling them, that was the coin the tribute should be paid in. Chojah Attar, finding his plot fail, endeavoured to corrupt the Portuguese with money, and prevailed with five seamen. One of them was a founder, who cast some cannon there; and another informed him, that the enemy were not 460 in number; animated by this, he studied to break the peace, refusing to deliver up these men, and pretended at the same time, it was Albuquerque who broke it. Albuquerque began to revenge this affront, but with little success, because the captains employed, opposed it. Chojah Attar perceiving this, at night fired a boat the Portuguese were building on the shore; and at the same time, one of the deserters cried from the wall, "Alphonso de Albuquerque, defend the boat with your 400 men, and you shall meet 700 archers." Nor was this to be wondered at, since some of the captains themselves gave intelligence to the enemy, and persuaded those five to desert. Albuquerque burning with rage, attempted to fire some ships in the arsenal; but failing, resolved next to besiege the city, and having taken some that carried in provisions, cut off their hands, ears and noses, and sent them in, to the great terror of all the inhabitants. There was a hot dispute about filling up some wells that supplied the besieged: insomuch that they were filled with carcases of men and horses, the captain and guard that maintained them, being all slain. The king and Chojah Attar, came to second this action, and Albuquerque was in great danger, his retreat being cut off; but a fortunate cannon ball opened the way, putting the enemy's horse into confusion. Albuquerque in these actions found his men ill-disposed to obey: among the rest three captains, resolving to leave him, and sail for India, drew up a paper of resolutions, why he ought to desist from that enterprize, which the general gave to one of the masons, to lay under a stone in the work, saying, he had answered; and would be glad to see who dared to remove the stone to read his answer. Though each was much offended at this, yet none replied: but jealous about the command of the fort when built, the three captains put in execution their design of quitting him. This troubled Albuquerque, yet he resolved not to desist, although two captains that staid with him, opposed him, desirous to accompany the others: but he used them with so much severity, that they were forced to obey him.

From Bahrayn to Keyshom sailed a fleet with relief of men and provisions, which Albuquerque pursued; but missing of it, fell upon a country-house of the king's, guarded by three hundred foot, and sixty horse, and beat them out, killing eighty, with the loss of one man. He returned to Keyshom, and fell upon 500 archers, sent to Ormuz by the king of Laz, (in Persia) under the command of his two nephews, and slew them, and most of their men, though he had but eighty with him. The brothers he sent to Chojah Attar, as a present. The town was burnt; and there was taken among the plunder a carpet so large, that the soldiers were about cutting it, for the conveniency of carriage, which was prevented by Albuquerque, who bought and sent it to St. Jago, in Galicia. Finding he had but few men left, those much harrassed, and winter coming on, he resolved to go to Socotra, and gave leave to Juan de Nueva to sail for India, where he had commanded a fleet before.

Albuquerque wintered at Socotra, and relieved the Portuguese, who were there oppressed by famine. To this effect, he went himself with his ship to Cape Guardafu, and sent others towards Melinda, and Cape Fum, to seize some ships for the use of their provisions, which put a stop to the growing evil. He then resolved for Ormuz, though too weak to effect what he intended; yet at least to sound the designs of the king and his friend Chojah Attar. By the way he resolved to be revenged on Calayat, for injuries done to some Portuguese. This town is seated beyond Cape Siagro, called also Cape Refelgat, at the mouth of the Persian Gulph. On the back of it is a mountain,

which has only some passes that open a communication with the neighbouring country. One of these passes is just opposite to the town, through which is managed most of the trade of that province of Arabia, called Yemen, which is full of populous cities, fruitful, and of great trade. Albuquerque no sooner arrived, but he landed, and entered the town, some of whose inhabitants fled to the mountains, and others were slain in the streets. He stayed there three nights, upon one of which, a thousand Moors, getting in by surprise, did much hurt: but the Portuguese gathering, killed many, and put the rest to flight, and burned the place. They got a great quantity of provisions, which was most of the booty; and arrived at Ormuz the 13th of September. Alphonso de Albuquerque presently advertised the king, and Chojah Attar of his arrival, and they answered, that as for the tribute of 15,000 xeraphines, they would readily pay it, but would not consent to the building a fort. He therefore resolved again to besiege the island, and ordered Martin Coello, with his ship, to guard the Point Turunbaca, where the wells were: Diego de Melo was posted opposite to the Island Keyshom; he, and Francisco de Tavora before the city. Thence he viewed the strength of the fort, for Chojah Attar had finished it, making use of what the Portuguese had begun, the better to oppose them. The success was much as before; Diego de Melo, with eight private men, were killed, and he himself in great danger. After this, he returned to India, having taken a ship that carried much pearl from Bahrayn, and Francisco de Tavora one of Mecca.

While this happened at Ormuz, the sultan of Cairo sent out a fleet of twelve sail, and 15000 men, commanded by Mir Huseyn, to oppose the Portuguese in India. By the way he attacked Imbo, and killed the Sheikh; he did the same at Joddah, and got great plunder, and then sailed to Diu, where Malec Azz commanded for the king of Cambaya, whom he was to join, and treat with, in order to oppose the Portuguese. The timber whereof these ships were built, was cut in the mountains of Dalmatia, by procurement of the Venetians (as was said) because the sultan and Turk were at variance. A nephew of the sultan carried it in 25 ships, with 800 mamalukes, besides seamen. Andreo de Amarall, a Portuguese, commanded then the galleys of Malta. He knowing that timber was designed against his countrymen in India, attacked the 25 ships of the enemy, with 600 men in four galleys, and six ships, and after a sharp engagement, that lasted three hours, took seven and sunk five. The rest fled to Alexandria, whence the timber was carried up the Nile to Cairo, and thence on camels to Suez.

At this time the viceroy Don Francisco de Almeyda, was upon the coast of Malabar, and had sent his son Don Lorenzo, to guard those of Cananor and Cochin, and ran as far as Chaul with eight ships: Chaul is seated on the bank of a river, two leagues from the sea, one of the chief of that coast for greatness and trade, subject to the Nizamaluco, by whose order Don Lorenzo was well received. They had some intelligence of the fleet of the sultan, but gave no credit to it, till it appeared in sight, as Don Lorenzo was diverting himself on shore with his officers. They hastened to the ships, giving such orders as the shortness of time permitted, and were scarce aboard, when the enemy entered the harbour with many demonstrations of joy. For Mir Huseyn thought himself secure of victory by surprising the Portuguese ships, and designed to board the admiral himself. Coming up with Don Lorenzo, he poured in ball, arrows and granadoes, with other fire-works, but was so well answered, that he gave over the resolution of boarding, though the Portuguese vessels were much less than his: the others had no better success; and now night approaching, gave them time to prepare against next morning. As soon as day appeared, Don Lorenzo gave the signal for battle; and, in his turn, endeavoured to board Mir Huseyn. The like was done

Portuguese
fleet defeated
by Malec Azz

by the other captains; but only two galleys failed, and took two of the enemy, having put all the men to the sword. Meanwhile the cannon was furiously played on both sides, and the Portuguese seemed to have the advantage, when Malec Azz, lord of Diu, came with a great number of small vessels well manned, to the assistance of Mir Husleyn. Don Lorenzo sent two galleys, and three caravals to hinder the approach of the relief, which executed their commission so effectually, that they obliged them to fly to another place for shelter; and the fight continued till night parted them, each striving to conceal his loss from the other. The Portuguese captains having met in council, they judged it rashness to persist in that enterprise, since Malec Azz was so near with such powerful assistance: and alledged, that it would be much better to take the open sea, either in order to escape, or to fight with less disadvantage. Don Lorenzo remembering the anger of his father for not fighting the fleet of Calicut in the river of Dabul, and fearing his retreat might be termed a fearful flight, resolutely expected the morning, only making some motions to save the ships of Cochin that were in great danger.

Malec Azz imagining this motion was in order to fly, launched out from his retreat, not at all daunted to see so many of his vessels torn in pieces by the Portuguese cannon, and charged briskly. Unluckily at this time, Don Lorenzo's ship running foul of some stakes that were drove in the river, let in so much water, that there was no preventing her from sinking, tho' that brave commander laboured indefatigably, till a ball broke his thigh; then ordering himself to be set against the mainmast, he stood, encouraging his men, till another ball broke his back, and killed him. The body being thrown beneath deck, was followed down by Gato, his page, who bewailed him with tears of blood as well as water, being shot through the eye with an arrow. After a vigorous resistance, the Moors entered the ship, and found the page by his master's body, who rising, killed as many as covered it, and then died upon them. The ship sunk at last. Of above one hundred men that were with Don Lorenzo, only 19 escaped. In all the ships were lost 140; of the enemy 600. Two other captains got to Cochin, where the viceroy then was, and received the news of his son's death with a wonderful resolution.

Soon after he received a letter from Malec Azz. This man, born in slavery, and descended of the heretic Christians of Roxia, rose by degrees to the height he then appeared in. But the principal action that advanced him was very trivial. It seems a kite flying over the king of Cambaya, dinged upon his head, whereat in a passion he said, "I would give all I am worth, that bird were killed." Malec Azz, who was an expert bowman, no sooner heard this, but he let fly an arrow, which brought down the kite. The king rewarded this exploit so bountifully, that the archer came to be made lord of Diu, a most famous city; which being seated on a triangular peninsula, joined to the continent by a very small isthmus, is commonly reputed an island. Malec Azz endeavoured politically to secure himself at the same time, both with the king of Cambaya, and the Portuguese, whose power he feared, and hated, for the damage they brought on the trade of Diu. With this view he sent the 19 prisoners to the king of Cambaya, and then wrote to the viceroy, condoling the death of his son, whose bravery he extolled, and offered to ransom the prisoners: endeavouring this way to appease the wrath he knew he had provoked, by assisting Mir Husleyn, which was the cause of all the Portuguese loss.

About the beginning of April, 17 ships sailed from Lisbon, which being all separated by bad weather, at length met at Mozambique, except one that was cast away on the islands of Tristan de Cunha: these ships, with those of the foregoing year, came together to India, and raised the courage of the Portuguese. The king had ordered that Don Francisco de Almeyda

should resign the government to Albuquerque, and return home in one of the trading ships; but he suspended the execution of this order, under pretence of being already engaged in taking revenge of Mir Husleyn, and the Turks, who had killed his son, and hereupon rose a contest, which proving of no effect, Albuquerque offended at this, went to Cochin; and this was the beginning of some mens protracting the time of their command, and others pressing them to quit.

After this, the viceroy having dispatched the trading ships homeward bound, under Fernan de Soarez, and Ruy de Cunna, who perished by the way, sailed the 12th of December from Cananor, towards Diu, in pursuit of Mir Husleyn. He had with him 19 vessels of several sizes, and in them 1600 soldiers and seamen, whereof 400 were Malabars. All India was alarmed at this motion of the viceroy's, but chiefly the Samorin, and Malec Azz, who had used all necessary precautions to secure himself against the danger. Don Francisco being landed with his officers, in the most delightful island of Anchediva, it was unanimously resolved to fall upon Dabul.

This city is one of the most noted upon that coast, by reason of its situation, greatness and trade, seated on a navigable river, two leagues from the mouth. The buildings were then stately, the inhabitants Pagans and Moors; it belonged to Sabay, king of Deoan, in whose borders it stood; and was provided with a good garrison, being in fear of the Portuguese power, upon notice of whose approach, six thousand men were sent to reinforce them, and new works raised, planted with cannon. However, the inhabitants, on the viceroy's approach, began to send away their goods, which the governor forbade on pain of death; and the more to encourage them, brought his own wife into the town, which example was followed by many of the principal men, whose wives were also at their country-houses. On the 30th of December the fleet entered the port, and every one strove who should land first. The works being high, the shot flew over the Portuguese, who having gained the shore, divided themselves, in order to attack three gates at once; which the Moors perceiving, made so brave a resistance at each place, that the dead bodies caused a greater stop than the defendants or their works.

Nunno Vas Pereyra being sent to force an entrance another way, after a hot dispute, put the Moors, though very numerous, to flight towards the mountain, in such hurry, that by falling one over another, they retarded their own escape, though pursued only by ten Portuguese. In the fight, which lasted five hours, 1500 of the enemy were killed, with the loss but of 16 Portuguese. The viceroy distributed his men through the streets, with orders to keep guard, expecting the enemy's return; who accordingly, by the favour of the night, stole into the town, hoping to recover their wives, children and goods. In the morning the viceroy gave leave to plunder, which was prevented by the sudden firing of the houses, which in a few hours reduced the whole to ashes; so that the booty exceeded not 150,000 ducats. This was done by the viceroy's order, lest the men taken up with the riches of the place, might retard his other designs. The ships in the harbour suffered the same fate. They could get no provisions hereabouts, because all was destroyed by multitudes of locusts, whereof many were found in pots, preserved by the natives for food. The Portuguese found them pleasing to the palate, and not unlike shrimps, so that they took them for land shrimps.

On his passage from Dabul to Diu, the viceroy took some ships with Moors, and got provision for their ransom. The second of February, 1509, he arrived at Diu, which appeared high at Sea, encompassed with walls and towers, beautiful and strong, populous and well governed; in every thing resembling the cities of Spain. Malec Azz, lord of this city, was at this time absent twenty leagues off with his army, against the Rашputs; but had continual advice of

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the motions of the fleet, which was scarcely anchored before the city, when he flew thither, but without any design either to assist Mir Hufsey, or exasperate the viceroy; who in the mean time, considered the strong situation of the place, much improved by art, as well as the courage and conduct of the two Moors, assisted with above two hundred vessels, well manned and provided. Between eight and nine in the morning when there was flood enough for the ships to swim, the admiral gave the signal for entering the port. Immediately all moved on both sides with loud shouts, and the sound of warlike instruments. The vessels of Malec Azz, hastened to oppose the entrance, showering bullets and arrows which slew ten men in Diego Perez's galley that led the way, yet Nunno Vaz pierced forward, and pouring his shot among the great ships, sunk one to the right; but being in danger between two others, was rescued by George de Mello, who, with the other captains, boarded every one his ships, while the viceroy playing his ordnance in the midst of the enemy's vessels, favoured their design. The praws of Calicut fled at length, spreading the news along the coast, that the Turks were victorious.—Mir Hufsey being slightly wounded, in despair got on shore in disguise; and rode to tell the king of Cambaya the falsehood of Malec Azz, who had assisted him with his ships, but not his person. The absence of Mir Hufsey did not discourage those in his vessels, for, being boarded, they fought without yielding, till they were all slain. A great ship belonging to Malec Azz, was sunk, and others taken, after which, the victory being no longer doubtful, the viceroy made up to the remaining ships, with his galley and other lesser vessels, and killed all that leaped into the sea; so that above 1500 were slain, and but about forty of the Portuguese. The plunder of the ships was very rich; and by the great variety of volumes in several languages, it was judged that the men were of several nations; among these books there were some in Latin, Italian, and Portuguese. Of all the vessels that were taken, only two ships and four galleys were preserved, the rest being burned. Malec Azz next morning pretending to be much pleased with the viceroy's victory, sent Seyd Ali, a Moor of Granada, to congratulate him. Some of the Portuguese commanders were for pushing their good fortune, and attacking Diu; which the viceroy was against; because the king of Cambaya, to whom the city belonged, was their friend, the place strong, and they much weakened; nor could the town be maintained if taken. Hereupon it was agreed to listen to the Moor, with whom a profitable peace was settled; he delivering up many captive Portuguese, with all the artillery and stores belonging to some ships of the Turks, which were afterwards burnt. The viceroy on his return, arriving at Chaul, the king became tributary; and at Cochin was received in a triumphant manner. Here Alphonso de Albuquerque again pressing him to deliver up the government, he was, at the instigation of others, sent prisoner to Cananor, and the other commander was sent to Cochin, and settled in the government of India.

On the 19th of November, Almeyda left Cochin, with three ships, and passed the Cape; but putting into the Bay of Saldanna, not far to the north, in order to take in water, was prevailed on, against his will, to go ashore to punish the blacks, for knocking out the teeth of one of his servants who had deserved that treatment. There went with him 150 men, the flower of the ships companies, to a miserable village, and took some cattle and children: which the blacks perceiving, 170 of them came down from the mountains, whither they had fled, and attacked them with their sharp pointed stakes so furiously that they soon killed fifty, and among them the viceroy, who was struck through the throat. He was sixty years old, of a graceful presence, and obliging carriage; of sound judgment, liberal and grateful.

Duarte de Lemos before this, in 1508, being made governor of Ethiopia and Arabia, having failed with

a squadron to Mozambique and Melinda, set out to visit Monfia Zanzibar, Pemba, and other islands, which neglected to pay the usual tribute. The first submitted immediately; but the two latter making resistance, the inhabitants were driven to the mountains, and the towns plundered. Diego Lopez de Sequeira, being intrusted with the discovery of Madagascar and Malacca set out for the latter, calling at Padir and Pafem. Their kings sent him presents, and made great offers of friendship. Casting anchor at Malacca, he terrified that coast with his cannon. A boat coming to his ship to enquire who they were, they sent word there was an ambassador from the king of Portugal to the sovereign of that place. The king's answer was doubtful, as is usual when men's designs are bad; and Hierom Teixeyra, who was sent as ambassador, was honourably received, the better to insnare Lopez who accepted of the king's invitation, but did not go; being informed that the design was to murder him; and the son of Ultimuti Raja was sent on board him, for while thirty men were dispatched to another place to take in pepper, by the crafty directions of the king; the fleet was suddenly attacked by several vessels; from which Lopez at last freed himself, sinking several of them; but lost his thirty men, who were killed in the town.

Alphonso de Albuquerque now possessed of the government, prepared, along with Don Fernando Coutinno, to fall upon Calicut; where they arrived on the second of January, 1509, with thirty vessels and eighteen hundred men, besides boats of Malabars, who followed in hopes of plunder. Every one strove to land first: Coutinno had 800 men, and some field pieces, Albuquerque had the same number, besides 600 Malabars. They marched with more confusion than order, each striving to be foremost, 600 men in the bulwark of Seram, made a vigorous resistance, till Albuquerque coming up, they quitted it. Coutinno, upon this, marched forward to the palace of the Samorin, which was five leagues from the shore, where being arrived, much fatigued, his men fell to plundering without shame or order: but in the interim, the enemy being reinforced, returned and fell upon the Portuguese, killing many under their burdens. Albuquerque, having by this time entered and fired the city, marched towards Coutinno, who had sent to him, being in great danger. He found him blocked up in the palace: nor could he assist him, being hindered by the multitude of the enemy, who slew many of his men, and wounded him with a dart in the throat, and a stone in the head, so grievously that he was carried senseless to the shore. By this time, Coutinno and several more were slain in the palace: besides many on the way, who were oppressed by numbers, spent with labour and heat, or stifled with the dust. They had doubtless all perished, if 2000 men left in the city had not come up in time, and obliged the enemy to retire; they lost in all 80 men.—Albuquerque upon his return to Cochin, made preparations for a third attempt upon the island of Ormuz. About the end of January, he sailed from thence with 1700 men, in twenty-one vessels of several sizes. Calling at Onor, he changed his design, by advice of the pirate Timoja, and went to attack Goa, in whose port he anchored on the 25th day of February.

The island of Ticuari is situated on the coast of Canara, formed by two mouths of the river Gassin: its length from east to west, three leagues; the breadth, one. It consists of hills and plains, has good water, is very fruitful, pleasant, beautiful, and healthy. On the north side of this island is seated Goa, which formerly was on the south. The city now in being, was built by Malech Hufsey, a Moor, forty years before the arrival of the Portuguese. It is not known when the old one was founded; but mention is made in some writings of Montrasat, king thereof, above 100 years before. The Moors began to conquer India, about the year 1300. The first that attempted it with great power, was Norradin, king of Dehli,

Turkish fleet defeated.

Calicut plundered.

Almeyda slain

Goa.

Dehli, with a powerful army he came down from the north, conquering all the gentiles as far as the kingdom of Canara. Thence he returned to Dehli, leaving Habel Shah to prosecute the conquest: who, by his valour and conduct, became so great, that he coped with his master. His nephew Madura, prosecuting what his uncle had began, possessed himself of the kingdom of Canara, and casting of his allegiance to Shah Nafradin, called the kingdom Decan, from the sundry nations with which he had conquered it, this word importing so much with that language. So great an empire always threatens ruin. Mohammed Shah, fearing this, used great industry to secure himself, which he did for a time; but at length, several governors intrusted with the command of different provinces, erected them into sovereignties, (imprisoning their king at Bedar, the capital of Decan) The greatest of these was he of Goa, when the Portuguese entered India, called Sabay, who died about the time of Albuquerque's design upon that city: which the king of Hidalcan, had taken possession of, and put it in the hands of his son Ismael. The other princes were Nizamaluco, Mudra Maluco, Malech Verido, Chojá Mozadan, Abexeipado, and Cotamaluco, all great princes, and foreigners (except Nizamaluco). Sabay was born at Saba, a city of Persia, of very mean extraction: but served the king of Decan so fortunately, that he gave him the city of Chilberga. Thence he extended his conquest over the gentiles of Bisnagar; and afterwards took the island of Goa, (which not long before had been seized by the Moors, who came from Onor): Malech Husseyn, who was then lord of it, and defended it with 1200 men, being killed in the attack. Goa had several dependencies, with which, and others he conquered, Sabay became the most powerful of those princes; against whom he maintained himself while he lived; but his death produced great alteration. Albuquerque having sent his nephew Don Antonio de Noronna, and Timoja, to found the river, on whose banks Goa is seated, found a fort well furnished with guns, and 400 men; which they attacked and took, after a stout resistance made by the commander, a valiant Turk. This man flying to the city, Timoja took another bulwark with 30 men. The next day as Albuquerque entered the river, he was met by Mir Ali, and other chief persons of the city, who came to surrender it, on conditions, that their lives, liberties, and estates, should be secured. This unexpected surrender was owing to the terror which seized them on the report the commander made of what he had seen a few Portuguese do, and to the prediction of a Joyhi, (one of their religious men) who not long before had declared, that the place should soon be subject to strangers. On the 17th of February, Albuquerque was received by those on shore, as if he had been their natural prince; and mounting a horse, they brought him rich furniture, at the gate received the keys, and went on to the palace built by Sabay; from whence he dispatched embassies to divers princes. Four months after, the Moors in the town, who had delivered it up so easily only to avoid their own ruin, and gain time till relief came, revolted, Ismael Hidalcan (Adel Chan) set out with a great power, to assist the revolted; sending before his great general, Camel Chan, with 1500 horse, and 8000 foot. Albuquerque having seized and put to death the heads of the conspiracy, prepared the best he could for his defence, however, Camel Chan, with some loss, entered the island and encompassed the city (whither the Portuguese retired) playing his cannon to good effect. Albuquerque indeed did all that could be expected from him; but Adel Chan coming up with 6000 men, whereof 5000 were horse, it was resolved in council to abandon the city in the night. This was executed with great hazard; for Adel Chan had begun to cut off their retreat to the ships, in which Albuquerque had his horse killed: yet got off without loss, after a siege of twenty days. Albuquerque being reinforced by ships from Portugal, the same year,

1510, set out from Cananor with twenty-three sail, and 1500 fighting men. At Onor he landed, to be present at Timoja's wedding, who married the daughter of a queen: and sent with him three ships, promising to join him at Goa with 6000 men. On the 22d of November, the viceroi anchored a second time before that city, and at break of day assaulted it, with great slaughter; the Portuguese entering with the enemy, who fled, and doing great execution in the streets. The fight was furiously renewed at the palace, with great danger to the Portuguese, but Albuquerque coming up, the Moors abandoned the city, and, endeavouring to get over to the continent, through haste and confusion, perished in the river. Out of 9000 men who defended the town, 6000 were destroyed, and but fifty Portuguese lost in the attack. The booty of horses, artillery, provisions, and ships, was excessive. Not one Moor was left alive in the island: but the gentiles were restored to their possessions and the government of them given to Timoja, who came not till the city was taken. After this, Albuquerque received ambassadors with congratulations from several princes of Malabar: and laid the foundation of a fort; which he called Emanuel. He also coined silver and copper money; his intention being to make Goa the Portuguese bulwark in India. Having left 400 Portuguese for the defence of it, and 5000 gentiles under Melaru, nephew to the king of Onor, to secure the country; and to seek revenge, he returned to Cochin: where, under pretence of going against the city of Aden, in Arabia, (according to the king's instructions) he prepared for the conquest of Malacca. The city of Malacca is situated on

Malacca described.

what is commonly called the Aurea Chersonesus, or Golden Peninsula, and about the middle of the channel, which parts the island of Sumatra from the continent. It lies in somewhat more than two degrees of north latitude, stretched along the shore about a league, in the same manner as Lisbon. It is divided by a river, and the two parts joined by a bridge. The buildings were of wood, except the mosque and palace, which were of stone. It afforded a pleasant prospect to the sea, and was well secured with fortifications. The port was filled with abundance of ships, as being the great market of all those parts. It was first built by the Selates, a people for the most part employed in fishing, who joined themselves to the Malays that before inhabited the mountains.

They were assisted by Parifamora, to whom they submitted. He had been a considerable person in the island of Java: but being expelled by a tyrant, who usurped his lordship, he fled to Sincapura, and was well entertained by the king, against whom, however, he rebelled, and was again cast out by the king of Siam, and so forced to wander about Malacca. Yet having increased the new colony, he gave it the name of his own Fortune; for Malacca, in the Malayan language, signifies a banished man. The first king of Malacca was the son of Parifamora, subject to the king of Siam, from whom his successors revolted. The country of Malacca is subject to inundations, full of thick woods, full of hurtful and dangerous creatures, chiefly tygers, which obliges many people to pass their nights on the tops of high trees; because they fetch them off the low ones with a leap. The trade of the east and west makes Malacca most rich and populous.

Mohammed reigned at this time; against whom the king of Siam had sent an army of 40,000 men; most whereof perished by sundry accidents, and partly by the treachery which that king practised against Diego Lopez de Syquera. But now came Albuquerque to revenge them all. Mohammed therefore brought to his aid the king of Pahang, with a great force; and had now 30,000 men, and 8000 pieces of cannon.

On the 2d of May, 1511, Albuquerque set out from Cochin for Malacca, with 19 sail, and 1400 fighting men, 800 of whom were Portuguese, the rest Malabars. In the way they took five ships of the Moors, bound for Malacca, off Ceylon. Being arrived

1515

rived on the coast of Sumatra; the kings of Padir and Pazafem, sent some Moors to visit him. Nehoad Beghea, who had a chief hand in the treachery of Malacca, was taken at sea;—and here we are told that not one drop of blood, though pierced with several mortal wounds, issued from him; but a bracelet being taken off his arm, he bled plentifully. The Indians, who discovered the secret, said it was the bone of a beast that breeds in Java. It was esteemed a great prize, and brought to Albuquerque.—The reader will judge the truth of this story.—They next met a vessel with 300 Moors, so resolute, that Albuquerque was forced to come up himself to take it, not without danger. The first of July the fleet anchored in the port of Malacca, and terrified the people on shore with the noise of warlike instruments and cannon. The next day a Moor came from the king to tell the viceroy, that if he came for merchandise it was ready. The messenger was received with great state and courtesy. The answer was, That the merchandise sought for was some Portuguese left there by Sequeyra, and that having gotten them, he would let the king know his farther demands. Being terrified with this answer, it was agreed to buy off the danger, by restoring the Portuguese and paying a sum of money; but Prince Aladin, his brother-in-law, the king of Pahang, hindered the king from so doing. Thereupon Albuquerque began some military execution, which obliged the king to restore the captives, and send other messengers, to which the viceroy returned for answer, that he offered him peace upon condition he permitted him instantly to raise a fort there and repaid the charge of his and Sequeyra's coming to that port; since his falsehood had been the cause of all the damage sustained, and that he must instantly return an answer, whether he chose peace or war. The king desired an accommodation, but his son and brother-in-law opposed it.

The viceroy landed his men on the 24th of July. The hottest of the dispute was about gaining the bridge; which was defended by the prince, and the king of Pahang; King Mohammed came there also himself, on a large elephant, with two more carrying castles on their backs, from whence flew showers of darts; but the beasts being wounded, fled; and trampling down their own men, made way for the rest of the Portuguese to join those at the bridge, where Albuquerque fortified himself: however, his men being faint thro' heat and want of food, towards night he retired with them to the ships, where ten died of wounds by poisoned arrows; the enemy's loss was not owned. The king of Pahang went away on pretence of bringing a recruit, but returned no more. Mean while, King Mohammed was busied in undermining the streets, and covering them with poisoned thorns; being industrious also to secure the bridge, Albuquerque sent Antonio de Abrieu in a vessel well manned, to gain it: he passed through showers of bullets, and though desperately wounded, would not be brought off. Then floats of wild-fire were driven along the river to burn his ship, which was prevented by Albuquerque's gaining the bridge, who then entered the city thro' showers of bullets, arrows and darts. Avoiding the mines in the broad street, he gained the mosque, and, at last, with great slaughter of the enemy, got possession of the city, having with him in this action, only 800 Portuguese, and 200 Malabars.—In nine days time, all the Moors were killed or driven out of that great city, which was peopled again by strangers and some Malabars, to whom leave was granted. Among them came Utimuti Raja, that powerful native of Java, whose son was likely to have killed Sequeyra. The soldiers had three days liberty to plunder. There were found 3000 pieces of great cannon, out of 8000 that King Mohammed relied upon, who with the rest retired to Bintam (Bintang) where he and Prince Aladin fortified themselves, but Albuquerque sending thither 400 of his men, along with 400 of Utimuti Raja's, and 300 belonging to the merchants of Pegu; they put the prince to flight, and took seven elephants with costly trappings. Mo-

ammed, who now wandered in the woods with his son, whose obstinacy he blamed, and they fell at variance and parted.—Albuquerque instantly built a fort at Malacca, (which for its beauty he called *Harmosa*) and a church. He also coined money, as he had done at Goa, of different species, and scattered some among the people, by which, and other such splendid actions, he gained the hearts of the strangers, and secured this most important place, Albuquerque knowing it is sometimes convenient to trust an enemy, gave the command of the men in the city to Utimuti Raja, but discovering that he corresponded with Prince Aladin, on pretence of restoring him, but in reality to set up himself; he, his son, and son-in-law, were apprehended; and, after conviction, publicly executed on the scaffold they had erected for Sequeyra. This was the first public execution ordered by the Portuguese in India. Two other princes went about by artifice to possess Malacca, but did not succeed. Albuquerque received here several embassies, particularly one from the king of Siam, who rejoiced to see his quarrel revenged. He also sent ambassadors to Siam and Pegu, with two persons to discover the islands of Mollucca and Banda. Then leaving 3000 men in the fort, and ten ships to guard the sea, he returned towards Cochin; in his way, his ship, on the coast of Sumatra, struck upon a rock. While he was on this expedition, Goa was besieged by 20,000 of Adel Chan's men, encouraged by some natives within; but the viceroy arriving with several fleets at the same time, from different parts, the siege was raised. Hereupon the king of Calicut concluded a peace, with liberty to build a fort; and those of Narsinga, Bifa, Adel Chan, and other princes, sent ambassadors to him: There came also one from Prefter John, in order to go to Portugal. Albuquerque set out for the conquest of Aden, on the 18th of February, with twenty ships, manned with 1700 Portuguese, besides 800 Canarans and Malabars. The city of Aden is seated near the coast of Arabia Felix, and the mouth of the Red Sea. Over it appears the mountain Arziza, all a barren rock, divided in many cliffs. The town from the sea, looks beautiful and strong. It is rich, and famous for the resort of many nations; but water is very scarce, as it depends only upon a few wells and cisterns, nor do the clouds supply it above once in three years: whence it is void of all trees, plants and orchards, the delight and pleasure of other towns. They attempted to take this town by scaling the wall, but they were obliged to retire in four days with loss, after taking a bulwark which guarded the port, with 39 great pieces of cannon, and burning the ships which were first plundered. From thence they sailed to the Red Sea, being the first Portuguese who had entered it, they took four rich ships at the island of Camaran, where they were obliged to winter. In July they departed, and coming again before Aden, found it newly fortified; so that after exchanging a few shot, the viceroy sailed for India. In August Albuquerque anchored off Diu, demanding of Malec Azz leave to build a fort; Malec managed him with great address, referring him to the king of Cambaya, who granted it, on condition that he might build another at Malacca. Meanwhile Malacca was in great danger of being taken by Pati Quiter, who at last was obliged to fly to Java; his native country, from whence Pati Unuz, lord of the city Japara (after king of Sunda) sailed with a fleet of 90 ships, some as large as galleons, with 12000 men to fall upon Malacca; he had been seven years making this preparation, and held a correspondence with the Javans in that city; but Fernando Perez with 17 ships, and 350 Portuguese, and some natives, after two furious engagements, put Unuz to flight in his greatest ship, for which a merchant offered 10,000 ducats, in case it was taken. The Javans from this time were banished for ever out of the place; which soon after Mohammed, its late king, endeavoured to surprise by stratagem, and was very near succeeding.

Albuquerque resolving to attack Ormuz, the 20th of July, 1514, set out with a fleet of 27 sail, wherein were 1500 Portuguese, besides 600 Malabars and Canarans, coming to anchor in the port the 26th of March: there presently came on board a visit, with presents from the king. The viceroy sent to demand the delivery of the fort he had begun there, and that some principal men should be sent with the instrument of the submission made of that kingdom; by King Sayfaddin; every thing was consented to; because there was no power to resist. Ræz (or Reis) Noraddin, the governor, with his nephew, came to ratify all; and was sent back with rich presents for themselves, and a valuable collar of gold for the king. Public rejoicing was made on both sides for this agreement. After which, Albuquerque went on with building the fort, near which on a scaffold, he received an ambassador, that came from Ismael king of Persia, with presents consisting of ounces, precious stones, jewels of gold and silks, the treaty was concluded with mutual satisfaction. Before the coming of the viceroy, Ræz Hamet was sent from Persia to Ormuz, with a design to secure it, and deliver it to Ismael. He had got the entire ascendant of the king; he had brought people secretly into the city to kill him, when there was a favourable opportunity. Albuquerque; to deliver Sayfaddin, proposed an interview with him, when Hamet entering foremost rudely, and knowing him to be secretly armed, the viceroy ordered his officers to kill him. While the fort was finishing, Albuquerque persuaded the king, that it was for the safety of the city to put all its cannon into the fort, which with some reluctance he consented to; and the command thereof was given to Peter de Albuquerque. Thus was this rich and powerful kingdom brought under subjection to the Portuguese. Soon after, the viceroy falling sick, was persuaded to return to India, for the recovery of his health. In the way, meeting with news that a new governor was come from Portugal with orders for him to return home, he broke out into some complaint: after which he was seized with a profound melancholy, and died upon the bar of Goa, the 16th of December, 1515, in the 63d year of his age: He was second son to Gonzalo de Albuquerque, lord of Villa Verda, and of Donna Leonora Meneses, daughter of Alvaro Gonzales de Atayde, first count of Atougua. He had been master of the horse to King John the Second, of a moderate stature, his countenance pleasing and venerable. He was twice before Ormuz, twice before Goa, and twice before Malacca; three famous islands and kingdoms in Asia, over which he triumphed. He was first governor of India, as his predecessor was the first viceroy. The dominions of the Portuguese in Asia were founded by three, viz. Duarte Pacheco, Don Francisco de Almeyda, and Alphonso de Albuquerque.

This great man being dead, Lope Soarez de Albergaria took the government. He brought with him to India a fleet of 13 ships, and in them 1500 men. As Almeyda laid the foundation of the Portuguese power in India, Albuquerque established it, and seems to have brought it to its height; for after his death, their affairs declined every day, through the pride and avarice of the governors and other officers. The governor, according to the king's order, prepared for the Red Sea; and being informed that the sultan of Egypt was fitting out a great fleet at Suez, he sailed in search of it from Goa, upon the 8th of February, 1516, with 27 sail of several sorts. He carried with him 1200 Portuguese, and 1600 Malabars; one half soldiers, the other half seamen. Coming before Aden, Miramirzan finding himself defenceless, (by reason a piece of the wall was beaten down by Ræz Solyman, admiral of the Suez fleet) made a virtue of necessity, and offered the keys to Lope Soarez, who pleased with this flattery, trusted to him, and took not possession of the city, intending to do it at his return. Hearing that Solyman, by stress of weather was driven to Jodda, and had no de-

fence, he immediately resolved to sail thither, up the Red Sea.

Jodda is situated in Arabia Fœlix, in 21 degrees, 30 minutes north lat. in a most barren soil, being all a deep sand. The buildings are good, but not the harbour. The inhabitants are of two sorts, the native Arabs, and foreign merchants. Mir Hufseyn, after his defeat at Diu, by Almeyda, being afraid to return to Egypt, fortified this town for his own security, under pretence of securing the prophet's sepulchre at Mecca. Meanwhile Ræz Solyman, a Turk, of base parentage, but a powerful and bold pirate, born in Mitylene, an island in the Archipelago, offered himself to the sultan of Egypt to command the fleet of 27 sail, that was preparing at Suez, to fall upon Aden: an employ which Mir Hufseyn had set his heart upon, and he was accepted of. After repairing the loss that was sustained at Aden (where many of his men were killed) and taking a great booty in the city Zeybid, he returned to Jodda; where he slew Mir Hufseyn, and then delivered the place up to Selim, the Turkish sultan: who not long before had possessed himself of Egypt, and put an end to the dominion of Maluc's [by the defeat of Tuman Bey, (or Tomombaius) the successor to Canfu al Gauri.]—

The port being dangerous, Lope Soarez anchored a league from the city, in which there was so good cannon, that some pieces reached the ships at that distance. Solyman proposed a private combat between man and man; but the governor would not permit it, saying, He would answer on shore. The city was terrified by the firing a galleon, while the governors founded the channel that goes up to it. Solyman appeased the tumult, and appeared with some men without the walls, while multitudes appeared on them, braving the Portuguese with loud cries; who seeing that Lope Soarez neglected landing, began to complain of the delay. He appeased them by shewing his instructions; which were not to attack the city, but the fleet: and not being able to effect this, he retired to the island of Comarin. From hence, after suffering much by famine, and losing 17 men, taken by the Moors, he went to Zeyla, a city at the mouth of the Red Sea, on the African shore, and the great market of those parts; which being unprovided, was easily taken and burnt. When he came to Aden, the wall being now repaired, Miramirzan refused to deliver the place, by forming delays: being thus baffled, he failed for Barbora, designing to do to that city, what he had done at Zeyla: but the fleet being scattered by storms, and 800 men lost, the attempt was deferred till next year, when it was taken without resistance and burnt.

—In the mean time great disorders reigned at Goa, which at last brought on a short siege: the same misfortune attended Malacca, through the ill government of George de Brito, and animosities of others, whose tyrannical treatment made the inhabitants fly, and brought the late king with a considerable force to recover it; so that had not Don Alexio de Meneses come with 300 men, the Portuguese possession there had been at an end, after which the king of Siam, who hated the Moors, sent Siamese, at the request of a Portuguese ambassador, to people Malacca, which now became secure.

The island of Ceylon (called by the ancient inhabitants Ilanare, and by the Arabs and Persians; Serendib) lies opposite to Cape Comorin, the southern point of the hither peninsula of India; from whence it is distant about 16 leagues, and is supposed once to have joined to it. It was divided into nine kingdoms; Colombo on the west; Gale, on the south; Jaula, Tanavaca, Cande, Batecalon, Vilafem, Triquinamale, and Jafanapatam. The Portuguese had a trade with Colombo, the king whereof desired their friendship, and furnished them with cinnamon, from the time of Albuquerque. Hither Lope Soarez sailed next, in 1517, with 17 vessels, great and small, and 700 Portuguese soldiers: with design to oblige the king to pay tribute, and consent to the building a fort, as king Emanuel desired. After a small contest, in which the islanders,

1514

Jodda.

Soarez baffled there.

Ceylon.

Colombomade tributary.

1521

islanders, trying to assist the Moors, were put to flight; the king yielded to be a subject to Portugal: paying yearly 1200 quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, with six elephants: commodities with which Ceylon abounds. Soon after the king of Pam, near Malacca, voluntarily became tributary to the crown of Portugal, paying a golden cup yearly. Duarte Coello having settled a peace with the king of Siam, then one of the three greatest princes of Asia (those of China and Bijnagar being the other two) Fernan Perez de Andrada arrived the same year (1517) after many difficulties at Canton in China; where he settled a trade on that coast, and returned laden with riches to Malacca. Thence, in 1518, he went with Don Meneses to Cochín: but was no sooner gone, than the king of Bintang (who waited that opportunity, though he had concluded a peace just before) attacked the city, (where there were about 200 Portuguese) with 1500 men, many Elephants by land, and sixty vessels by sea; after twenty days he raised the siege, with the loss of 330 men, and 18 Portuguese, and lay to hinder provisions getting in to relieve the town, but retired on the arrival of Garcia de Sa, with sixty men. Thither also came Antonio Correa, in 1519, from Martaban, where he had been concluding a peace with the king of Pegu, at which the priests of both nations assisted*.

Diego Lopez de Sequeyra, governor of India after Loap Soarez, having treated with Malech Azz, to erect a fort at Diu, and being put off with delays, resolved to compass it by force: for this purpose he gathered 40 vessels of all sorts, and in them 3000 Portuguese, with 800 Malabars and Canarans; the greatest fleet of theirs that ever had been seen in those seas. But coming before it, the 9th of February, and finding it had been fortified and retrenched, in a surprising manner, as well as re-inforced with a strong garrison, it was agreed in a council of war by all the officers who assisted, not to attack it; though afterwards they charged their own cowardice on him. To as little purpose was the expedition of George de Albuquerque, governor of Malacca, with 18 sail, and 600 men, against the king of Bintang. This is an island of 30 leagues in circumference, and as many distant from Malacca. It was well fortified, having two strong castles, and the rivers staked; so that it seemed almost inaccessible. Albuquerque finding it impossible for the ships to come up, attempted to land his men in boats, in order to attack the fort, but the water being up to their middles, and the enemies shot very thick, they were forced to retire without doing any execution, many of their men being wounded, and twenty being slain.—From this place Antonio de Brito sailed for the Molucca Islands; which are in the midst of many others under the line, about 300 leagues eastward of Malacca.—To these islands, and particularly Ternate, Brito was sent to build a fort, which long since Boylec, the king of the place, had desired: others had gone before, but to no effect: as Antonio de Abrew, (in the time of Albuquerque) who, losing one of his three ships, arrived at Banda, (the chief of the five of that name) which is like an earthly paradise: and one of its chief ornaments the plant that produces the clove: from thence he returned to Malacca. But his other captain, Francisco Serram, was driven to Ternate, where he waited for the dispute to be decided, which arose among the kings of those islands, Tidore and Bachan; each striving to have the fort built on his own land.

When Brito arrived at Ternate, King Boylec was dead; and he of Tidore had admitted the Spaniards; thinking himself, with very good reason, as happy in them, as Ternate could be in the Portuguese. Yet

observing, that the queen of Ternate, (who was governess to her son) received Brito joyfully, the king paid him a visit, and finding him displeased on account of the new guests he had entertained, offered to deliver them up. This he thought would prevail on Brito to build a fort at Tidore, but Ternate being found to be the more convenient place, it was at length erected there. The arrival of the Spaniards was in this manner. While Serram (or Serrano) was at Ternate, a correspondence was held between him and Ferdinand Maghellan, which turned to the advantage of Spain, and trouble of Portugal. This gentleman, who was a person of great merit, by his skill in sea affairs, and the light he had obtained from Serram, having guessed there might be found another way to India; had even wrote his friend word, that he hoped to be with him soon at Ternate, by a new route. In effect, having been denied in Portugal the reward due to his services, he went over to the Emperor Charles V. and offered to bring the Spaniards to the Moluccas, a way by the west, at a time when they began to have a desire of the spice trade. His offer was readily accepted, and the command of five ships given him, with 250 men, some of them Portuguese. Maghellan, (as we have already related) sailed through the Straights that bear his name, and passed over to the great Pacific Sea, which divides that continent from Asia, and coming among the East India islands, in one whereof he was killed in a fight, in April, 1521. Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, in the ship Victory, arrived at the Moluccas, and was received by the king of Tidore, in hatred to the Portuguese, and those of Ternate; on the account above mentioned, Espinosa returned to Spain by way of Panama, and left the above-mentioned command of the ship to Juan Sebastian del Cano, who, having loaded her with spices, pursued his course the way the Portuguese take, by the Cape of Good Hope: being the first that lived to compleat that wonderful voyage round the world. Their arrival raised new contests between the emperor and King John the third of Portugal; who, by the former agreement, concluded the Malaccas belonged to him; and that no other European prince would offer to interfere in the trade of them.

Fernan Perez de Andrada having secured the trade of China, at Canton, which proved exceeding profitable; his brother Simonin, in 1521, obtained leave to sail thither with five ships. When he came to the island Tamu, opposite to that city; Perez, the Portuguese ambassador to the Chinese court, was still there; but soon after he departed for Nanking, being four months on the way. He followed the emperor to Peking, where he was to have received his audience; mean while Simon de Andrada, through pride and conceit, behaved as if he had been king of the island: he raised a fort and set up a gallows, to terrify the people: committed violence upon the merchants, and bought young people of both sexes, without the usual precautions, giving occasion to kidnappers to steal them from their parents. These things coming to the emperor's ears, Perez (instead of being received as an ambassador) was seized with his people, and they were condemned to death, as spies: but the sentence being respited, they were sent back prisoners to Canton, to be released, in case the Portuguese restored Malacca to its king, who was a subject of China, otherwise they should be punished, and none of their nation ever admitted, or treated but as enemies. The Portuguese instead of reclaiming, agreed to act more insolently, which so exasperated the governor of Canton, that he secured several of them, and contrived to take some ships that were

Brito sent to
build a fort at
the Moluccas.

The Spaniards
arrived by the
south west pas-
sage.

* The gentile priest was called the Great Rawlin, who, after the capitulations were rehearsed, began to read in a book; and then taking some yellow paper, (a colour dedicated to their holy uses) with some sweet leaves of trees, inscribed with certain characters, set fire to it all: and holding the hands of the king's minister over the ashes, spoke some words, which rendered the oath inviolable. On this occasion there happened a merry

passage; for Correa, to answer this solemnity, having ordered his priest to put on a surplice, and bring his breviary; the cover was so tattered, and the leaves torn, that thinking it scandalous their sacred books should appear in such bad plight, he directed instead of it a book of church music to be brought, which being bigger and better bound, passed among those people, as well as if it had been the gospel.

Engraved for Moore's Voyages and Travels.



NATIVES of the MOLUCCA ISLANDS playing on Musical Instruments called the RABANA.

newly arrived from Malacca, they began to act, when Duarte Coello arriving with two vessels from Malacca, well manned, he was attacked by the Hay-tau, or admiral of that sea, with fifty sail; who being repulsed, kept them besieged forty days, mean while two ships more arriving, it was resolved to force their way through the Hay-tau's fleet, and get off.

Portuguese ambassador slain at Canton. The Hay-tau revenged this disaster upon some of the Portuguese who arrived there, and the ambassador Perez; who being returned with his company to Canton, they were all slain, and the effects of Perez, together with the present he brought for the emperor, seized. This man was of base parentage, and by trade an Apothecary; though chosen for the embassy, on account of his good parts. There were found with him 2000 weight of rhubarb, 160 pieces of damask, 400 of other silks, above 100 ounces of gold, and 2000 of silver, three quarters of a hundred of loose musk, and above 300 purses of it, at first called papos, and much other merchandise. The same year, 1521, the islands Bahrayn and Catif were conquered from Mocrin, king of Lalah; who held them of the king of Ormuz, but refused to pay the tribute. In 1522, the Portuguese were attacked at Ormuz, Bahrayn, Mascat, Curial, and Soar (or Sohar) at once. The king of Ormuz despairing of success, retired to Keyshom, after setting the city on fire: but being murdered by his favourites, his successor, only fifteen years of age, was prevailed on by the Portuguese to return to Ormuz, on condition that they should not meddle with the government of the city. This year also the country about Goa, which had belonged to Aden Chan, was recovered by him. The king of Achen attacking them in Sumatra, they abandon the fort of Pasing. Things went ill with them also at Malacca and the Moluccas. In 1525, the fort of Calicut being attacked by the Samorin, with considerable force, the Portuguese demolished it, and withdrew.

Hector de Silveyra, in 1526, destroyed Dofar, (or Dhafar) a strong city on the coast of Arabia; and entering the Red-sea, reduced the islands Mazua and Dalaca. They discovered the island of Celebes, Calayat and Mascat, exasperated by the avarice of Diego de Melo, revolted, but were reduced again. Ruez Soliman, the Turk, who killed Mir Husseyn, at Joddah, having recovered his prince's favour, by delivering up the city, and sending a present; Sultan Soliman, the successor of Selim, sent Haydarin, from Suez, with a fleet of twenty galleys, and five galliots, to deliver to Ruez Soliman, who was then fortifying the island of Camarin, in the Red-sea: where Haydarin, on some disgust, killed him. Mustapha, nephew to Ruez, succeeded him, and slew Haydarin: after which he fled with a few ships, first to Aden, and then to Diu, for protection. Thus this expedition designed against the Portuguese miscarried. Antonio Tenreiro went by land with the news to King John, being the first who performed that journey, till then thought impossible.—Malacca being infested by the king of Bintang, Pedro Mascarenas, with 21 ships and 1000 men, 600 of them Malaysians, failed to that island; and attacking the capital, which was well fortified, and defended by 7000 men, entered it slew 400, and took 2000 prisoners, a vast booty, and 300 pieces of cannon, with the loss of only three Portuguese: the king was restored on becoming tributary. In the Moluccas, Don Garcia Henriquez burned Tidore, after making peace with the king; and went to expel the Spaniards out of port Camafo, and another town in that island, but were repulsed, Don George de Meneses, in his way to the Moluccas, dis-

covered the island of Borneo, having sent a present of tapestry to the king; that prince, on beholding the figures, cried out, "They were men enchanted, and would kill him in the night;" and notwithstanding all that could be said, would neither suffer the tapestry to remain in his palace, nor the messengers in the port. At Tidore the Portuguese were worried by the Spaniards.

In 1527, some Portuguese, after the loss of their ships, getting in the boat to Chacuria in Bengal; the Indians having made a vow to sacrifice to their idols, the handsomest Portuguese they should take, it was the lot of Gonzalo Vaz de Melo to fall the victim. A fleet being sent to burn the Turkish galleys left at Camarin, they could not get to them, the winds proving contrary; however they burned the city of Zeyla, on the coast of Adel; which Fate Mangalo, on the coast of India, underwent also. At Diu seventeen Portuguese being taken in a boat, Diego de Mesquita, their captain, for refusing to turn Mahometan, was ordered by the king of Cambaya to be blown in pieces out of a cannon; but that prince, admiring the resolution with which Mesquita entered the mouth of it, was appeased, and spared him; Chacuria near Cranganor, and Porca were burnt by Lope Vaz, the governor of India; Marabia and Mount Dehli, by his nephew Simon de Melo.

The king of Cambaya's fleet of eighty barks, were all but seven taken or destroyed by the brave Hector de Silveyra, who soon after in 1529, took Bazaim, and made Tana tributary. Don George de Meneses with the people of Ternate, fell upon those of Tidore, and the Spaniards, whom they defeated, burning the city, and then besieged the fort. The Spaniards surrendered, obliging themselves to retire to Camafo; not to commit hostilities against the Portuguese or their friends; nor to go to any of the Clove islands. The king of Tidore was made tributary, and compelled not to aid the Spaniards. *

Nunno de Cunna in his way to India this year, took, plundered, and burned Mombassa; then sailing to Ormuz, seized Ruez Ashraf, the king's visier, and sent him to Portugal, for mal-practices. He was there joined by Belchior Tavarez de Sousa, who had been to assist the king of Basrah, with forty men against him of Jazirat, an island (as the name imports) about forty leagues in compass, made by the Euphrates and Tigris. He being the first Portuguese, who had penetrated those rivers from the Persian Gulph. After this he was sent to reduce Bahrayn, which had revolted, and battered the fort, but withdrew for want of ammunition. Antonio de Silveyra in 1530, who was stationed on the coast of Cambaya with fifty-one sail of vessels, went up the river Tapti and burned Surat and Reyner, two cities on its different sides. The first four leagues from the river's mouth contained 10,000 families, mostly Banyans; the other, which stood a little higher, 6000 houses inhabited by warlike Moors, and well fortified. Afterwards he burned Daman and Agazem two other cities on the same coast.—Hector de Silveyra, being sent to the mouth of the Red-sea with ten ships, and 600 men; by spreading his fleet, took several rich prizes. After which, failing to Aden, he managed the king with such dexterity that he consented to pay an annual tribute of 12,000 xerafins. In the same manner did the king of Shael (or Sherafins) submit.

Nunno de Cunna, in 1531, then governor of India, set out for Diu, with above 400 sail, mostly small vessels; in which were 3600 soldiers, and 1450 sailors, all Portuguese; besides above 2000 Malabars and Canarans, 8000 slaves fit for service, and almost

1531

Borneo discovered.

Bazaim taken.

Spaniards subdued.

Surat and other ports burned.

Aden and Shael tributary.

Diu attempted

* After this Don George became, on a sudden, most wicked and outrageous. Suspecting that Cachil Vaydeca, a Tidore nobleman, had killed a Chinese sow of his, he anointed his face with bacon (which is the most heinous injury that can be offered to a Mahometan). In the town of Tabona, he took the chief magistrate, and two Moors of note: the hands of these last he cut off; and on the first he set two dogs, who tore his flesh, till

to shun them, he ran into the sea; where being pursued, he defended himself with his teeth, till at last he was drowned, almost worried to death. Another of the natives endeavouring to stir up the people, to drive out both Portuguese and Spaniards, Don George seized and beheaded him publicly in Ternate; which so terrified the people, that most of them, with the queen herself, fled from the city.

1536

Cities on the
coast burned.

5000 seamen. They attacked the island of Beth, seven leagues from Diu, strongly fortified both by nature and art, and defended by two thousand resolute Arabs, Turks, and others, of whom eighteen thousand were killed, and 60 cannon taken, with the loss of only twelve Portuguese; among whom was the brave Hector de Silveyra. Their stay before this place lost them Diu, which, in the interim, was reinforced by Mustapha, a Turk. The city was surrounded with rocks and water; and the mouth of the river crossed with chains, defended by thirty armed vessels. Within were 10,000 men, and an infinite number of cannon, after making an attack, which lasted all day without doing the enemy much hurt; De Cunna, who exposed himself the whole action in a boat, withdrew; Badur, king of Cambaya, rewarded Mustapha with the government of Baroche, and the title of Rumi (because he was a Grecian) and Chan; so that he was thenceforward called Rumi Chan. Antonio de Saldanna, who was in the sea of Diu with 60 sail, and 1500 men to do mischief, burned the towns of Madrefabad, Goga, Belsa, Tarapor, May, Kelme, Agasim, and last, Surat, just rising out of the ruins of the last fire, the cruisers: having taken twenty seven ships of the king of Calicut richly laden, the Samorin to obtain peace gave leave to build a fort at Ghale, three leagues from that city, Diego de Silveyra, in 1532, burned Patam, twelve leagues from Diu, Pate, Mangalor, and other towns, striking an universal terror along the coast, and carrying off infinite riches.—De Cunna, encouraged by these successes set out again with a 150 sail, 3000 Portuguese, and 200 Canarans to attack Basaim, which was then fortifying by Malec Tocam, lord of Diu, who, on the approach of the Portuguese, left a garrison of twelve thousand men. However, the Portuguese attacked the place, put the garrison to flight, killed 600 of them, razed the fort, and carried off above 400 pieces of cannon. After this, Manuel de Albuquerque, burned all the towns along the coast, from Basaim Jarapor, and obliged Tana, Bandora May, and Bombaim to pay tribute. Diego De Silveyra, meeting near Aden, with a very rich ship of Joddah, the captain came on board, and shewed him a letter, given him as a pass by a Portuguese prisoner in that city; wherein were these words; “I beseech such of the king of Portugal’s captains, as shall meet with this ship to make prize of her, for she belongs to very wicked Moors.” Silveyra perceiving how the Mahometan was imposed upon, took no notice of the deceit, but discharged him, chusing to lose the riches of that ship, rather than bring into question the sincerity of the Portuguese.

Malec Tocam, lord of Diu, finding King Badur designed to confer the government of that city on Mustapha Rumi Chan, was inclined to give leave to build a fort there; yet still afraid, trifled, and at last was obliged to fly on Badur’s approach; Badur also himself, pretended a willingness to consent; whereupon de Cunna went to Diu, with 100 sail of ships, and had an interview, which not taking effect, he made a league with Humayun Pedishah, the Great Mogul, and returned to Goa.—In 1534, Martin Alphonso took the fort of Daman; and Badur, to procure a peace, gave up for ever, to the king of Portugal, Basaim with its dependencies by sea and land. It was likewise agreed that all ships bound for the Red Sea from Cambaya, should set out from that port and return thither to pay the duties; that none should go to other places without leave from the Portuguese; and that no ships of war should be built in any of his ports.

League with
Badur.

Badur, king of Cambaya, who had by force or treachery added two other kingdoms to his own, was become very powerful, when Humayun, the Great Mogul, his neighbour to the north falling out with him in 1534, took from him good part of his dominions, with Champanel his capital city. These misfortunes moved Badur to apply to De Cunna for assistance, offering leave, on that condition, to erect a fort at Diu Martin, Alphonso de Sousa, upon this,

went to settle the articles, which were, That Badur should confirm all that had been done relating to Basaim; that there should be a league offensive and defensive between the king of Portugal and him; that the fort should be raised where and in what manner the governor should appoint, and that a bulwark towards the sea, should be immediately delivered to him.

De Cunna being sent for at Badur’s desire, repaired to Diu, and was received with much honour and demonstration of joy. He immediately set about the fort, which was soon finished, and the command of it given to Emanuel de Sousa, with 900 Portuguese, and 60 pieces of great cannon, and Humayun, despairing of taking Diu, employed his arms elsewhere. The liberty of building this port, produced an adventure as surprising as that grant was important. James Botello, a person skilful in the affairs of India, having been in disgrace with King John, for designing (as it was reported) to go for France; and being anxious to recover that prince’s favour, resolved to effect it by a most desperate and almost incredible attempt: he knowing how earnestly the king desired to have a fort raised at Diu, leave for building it was scarcely granted, when getting a copy of it and draught of the fort, he committed himself to the vast ocean which is between India and Portugal, in a bark that was but sixteen feet and a half long, nine broad, and four and a half deep, setting out privately with his own slaves, three Portuguese, and two others. He pretended he was going to Cambaya; but as soon as he was out at sea, discovered his design, at which they were all astonished. But being overcome by fair words and promises, they proceeded on their way, till finding themselves reduced to unspeakable miseries, the slaves, who were sailors, agreed to kill him; but, after killing a servant, were all killed themselves. Without seamen or pilot, Botello held on his course with the four that remained; and to the admiration of all men, at length arrived at Lisbon, where the bark was immediately burned, that nobody might see it was possible to perform that voyage in so small a vessel. The king was greatly pleased with the news, and Botello restored to the royal favour, but without any other reward for this prodigious action.

De Cunna, fearing the Mogul would fall on Basaim, sent to its relief Garcia de Sa, with 400 Portuguese. He seeing the city threatened with a mighty army, resolved to quit it; but moved by the cries of the inhabitants, and yet more by the persuasions of Antonio Galvano, he began to fortify the place; whereupon Humayun withdrew. Mean while, the king of Achen, by craft, decoyed and slew several Portuguese at different times. At the Moluccas all things were in confusion, through the avarice and tyranny of the governors. Gonzalo Pereyra succeeded George Meneses at Ternate, in 1530; but was murdered because he intended to examine into the frauds of his countrymen. These put in his room one Fonseca, who pursuing the former evil measures, De Cunna sent in his place Tristan de Atayde, more vile than Fonseca. He imprisoned the king of Ternate and his mother; whereupon the people fled, nor when they lamented were pitied by their neighbours, who upbraided them for admitting a people so wicked as the Portuguese into their country. Tristan, to engross the clove trade, quarrelled with the king of Buchang, and assisted by those of Ternate and Tidore, took and burned his city; yet these and other kings at the same time, conspiring to extirpate the Portuguese, they were all cut off in Ternate, and Tristan almost starved out of the fort there for want of provisions.

Azada Chan, (general of Ibrahim, Adel Chan) having ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of Goa, in 1536, the inhabitants surrendered it to de Cunna, who accepted of it. Soon after those lands being invaded by Solymán Aga, a Turk, another of Adel Chan’s generals, he was opposed by D. Juan Pereyra, who built a fort at Rachol in spite of him. Afterwards he defeated him at Margam, and Azada Chan,

1537

Chan, at Ponda, which town was burned. This last commander, enraged hereat, built the fort Bori, on the river of that name, opposite that of Rachol, which was therefore demolished by the Portuguese. After this, the king of Calicut's forces were defeated near Cranganor, and Ripelim taken and burned. Here was recovered a piece of marble highly valued by the king of Cochin, (from whence it had been plundered) because thereon were cut the names of the kings of Malabar for three thousand years past.

Badur, king of Cambaya, having served his ends of the Portuguese, wanted to get rid of them: for this purpose, he sent to invite the Turks to assist him. Mean while he contrived, not only to take the fort and destroy the garrison, but de Cunna also sending for him to Diu in 1527, where de Cunna went; and though apprised of the king's design, did not secure him at a visit made on board, but resolved to do it at the fort. The king putting off in his cutter or barge, de Sousa, who commanded at the fort, followed to make the invitation. At the same time, another barge coming up, and seeing De Sousa in the king's, entered the same hastily, which giving Badur a suspicion, he ordered his officers to kill De Sousa. Diego de Mesquita, (who had assisted the king in his late wars) understanding what he said, flew at, and wounding that monarch, was slain by his attendants. Here ensued a bloody fray, wherein four Portuguese, and seven of the enemy, were slain. Some more barges on each side came up; and the king seeing the danger, began to fly, but was stopped by a cannon shot, which killed three of his rowers. He then thought to escape by swimming, but being in danger of drowning, discovered who he was. Tristan de Payva reached out an oar to bring him on board, when a soldier struck him across the face with a halberd, and then others, till he was killed; he kept a little while above water, and then sunk: and neither his, nor De Sousa's body could be found. De Cunna entered Diu, and by his discreet behaviour, reconciled the inhabitants, who began to quit the city. The gold and silver found in the place, was not to any extraordinary amount; but the quantity of ammunition was to be admired. In the port were 160 vessels, some of great bulk; no less wonderful was the number of brass cannon, (not to mention those of iron) among the rest was found three pieces, of such a prodigious size, that De Cunna sent one, as a rarity, to Portugal, which is still kept in the castle of St. Julian, at the mouth of the river Lisbon, and called the gun of Diu.—De Cunna found among the dead king's papers, proof, sufficient to convince the principal Moorish merchants, and Cazi's of Badur's design, to bring the Turks upon the Portuguese; and to ingratiate himself the more with the public, ordered that the Mahometans should enjoy the free exercise of their religion and laws; continuing besides all pensions that had been allowed by the king.

In the beginning of the year 1538, De Cunna began that vast cistern at Diu, which is of such a bigness, that being 25 spans deep, each span contains 1000 pipes of water. Thus he provided against a long siege. Indeed the arrogance of the Portuguese at this time was such as continually raised them up enemies.—The king of Xael, (or Shael) near Cashen on the Arabian coast, having received some Portuguese very kindly in his port, they requited the favour with injuries. One of these among others, had robbed a near relation of the king's, and after inflicting several tortures, hung him, and two other persons of note by the privities, to make them discover their treasure. Gonzalo Vaz committed another robbery. Alvaro Madera, being kindly entertained by an honest Moor, forced his wife from him. One Godino had the honour to treat the king at his house, and repaid it, by calling him drunkard. Others took a ship belonging to his subjects, and impudently came to sell it in his port. The effect of these villanies was, that all the Portuguese about the town, were killed by the Moors; and Don Manuel de Menezes, who

just then arrived as ambassador from De Cunna, with seventy attendants, were made prisoners, thirty of whom were sent as a present to Constantinople, whence Madera escaped, and carried the news to Lisbon of the Turkish fleet that was fitting out at Suez, to invade the Portuguese in India. Godino had his head cut off in the king of Shael's presence.

De Cunna, desirous of having a fort at Chatigan in Bengal, and being encouraged by a rich Moor, sent Martin Alphonso de Melo thither, with a present for the King Mohammed Shah, who, jealous of his design, secured him, and 53 more. Mohammed was the 13th successor of the Arab, who, 50 years before the Portuguese, entered India, and usurped the kingdom of Bengal, by slaying the lawful king. The capital city Gowro, extended three leagues in length along the Ganges; and contained one million two hundred thousand families. Antonio de Silva Menezes being sent to redeem the prisoners, and imagining the messenger also was detained, because he staid longer than ordinary, he burned Chatigan and other places; for this they were used the harder; but for the service they did the king against Shir Chan, a Mogul general, who had been well entertained, and was now in rebellion, he set them at liberty. They stopped Shir Chan's passage down the Ganges at Gori, a fort, where that river enters Bengal; as soon as the Portuguese were gone, Shir Chan returned, and entering Gowro by force, seized the kingdom, Mohammed dying of his wounds in his way to implore Humayun's assistance. Shir Chan aspiring to farther conquests, took the city of Calejor from the Rashputs, [or Rajaputes] with intent to seize the treasure of an Indian temple there; but pointing a cannon to kill an elephant belonging to that church, the gun burst, and tore him, with many others to pieces.

At Malacca, things were still in great confusion: Don Stephen de Gama, destroyed Ujomtana and its fort, on the river Tor, being the south-east point of the coast of Malacca, and 40 leagues from the city of that name. In 1537 its bridge was twice attacked by a commander of Achen, who was repulsed. The troubles caused at the Moluccas by the avarice of Tristan de Atayde, were remedied, by sending Antonio Galvam to command, whose prudence, modesty and justice, healed all the sores made by his predecessors. Understanding that eight kings had entered into alliance against the Portuguese of Tidore, he went thither with four ships, 170 Portuguese, and 50 Moors, pursued by 300 sail, with 30,000 Moors. They anchored at Tidore, whose shores were covered with multitudes; and though the fort appeared impregnable, he scaled it with 130 Portuguese, and 280 slaves. The kings coming in with 50,000 men, he withdrew into a wood. They thought he fled, and some parties pursued, and they were routed; some flying to the fort, he followed, entered with them, and set it on fire. The kings, terrified, fled to the mountains with their treasure. Galvam marched to the city, (from which the inhabitants fled) and burned it to the ground; levelling the works in such a manner, that scarce any sight of the place was left, but the ashes. This unparalleled victory, which cost but one slave, produced an honourable peace; after which, Galvam by his courtesies, and offering to rebuild the city, so much obliged the king and subjects, that they confided in him as in an ancient friend. The people of Ternate being divided into parties about choosing a king, they offered to make Galvam regent, till they had one conformable to their own laws, but he refused. Ferdinand de Grijalva, who was cast away, being refused admittance by the kings of Gilolo and Bachan, into their ports, on account of their league with Galvam, this latter ransomed the Spaniards, and treated them kindly. Francis de Castro, sent out with two priests, was driven by bad weather, to Satigama, and other islands, 1000 leagues north of the Moluccas. They discovered also the island Mindanao; the kings, queens, nobles, and people, embracing the Romish religion, wherever they came, to the

Diu entered
by De Cunna.

Portuguese
ride and vil-
lany.

Mindanao dis-
covered.

1538

the wonder of the Mahometans. When Galvã's time of government expired, those kings begged to have him continued for life. He left Ternate in a flourishing condition, but returned to Portugal involved with debts: thinking to meet with some reward for so much valour, service, parts, and merit. But he found contempt and misery, which brought him to die in an hospital.

This same year, Diu was attacked by Solyman, Basha of Egypt, in conjunction with the king of Cambaya's forces, by sea and land, of which more hereafter.

Peter de Faria, governor of Malacca, sent his kinsman Antonio de Faria Soufa to secure a peace with the king of Patane. After having ranged the coasts of India and China, with various successes, and according to his historian having met with adventures too strange to merit belief, they were all at once ended together with his life, he and his vessel being swallowed up by the sea in one night.

Japan discovered.

Antonio de Mota, Francisco and Antonio Peixoto sailing for China in the year 1642, first discovered Japan, being driven thither by a violent tempest. This was the farthest discovery made by the Portuguese in those parts to the eastward.—And here it may not be amiss to give an account of their possessions to the south east, with the account of their revenues as they stood in the year 1640. —

Portuguese possessions from the Cape of Good Hope to China.

The Portuguese empire to the eastward, extends from the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, to Cape Liampo (or Ning Po) in China, 4000 leagues along the sea coasts; without including the shores of the Red-sea, and Persian Gulph, which make about 1200 leagues more, within this space lies half Africa, and all Asia, with innumerable islands belonging thereto. These 4000 leagues are divided into seven parts. The first division between the Cape of Good Hope, and the mouth of the Red-sea, contains along the coast many kingdoms of the Caffres: as the vast one of Monomotapa, whose monarch is lord of all the gold mines in Africa; those of Sofala, Mozambique, Quiloa, Pemba, Melinda, Pata, Brava, Magadoxa, and many other sovereignties. Here the crown of Portugal possessed the forts of Sofala and Mombassa, and the city and fort of Mozambique.—The second division, from the mouth of the Red-sea to the Persian Gulph, contains the coast of Arabia, where they have the impregnable fortresses of Mascat.—The third division, between Basrah, or the Persian Gulph, and the Indies, contains the kingdoms of Ormuz, Guadel and Sinde, with part of those of Persia and Cambaya; here they held the forts of Bendel Diu. The fourth division, from the river Indus to Cape Comorin, contains what is properly called India, that is part of Cambaya, Decan, Canara, and Malabar, subject to several princes; here they had the forts of Daman, Assarim, Danu, St. Gens, Agazain, Maim, Manora, Trapor, Bazaim, with the city Tana, Caranja, the city Chaul, and opposite a fort, called Morro. The most noble city of Goa, large, strong and populous, was the metropolis of their eastern dominions; an archbishoprick, whose prelate is primante of all the east: this is the residence of the viceroys; and here are the courts of the inquisition, exchequer and chancery; a custom house, arsenal, and magazine well provided. The city is seated in an island, girt with a strong wall, and six mighty castles, called Daguim, St. Blas of Bassoleco, St. Jago, Agazaim, Panguin, and Nuestra Sennora del Cabo. On the other side to secure the bar, is that of Barbadoes. On the castle Daguim is the fort of Norva, with a good town. On one side of this island lies that of Salfet, where is the fort of Rachel. Then going along the coast, they had the forts of Onor, Barlelor, Mangalor, Cananor, Cranganor, and Cochim, which is a bishoprick; and near Cape Comorin, the town and fort of Coulan.—The fifth division lying between Cape Comorin and Ganges, contains Coromandel and Orixá, where they had fort of Negapatam, that of Meliapor, with the city which is a bishoprick, of late called St. Thomas,

6

and Musulapatam.—The sixth division, between Ganges of Cape Singapura, contains the vast kingdoms of Bengal, Pegu, Tanazarim, and others of less note. Here they have the city of Malacca, a bishop's seat, and the last place possessed by them in the eastern continent.—The seventh division between the Capes Singapura, and Liampo, (or Ning Po) contains the kingdoms of Pam, (or Pahang) Lugor, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, or Tiffiampa, Cochinchina, and the vast empire of China; here they have no place but the city of Macau; (in an island in the Bay of Canton) yet trade all along those coasts. In the island Ceylon (or Saylan) they possessed the city and fort of Columbo, those of Manar, Gale, and others; beyond Malacca, a fort in the island Timor. The number of their forts throughout this large extent, was about fifty, and twenty cities and towns, besides many villages depending on the others.—As to the revenue, the customs of Diu were worth 100,000 crowns; those of Goa, 160,000; those of Malacca, 70,000: the tribute paid by several places, amounts to 200,000: all which, with prizes, and other uncertain profits, made up about a million. The viceroy's salary was 18,000 crowns, besides the disposing of places, which are sold: but the chief thing which they all look upon is trade: for whereas the king gets nothing out of India, the viceroys have cleared there, some five, and some 800,000 ducats. All other officers have great salaries, besides their lawful profits, and more considerable frauds.

Revenue of the city and fort.

Viceroy's salary.

The archbishop of Goa is metropolitan, and primate of all Asia. Cochim was made a bishoprick in the year, 1559: Malacca the same year; Meliapor, in 1607. The bishops of China, were instituted by Pope Pius V.—There were also a bishop of Japan, and one of the mountain near St. Thomas of Meliapor. There were bishops of Persia, as also patriarchs of Ethiopia. The city Angamala is a bishoprick, as is that of Macao, (or Macau). With regard to the houses, churches, and monasteries of religious: the Franciscans had twenty-two; the Dominicans nine; the Augustines, sixteen; the Jesuits, about twenty eight monasteries, colleges, and seminaries; besides a vast number of residences, so called by them, where there are but two or three priests. —

The above account may shew how great the power and wealth of the Portuguese must have been in its flourishing state: but by degrees their possessions have been greatly lessened by the acquisitions of the English and Dutch: which latter, at the time that the state of India was published, had taken from them many considerable places, as they had lost Ormuz before, to the Persians. In short, the only considerable places they remain possessed of at present, are Goa and Diu. Such has been the effect of their cruelty and want of policy, as to lose them the empire of some of the finest countries in India. —

Having so often mentioned Diu, we think it proper to give the reader an account of the famous siege of that place by Solyman Basa, whose voyage for that purpose we shall here introduce, as it is so nearly connected with the Portuguese voyages and transactions in the East Indies.

The author from whom our account is taken, himself performed the voyage on board the Turkish fleet, not voluntarily but by constraint, being ordered to follow Solyman Basa, who was commanded by the Turkish Emperor to go on an expedition against the Portuguese in the Indies: when the war broke out in the year 1527, against the Lordship of Venice, and her trading galleys, commanded by Antonio Barbarigo were at Alexandria. Here they staid without having any opportunity of trafficking or taking in goods, till the 7th of September, on which day Almorô Barbaro, the Venetian consul, captain Barbarigo, before mentioned, the merchants, seamen, and every thing belonging to them, (among whom was the author) were arrested, and lodged in the tower of Lances, after which, all those who belonged to the sea, being picked out from the rest; they were sent

to

Engraved for Moore's New & Complete Collection of Voyages & Travels.



*Begging DEVOTEES who stroll thro'
CHINA, and extort Alms, by using
various Austerities, which have great
influence on the Minds of the
people.*

to Cairo, and from thence to Bascha Solyman, who having chosen the admiral, officers, gunners, rowers, carpenters, caulkers, and some companies sent them to Suez, whither a while after, he had dispatched several others to fit out the fleet in that port against his coming. Suez is in a desert place, where grows no herb of any kind.

Here the ships were built designed for India, and all the timber for building them, iron-work, and tackle, was brought from Satalia and Constantinople, to Alexandria, and then carried down the Nile in barks to Cairo, and thence by canals, to Suez. On the road from Cairo hither, which is 80 miles, one meets with no habitations, nor even any thing to eat; so that before the caravans set out, they furnish themselves with the water of the Nile. In the time of the Christians this was a great city, and full of cisterns: it had also a navigable canal, cut from the Nile, whereby, on the increase of the river, those cisterns were filled with water, which served all the year; afterwards being destroyed by the Mahometans, the canal was filled up with earth, and now the water that is drank at Suez, is brought by canals from certain ponds or wells, at a place six miles distant: which water, though very brackish, they had to drink, every fifty men being allowed as much as a camel could carry. All the timber, iron, ammunition, and provisions were brought from Cairo. The fleet consisted of 76 sail great and small, viz. Six maons, seventeen galleys, twenty-seven new foists, two galleons, four ships, and other small craft of various sizes.—

On the 9th of March, about 2000 men quitting the galleys, landed with their arms, in order to march towards the mountains; but about six miles from the shore, they were met by a sanjak, accompanied with a party of horse, designed for the garrison of Suez, who surrounded them, and having killed 200, the rest were stripped, and carried on board the galleys, where they were chained to the oar. The 15th of June, Solyman Bascha, arrived at Suez, where pitching his tents, they rested eight days. Meanwhile the fleet was got in readiness, and the soldiers received their pay, viz. to each five ducats of gold, and 10 madyns, in all 215 madyns. Part of the men of the large Venetian galley, to which the author belonged, were distributed on board the fleet, 70 in one half galley, 70 in another; 15 in the kiahya's galley, and 18 on board that of Khilierki Bascha, who had with him the consul of Alexandria; the rest of the men were disposed of in two galleons, which carried the powder, salt-petre, brimstone, ball, meal, biscuit, and every thing else for the use of the fleet. The bascha likewise sent his treasure on board the galleys, consisting of 42 chests, which was covered with ox-hides and oil-cloth. On the 20th, he ordered all to be got on board the fleet in two days.—The 22d, the bascha embarked, and removed four miles from Suez, to the point of Pharoah, where there is a good bottom, in four fathoms water. Seven men died here. This is twelve miles from the pits of Moses. The 27th, the whole fleet left Suez, with a north-west wind, and before night fall, cast anchor sixty miles thence, at a place called Corondol; here they had twelve fathoms water, and stayed one night.—The 28th, leaving Corondol, they sailed south-east, 33 leagues, and cast anchor, two hours before night, in a place called Taz; where there are many Franciscan Friars, who furnished the fleet with water. This place is a day's journey and a half, from Mount Sinai, where is the church and body of St. Catharine, and here they remained five days, in five fathom water. The 3d, of July they departed, and came behind a dry sand-bank, about one mile from shore and forty from Tor, casting anchor in 12 fathoms water, at a place called Charas, where they staid two days, to inspect the ship which carried the stores. The 5th they left Charas, and, about five o'clock came to an island called Soridan, forty miles from the coast. The whole day's course, from sun-set to sun-rise, was 100 miles.

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They sailed all night south-east; and at sun-rise, found themselves to windward of an island called Marzoan, on the right hand, 100 miles farther. On the 9th the morning was calm, and the winds variable; and to the south-east they found a shoal under water, 50 miles from the coast. Their course north-west, till sun-set, was ten miles, and in the night, south by west twenty miles. On the 10th they sailed 70 miles south-east, and came to a port called Kor, a very desert place in eight fathom water.

From Kor, they sailed along shore, on the 11th thirty miles, to a city, named Zidem, which is the scale, or landing-place of all the spicery that comes from India and Calicut, distant from Mecca a stage and a half. Here are several shoals, both under and above water; yet it is a good port, and has plenty of provisions; but no water is to be met with, excepting what is in a few cisterns, filled with rain. Here they found great stores of merchandise; and the place affords dates, ginger of Mecca, and other sorts.—Without the city is a mosque, where, according to the Moors, is the sepulchre of Eve. The inhabitants go almost naked, and are meagre and swarthy. Here is fish in abundance. They tie three or four pieces of timber together, about five feet long, and on one of these floats a single man sitting, rows with a board, and ventures out eight or nine miles at sea to fish, in all weathers. Here the fleet rested four days, and took in water.

At their departure, on the 15th of July, five small vessels were missing by chance, which they understood by a man who escaped out of a foist. This day they sailed south-west by south, 89 miles.

On the 19th of the same month they sailed east by south with a brisk wind, till nine in the morning, and came among certain islands, called Atfas, a desert place, and inhabited only by people who came from other islands, to fish and seek for pearls, which they get by diving to the bottom of the sea, in four fathom water. They drink rain-water preserved in cisterns, and canals. Here they staid all night, having ran 100 miles. The 20th they came to an island 20 miles from land, called Camaran, where they met with good water and provisions. In this place there was a ruinous castle uninhabited, and about 50 houses made of the boughs of trees. They saw some other houses scattered over the island. They get abundance of white coral here. The men go quite naked and bare-footed. They are little, and wear nothing on their heads, but their hair, and wrapping up their privities in a clout. They are all seamen, having a few barks and small craft; the planks of which are bound together with ropes, without any iron-work, and their sails are mats, curiously made, (as well as the cordage) with the bark of palm and date trees, after the manner of fans. They go to land with these barks, and bring them abundance of dates, and a sort of white buck-wheat, and they have a good quantity of Mecca ginger. They have plenty of myrrh also from Bista; they break their buck-wheat on a piece of marble, about the size of those that colours are ground on, and upon it is another stone, half an ell broad, in form of a rolling-pin or roller, with which they bruise; and, presently work up a paste, of which they make thin cakes. This is their bread, and it is very hard, so that it must be made fresh every day, otherwise it will grow so dry, that there is no eating it. Both flesh and fish are here in great plenty. This place is from the island of Atfas 40 miles. Here the bascha landed, and caused all the galleys to turn in with him. From hence he dispatched two foists, one to the king of Zibit, the other to that of Aden, ordering him to provide water and provisions for the fleet, that he might be able to proceed in his expedition to India, against the Portuguese, and to tell the king of Zibit (which lies a day's journey within land) that he must come to the water-side, and bring the grand signor's tribute, and pay obedience to the bascha.—The fleet was furnished with water, and staid here ten days.

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On

1538
Island Tuiccc.

On the 30th they left Camaran, with a small wind, and sailing fifty miles, south by east, at one in the morning came to the island Tuiccc: where the bark which was sent to Zibit, met them, and brought the king's present to the basha; consisting of swords wrought at Zima, in the shape of virile members, the handles and scabbards being of silver, gilt; also some poniards of the same sort of workmanship; the handles of which were adorned with Turkey stones, rubies and pearls. As to the tribute, the king of Zibit sent the basha word, that he would pay it at their return from conquering the Portuguese; acknowledging himself the grand signior's slave. This day they advanced fifty miles, and in the night they sailed fifty more, south by east. On the 1st of August they proceeded ten miles in the night, with a south-east wind, to a shoal, called Alontrankin, near the streights mouth; and to the right on the side of Abyssinia; here they had two fathom water, and staid one night.—Leaving the shoals, they sailed east by south, ten miles, and got out of the streights; whence proceeding till sun rise next morning, they went eighty miles farther. Sailing east by north eighty miles, on the third, the fleet arrived at the city of Aden. It is very strong, and stands by the sea-side, surrounded with exceeding high mountains; on the top of which are little castles or forts. It is encompassed also with ravelins on every side, excepting a little opening, about 300 paces wide, for a road into the country, and to the shore, with gates, towers, and good walls. Besides all this, there lies a shoal before the city, on which is built a fort, and at the foot of it a tower for the defence of the port, which lies to the south, and has two fathoms water. To the north there is a large port, with good anchorage, covered from all winds. There is plenty of water here. The soil is dry, producing no kind of thing. They have only rain water, which is preserved in cisterns and pits, 100 fathom deep; and when drawn out, it is so hot as not to be drank, till it has stood to cool. This city is furnished with provisions, wood, and every thing else from other places.—As soon as they arrived, there came four men of fashion to the basha, bringing with them several refreshments. He received them courteously, and talked to them a while in private; after which he gave each of them two vests of figured velvet; and sent them back with his safe conduct for the prince, signifying, that he might safely come on board, and fear nothing. But the Lord of Aden sent to tell him, that he would not go himself; but would readily supply him with whatever he stood in need of: and thus matters stood this day. On the 5th, the basha ordered the janissaries to land with their arms, and all the galleys to man their boats. He dispatched his kiahya, to summon the lord of the city to come and do homage to the grand signior, before the basha. To whom he answered, "I see by your head that I am the grand signior's slave."—The basha seemed to treat him well, and gave him and his retinue vests of figured velvet; but, after having permission to depart, caused him to be seized and hanged at the yard arm; and then sent 500 janissaires to take possession of the city.

The king of
Aden goes on
board.

He is hanged
at the yard arm

The whole armada, to the amount of seventy-four vessels, great and small, left the place on the 19th, and met with nothing remarkable during the rest of the month of August. On the first of September, they steered north-east by east, sailing seventy miles in the day, and eighty in the night. September the second, they kept the same course, thirty-miles; being at noon in thirty-five fathoms water, and in twenty at night, within 100 miles of Diu; but from the nearest land to north, 400 miles. They saw in the sea, at the distance of 100 or 150 miles, certain snakes, and the water often green, which are signs of approaching the shore, throughout that coast.—The third, at day-break, the fleet proceeded with calm weather, along the shore; and, at nine in the morning, there came a bark from land, and told the basha, that there were 700 Portuguese in the castle of Diu, and six

armed galleys. The basha made them a present of six castans, (or vests) and having kept them an hour, dismissed them. Afterwards a Jew, being taken on shore by the sailors belonging to one of the Turks, was brought on board, and confirmed the former report. This day they ran thirty miles, and in the night thirty more.—The fourth, at sun-rise, the fleet proceeded thirty miles, and cast anchor within three miles of Diu, before this perceiving a Portuguese foist come out of the port, the basha ordered a half galley to sail after her, which pursued all day, but lost her in the night. —

The same day, came on board one Cofa Zaffar, a native of Otranto, but turned Turk; and was captain of the galley in the former fleet, sent by the grand signior to India: which fleet having been defeated and destroyed, this Cofa Zaffar went into the service of the king of Diu, called king of Cambaya, (which is the name of the country) who gave him lands, and made him governor in chief in all his kingdom. Zaffar also had insinuated himself with the Portuguese, and gained their friendship; but when he understood that the Turkish fleet was coming, he and the viceroy of the kingdom, came with 8000 Indians, and took the city from the Portuguese, and besieged them in the castle.

Along with Cofa Zaffar, came the grand visir of the king, they were received with honour by the basha; and informed him that there were 500 soldiers, and 300 others, in the castle, which they had besieged twenty-six days, and did not doubt to take it with their Indians, provided they were furnished by him, with artillery and ammunition: otherwise they should not be able. The basha gave each of them two vests; but while they staid to talk with him, the Turks landed with their arms, and plundered the city, doing the Indians a thousand injuries, not sparing the vice-roy's palace, from whence they took three fine horses, money and furniture; in short, whatever they could lay their hands on. They advanced also up to the castle, and skirmished with the Portuguese. The viceroy being returned, and made acquainted with the outrages committed by the Turks, immediately gave orders to his officers to be in readiness; and the night following, retired with about 6000 men, and went to the king, who was then about two days journey up the country. The same night, there came a foist from the city with provisions of fresh bread, nuts, flesh, boiled-rice, and other things, in the king's name, which were disposed on board the basha's galley.—The fifth the basha sent the Moorish captain and his kiahya, to join those on shore. All the galleys sent their boats, filled with janissaries, to assist those of the country, who were encamped round the castle, and not above 2000 men, the rest being departed with the viceroy, and Cofa Zaffar.—On the seventh, the fleet removed, and came to a very good port, called Muda Burak, thirty miles from Diu, where there is water enough.

Afterwards the basha went on shore, where they had begun to play their cannon; which for that purpose, were mounted on four maons. He sent also three cannon on shore, which were planted on a tower, standing by the water-side, about a cannon shot from the great fortrefs: on which tower stood Indians to give billets, and receive the customs. It had thick walls, and was defended with four brass guns, with a commander, and 100 soldiers. It has neither ditch nor water round it.—On the ninth, a ship and galley laden with biscuits, powder, and other ammunition, entered the port; and striking on a sand bank, sunk. The goods and the galley were recovered again, but the ship split in pieces.—The nineteenth there arrived a half galley in bad condition, which had been kept back by the weather, and driven to a port belonging to a certain people, who are gentiles, called Samari; where sending a boat, with some janissaries, on land, they were all cut in pieces. After which taking the barge, and manning some of their own barks, they set upon the galley, and slew sixty

sixty persons more, insomuch, that she had much ado to escape. On joining the fleet, the basha sent for the pilot, and caused him to be hanged for his ill success. Afterwards an Indian belonging to the castle, who had turned Christian, being taken in a falley, was brought before the basha, who ordered him to be examined: but the man refusing to answer any question, was, by the basha's command, cut in two. In this country, the people are very lean, and live very sparingly, and eat no beef: but ride on their oxen, which are small and handsome, very tractable, and have a sort of pace. They make a hole through the nostrils of the beast, and run a cord through, which serves for a bridle. They load them in the same manner as mules are loaded, their horns are long and strait. There is great feasting on the birth of one of these creatures, which they have great veneration for, especially the cow, and on this account, they are reckoned idolaters. When any of this sort of men happen to die, the wife makes a great feast for her relations; after which they go dancing along, according to their custom, to a place where a great fire is prepared, and throw the corpse into the flames. They carry along with them a large pot full of grease, scalding hot; then the widow dances round the fire, singing the praises of her dead husband. After this, she gives one relation a ring, another a gown, and so on, till she has nothing left on her, but a cloth to hide her nakedness, and immediately after, takes a pot of the scalding grease, and casting it into the fire, leaps herself into the midst of it; those about the fire, throw upon her the pots with grease to increase the flame, so that she is dead in an instant. Those women that would be thought virtuous, observe this custom; and those who do not, are reputed wicked, bad livers, and dishonest; nor will any marry with such afterwards. *

This country is very rich, and produces abundance of excellent ginger of all sorts, and cocoa nuts, whereof they make vinegar, oil, flower, cordage, and mats. The tree resembles the date-tree, differing in nothing but the fruit and the leaf; that of the palm being broader.—The 28th. the fleet departed from the port of Mudaferaba, where they had from two to four fathoms water.—The 29th, they sailed six hours, and cast anchor fifteen miles from Diu, where they sailed one night.—On the 30th, the fleet departed with a north wind from the shore, and went behind the castle of Diu; where all the galleys discharged their artillery, and then turned off, casting anchor about three miles from thence.

On the first of October, there came a person from the lesser castle, as ambassador to the fleet, to capitulate, because they could hold out no longer; because the Turks had planted three pieces of cannon under it, which carrying 150 pound balls of iron, pierced the tower from side to side; so that the stones flew about, and killed twenty out of 100 defendants, but before they surrendered, they with their musquets, and four pieces of cannon, slew abundance of Turks; the fire having continued for eighteen or twenty days. As soon as this person had delivered his message, he was presented with a rich vest, and had a safe conduct written in ample form, for himself and others: with which landing, he prevailed on the captain of the tower, and two other persons, to go to the basha, who gave the former a vest also, and confirmed the safe-conduct; with this condition, that they should not go into the great fortress. The captain, whose name was Juan Francisco Padoano, returning to the coast, which was called Gogole, brought off his men, in number eighty, whom the basha ordered to be confined in a house, without arms, and under a strong guard.—The second, the basha sent for the four slave gunners of the large galleys, and ordered

them on shore to batter the fortrefs. He likewise ordered the Portuguese who had surrendered, to be distributed into several galleys, and chained to the oar, captain and all. The same day three Portuguese galleys entered the port of Diu, without the least opposition: for the basha did not send one vessel to hinder them.—There arrived a ship on the 8th, with provisions, which was lost in the road, on board were fifteen men of the large galleys, among whom was the admiral himself, and an officer of the provision, sixty sailors, and the rest galley slaves.—The 13th, the fleet removed from the west to the east side of Diu, two miles from it: where the guns from the fortrefs sunk one galley, and broke the main yard of another.—The 15th, the basha went from the Maon into the half galley, and ordered them to put all the christians in irons; and to take a white sail from another galley, his own being distinguished with colours: and this he did because he expected the Portuguese fleet every hour, (and did not care that it should be known what ship he was in). Being also doubtful of the artillery, he caused a great ring of cables, and other hollow things, to be made at the poop, sufficient to keep off cannon-shot: for he was fearful and cowardly.—The 17th, being the eve of St. Luke, the basha caused the head of one belonging to the Venetian galleys, to be cut off for only saying, “My Lordship (of Venice) is not dead.”—The 22nd, the basha gave orders to acquaint all the gunners that were on shore, about 400 in number, (because every day one or other of them was slain) that whoever had skill enough to strike down the great standard of the fortrefs, which stood in the midst of a great tower, should, besides being made free, have a very ample recompence, which he offered the rather, for that his standard had been given by a sanjac to the Portuguese: whereupon one of the said christians, having at the third shot broke the standard, the Turks made great rejoicings, and published the news throughout the fleet: the gunner was rewarded with a silk vest.—The artillery, which they had planted under the castle, were all in one line, but in six different places. In the first was a Culverin of iron, that carried 150 pounders, a paterero of 200 pounds, at a small distance was an iron passe volant of 16 pounds, which discharged cartridge shot, in another place, was a paterero of 300 pounds, and a culverin a 150 pounder. In the second post was another passe volant, to match the first, both belonging to the large galleys. In another place, was an iron faker of 12 pounds; a little cannon of 16 pounds, a falcon of 6 pounds, a mortar carrying a 400 pounder. In another post was a culverin of 100 pound; insomuch, that they had battered down one tower. So that they could easily mount the breach to fight, because the tower was not very high, nor the fosse quite dug. But as fast as the Turks ruined it, the besieged filled it up with earth and rubbish, as well as they could. This fortress has no flanks; and being built on a rock, they have made no casemates, only erecting embrasures at the top, which were all ruined and taken, but herein their safety lay, that fifteen or twenty of them sallied out, like so many furious beasts, and slew all they met with; which struck such a terror among the Turks, that they fled in confusion, as soon as they saw them issue forth.—The 25th, the Turks caused a great number of cotton sacks, covered with skins, and bound with ropes, to be prepared; and in the night had them thrown into the ditch; so that they reached as high as the wall. Which being observed by those within, early in the morning, before the Turks put themselves in order to make the attack, and mount the wall, three score sailors sallied out, whereof forty rushed in among the enemy, and fighting gallantly, while the other twenty remained in the ditch; each of whom had a little leather bag full of powder, with a lighted match in his hand, cut the bales, and putting in a handfull of powder, then set fire to them; so that in a short time several of the sacks were consumed, and the burning continued

A breach made

The Turks repulsed.

* This was common in many other parts of India; but the custom has gradually decreased since the Christians came among them.—The reader will see more of this hereafter.

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continued for two days. Those who sallied out upon the enemy, maintained the fight above three hours, killing 190 Turks and wounding as many more, with the loss of only two men.

Turkish ship
taken.

There arrived five Portuguese foists, on the 27th, which took a Turkish one, and landed succours, but could not enter the port, because some of the Canarans abovementioned, commanded the side of it, but over-shot the wall. The 29th, the basha ordered 40 boats, filled with Turks, and a few pieces of cannon in each, in order to assault a little castle or fort which is in the port by the water-side, behind the city, and was quite demolished by the Turkish artillery. There were not above five or six men in it, who, in a bark, went daily to the great castle, which is less than a falcon-shot distant. As soon as the boats began to set forward, those within the fort lay down, to prevent their being seen by the Turks, who coming to the place, ran their prows on the land, where every thing lay in ruins to the very edge of the water, and leaped on shore; but those within met them with two fire-horns, and the cannon of the great castle played so furiously, that the enemy quickly fled, and some of the boats were sunk. Many were drowned and made prisoners by these in the great castle, who came out in one of their boats and killed them in the water, and those who were taken, the next day were hanged on the battlements of the castle. The whole camp putting themselves in order of battle, on the 30th advanced up to the fortress, on the side towards the port, with a great many scaling-ladders, in order to make a general assault, and on the side towards the land, mounted the beach, (which they could do at pleasure, because the place was open) where they stood for three hours; but when the besieged saw that the Turks had not courage to enter, they leaped upon the beach, and pushed them into the ditch, killing 400 that day.— The 31st, the Moorish captain went with 11 galleys to attack the little castle, but was not able to approach it for the artillery of the great one, which sunk the vessels.

Portuguese
fleet appear.

November the 2d, the sanjak and janassaries, with all the rest of the Turks, came on board the galleys, leaving behind them on land all the artillery, which they had not time to carry off. This was occasioned by the news they received, that the Portuguese fleet was advancing in order of battle. On the 5th, 20 sail of Portuguese ships appeared in sight, and cast anchor 20 miles distant from the Turkish fleet. They continued thus all night, and in the morning only three ships were seen at a distance; at which time the Turks put off from land; but at sun-rise there appeared many ships, which shot off a great number of guns, although nothing could be discerned but the flash of the powder; whereupon the basha gave orders for each galley to shoot off three guns. After this, the trumpets being sounded, they fell to their oars, and hoisted their forefalls. This was done at 10 o'clock at night, and at four they departed, shaping their course south south-west, with but little wind, and at day-break ran 30 miles. On the 9th they advanced 20 miles west; and this day the Christians had their irons taken off. The 12th, the wind being north, they entered the gulph of Ormuz, and then sailed west south-west, advancing all that day and night, but 30 miles. On the 27th they cast anchor in six fathom water, at a town called Aser, a desert and barren place, where both men and cattle are forced to live on fish. These men were 40 Portuguese, with their consul, who residing here, carried on trade, and had always with him some merchants, besides those which continually arrived, and exported spice and other things: but their chief trade was in horses, which here are excellent; one being valued at 100 ducats and more; and in India will sell for 1000. But as soon as the king of this country understood that Solyman basha was coming with his fleet, he caused the Portuguese to be seized in their house, and made a present of them to the basha, who ordered them all to be chained. Here also they found a ship which had staid

The Turkish
ships depart.

Aser, a Portu-
guese factory.

Betrayed to
the basha.

by the way, not being able to proceed for India, and of a sudden, seized all the biscuit for the use of the fleet, which remained here three days. December the first, the fleet departed, holding its course west south-west; and sailing 40 miles east, anchored near the coast of Arabia, three hours before dark, at a place called Micaiya, and took in water. The second, they left Macaiya, and sailed west south-west, 30 miles in the day, and ten by night; and on the 5th, proceeding still west south-west, sixty miles, at nine o'clock in the night, cast anchor behind the town of Aden, resting there till sun-rise. The next day the basha being at Aden with his whole fleet, he sent in the morning for a renegado Turk, (who was then a Christian, and a man of considerable account) and without saying any thing, caused his head to be cut off. The reason was, they all murmured, and the basha, fearing this renegado would accuse him of neglect or cowardice, was resolved to be beforehand with him: because he formerly was in the pay of the king of this place, and afterwards a captain at Diu, when the king of it was slain by the Portuguese. The widow queen, being possessed of great treasure, and desirous to retire to Mecca, was persuaded by this man to go on board a galleon, with which he treacherously sailed to Egypt, and thence carried the treasure to Constantinople, and made a present of it to the grand signior, who being informed by him, how matters passed in India, made him patron of a galley, and ordered him to return thither with the fleet, which succeeded badly, and cost him his life. After this the basha, being desirous to secure Aden, caused 100 pieces of cannon great and small, to be landed out of the fleet; among which there was two passe-volants of the great Venetian galleys of Alexandria. He left there also a quantity of powder and ball, with a sanjak, 500 Turks, and five foists.

Return to
Aden.

The Basha now judging himself out of danger, on the 14th quitted the half-galley, and returned to the Maon. The 23d, they sailed from Aden with a good wind, west by south, and between the evening and morning, ran 100 miles. The 24th, at the 5th hour of the day, the fleet entered the streights of the Red Sea, and all night lay at anchor. On the 25th, three hours before day, they departed, sailing north-west, with a scanty wind; nevertheless, they ran 50 miles, and came to a castle called Mocha. The same day, there came an old Turk, governor of the castle, to wait on Solyman, who received him with great honour, and gave him a vest. The governor, in return, continually sent the basha refreshments from shore; and a few days afterwards brought on board all his riches, which were very great, besides many fine slaves of both sexes, thinking every body would follow him. As soon as the fleet arrived at Mecca, the basha sent an ambassador to the city of Zibit, three days journey within land, to summon the king forthwith to the sea-side, to pay obedience to the grand signior. The king made answer, that as to the tribute, he would readily pay it, and would willingly accept of a standard, if the basha would send him one; but that he would not go to the sea-side, and did not know him. The basha being enraged at this answer, next day sent his kiahya with a banner, accompanied by some stout janissaries, who arriving at Zibit, presented the same to the king. The king, in return made him a very fine present, among which was a scymetar, with several jewels, likewise a dagger, and some beautiful pearls, of six carats each, which made a string of more than a foot in length, besides a fine pearl of 18 carats: for much oriental pearl is taken on this part of the coast of Arabia. He likewise gave to each of the Turks, two vests of cloth and a little black slave. The kiahya made him many compliments, and conjured him to come down to the coast; but the king would by no means consent, fearing he should be put to death. When the kiahya saw that he could not prevail on him to go, he said, "If you will not go to the basha, he will come to you;" and so took leave. The fleet staid here 29 days

Enter the
streights.

days. The 23d of January they departed from Mocha at sun-rise, with a brisk gale, and sailed west by north, till noon; then the wind changing; they proceeded north-west, having run in all 100 miles. The 24th they advanced north-west, with their small sails, and a fair wind, 30 miles in the day, and by the 6th hour of the night cast anchor at the island of Chamaran, 20 miles farther. The 29th the basha landed, and gave pay to all the janissaries, who were willing to fight; but not any thing to the galley slaves and seamen. The 22d of February the weather being calm, they left Chamaran, by help of their oars; and about six o'clock came to a place on the coast, called Cubit Sarif, 20 miles from Chamaran. The 3d, at sun-rise, a Turk, of those in pay of the king of Zibit, having revolted, with 50 horse, came to the basha, who received him kindly, and made him presents. This man encamped on the shore with his tents. In this country, they all make use of horses cloathed with armour, on account of the darts and arrows, which are their principal weapons. On the 4th the basha landed, and caused some pieces of light cannon to be put on carriages, and his men, provisions, and ammunition, to be gotten ready in order to march to Zibit. On the 19th he set out on horseback, three hours before day; and on the road met another Turk with 50 horse, who had also rebelled against the king; him the basha made free, and continued his journey. On the 20th he arrived at Zibit, and encamping without the city, sent for the lord thereof, who seeing himself betrayed by many of his own people, and distrusting the rest, came forth with a cord about his neck, as the Grand Signior's slave, and presented himself before the basha: who immediately caused his head to be struck off. His people seeing this, fled to the mountains, to the number of 300; and among the rest three of the principal men, with all their riches, which were very great, not knowing where to go. Upon this, the basha sent to tell those who made their escape, that they ought to return and join him, promising them good pay, and to enrol them among his own troops: hereupon there returned 200 black Abyssinians, who had been soldiers to the king. These were desperate fellows, who did not value life, and ran almost as swift as a horse. They went quite naked, only wrapping their pudenda in a clout. For arms, some carried clubs of the cornel tree, headed with iron; others pointed stakes to throw in the manner of darts, and some a short sword, a span shorter than those used by the Christians: besides every one had at his girdle a dagger, bent after the Moorish fashion. The basha asked every one his name, and caused him to write it, and set down more pay than he had before. He dismissed them thus, one by one, with orders to return next morning, but without arms, giving them to understand, that he intended to give them their pay, and admit them to kiss his hand, in which case they had no occasion to carry arms. These men having presented themselves at the time appointed, were ordered to lay down their weapons, and go where the basha was sitting near a tent in the plain, with the Turks in a circle about him, under arms: but as soon as they were all entered within the ring, upon a signal given, they were in one instant cut in pieces. After this, the basha sent a sanjac, with a thousand soldiers, to secure Zibit. Both the city and country about it, are very fine, abounding with running water and delightful gardens, and many things besides, not to be found in any other part of Arabia, especially zibibs of Damascus without a stone, and other excellent fruits;—dates, and Fresh meat is plenty, and corn is not scarce. The 8th of March, the basha returned to the sea side, and ordered ammunition to be sent to Zibit, leaving also four foists to guard the coast. The 10th the basha landed, and ordered the Portuguese, who were 146 in all, reckoning some Indian converts, to be taken out of irons, and brought bound to the shore, where being distributed among the troops, their heads were by his command struck off, and that of the chief flayed,

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falted, and filled with straw; off others they cut the noses and ears, to be sent to the grand signior. The 13th the kiahya departed, in company with another galley, to Zadem, thence to Mecca, and so on towards Constantinople, with an account of the voyage to India; carrying with him besides the presents, the heads, noses, and ears, that their master might see they had done great feats. The 16th, they departed an hour before day, with a pleasant wind, and sailing along the coast, at sun-set, came to an anchor at Zerzet, a place subject to Mecca, in eight fathoms water, and 70 miles from Cor. Hither were brought the three persons who fled from Zibit with their riches. The basha caused their heads to be cut off, and seized the whole treasure, which filled three pair of wallets; each of which was a load for any one man. The 17th they sailed along the coast with a pleasant gale, which an hour before sun-rise, proving contrary, they cast anchor in a place called Adiudi, in eight fathoms water, having ran 50 miles. The 18th, two hours before day, they departed, coasting along the shore till noon, and then cast anchor in four fathoms, at Mugoro, a good port, fifty miles distant, where there is both water and wood. The 19th, an hour before day, they departed with their oars, and at sun-rise, the wind changing, they sailed along shore 50 miles, to a place called Darboni, subject to Mecca, in seven fathoms water. The 20th, being calm, they coasted it till noon, when a gale springing up, at sun-set they came to an anchor in ten fathoms water, at a place called Yafuf, belonging to Mecca, 50 miles farther. The 21st they went on along the coast. At noon the wind sprang up, and at sun-rise, having made 60 miles, they anchored at Chofodan, a place dependant on Mecca, in 40 fathoms. The 22d the basha ordered six galleys to go foremost, on account of the sand banks, which are so thick, that there is scarce any sailing in the day-time. They came to a shelf called Turach. The 23d they coasted it among the shoals, through which only a single galley could pass at a time, and cast anchor at a place called Salta, in four fathom water, having ran 50 miles. The 24th, sailing along the coast, at noon they anchored in a place called Ariadan, but the port Mazabraiti, a place inhabited by peasants, subject to Mocha, in six fathoms water. The 25th they sailed along shore; but at sun-rise, the wind changing, drove them to sea till noon, and afterwards towards land; so that they cast anchor betimes, and rested till the 27th.

On the first of April they landed at Joddah, and pitching their tents without the town, staid there four days; and the basha himself rode towards Mecca on a pilgrimage, ordering the fleet to proceed towards Suez. In coming into the port Contior Abehein, a galley sunk in endeavouring to double the point. Here a carpenter called Mark, belonging to the Venetian galley, of Alexandria, staid and turned Mahometan. Thus they continued ranging the coast till the 19th, when they came close in shore, without any thing material happening; for which reason we shall not trouble the reader with the names of all the places they passed by. We shall only observe, that on the 24th they proceeded with a pretty favourable wind; a half galley having left behind an anchor and three cables; and one galley ran a-shore, but was not lost. On the 27th, sailing west north-west, at noon, they were up with Tor; and continuing their course, two hours after night, the wind turned against them; therefore they lay by till day-break, when the Moorish captain set sail again; and the other galleys weighing anchor, hoisted their foreails; after running 100 miles, they came into shoal water, where they staid five days in six fathoms.

The 3d of June the fleet left the bank, and holding on their course, cast anchor sometimes on the coast of Abyssinia, (or rather of Egypt) sometimes on the other side, and the 15th they arrived at Corondel. At this place the fleet took in water; and here are the baths of Moses, as they called them.—Here they staid two days. The 16th the fleet sailed, and

4 H

pur.

Cubit Sarif.
Deferters
from Zibit.

polyman
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ore Zibit.

The king be-
headed.

no Abyssini-
s invited.

they are slain.

Adiudi.

Mugoro.

Darboni.

Yafuf.

Salta.

Ariadan.

Pass by Tor.

Baths of Moses

1540 pursued its course for two days together; at the end of which, they arrived at Suez, whence they set out, and on the 17th, began to draw the barks on shore.—
Arrive at Suez

They began to haul their chief galley on land the second of July, next the basha's half galley; and then the rest were arranged and drawn on shore, in the order they arrived. The Christians were the porters, and those who worked the engines in unloading, cleared and unrigged the vessels: all the fatigue lay upon them till the 16th; when the lemin paid them all off.

On the nineteenth of August, the lemin, accompanied with seven boats, went to Tor to pay off the galleys which staid behind; he took with him the best and strongest Christians that were on the spot, in order to carry those galleys to Suez, which were in a manner disarmed; as well by reason of the death of many, as the flight of others. At Tor all were paid off, and the Christians distributed among the galleys. The remainder of the fleet arrived at Suez, the 20th of October, and were all drawn on shore by the hands of the Christians; who wrought hard, both day and night.—The 26th, an end was made of hauling the galleys on land; and the cables, rigging, tackle, irons, planks, small cannon, and other materials were carried into the castle.—This is the author's account of the voyage.—The fate of the expedition against Diu, will be seen at large in the following pages.

From the mouth of the Red-sea to Suez, are 1800 miles; the coast running north west all the way. The breadth of this gulph is 200 miles, and in some places more. It is full of banks, shoals and shelves towards land, so that there is no sailing by night, except in the middle. The place is so intricately disposed, that a person cannot possibly discover the proper channels, otherwise than by the eye, or direct the course to be taken, but by standing at the prow, and crying starboard, larboard; and for this reason the return could not be described so well as the setting out. There are two sorts of pilots for this sea; the first, those acquainted with the middle of the gulph, which is the course of navigation outward; the other sort are for ships returning from the ocean, and sail within the shoals: these are commonly called Rubati, and are excellent swimmers, so that in many places, where they cannot cast anchor, by reason of the bad ground, they will swim under water, and fix galleys within the shoals; and often times even fasten the prows under water according to the nature of the place.

On the 28th of November, 1539, the Christians of the galleys of Alexandria, left Suez, and the first of December, arriving at Cairo, were lodged in the same house where they were at first. Each was allowed half a maiden a day, which is equivalent to two pence of Venice; so that they suffered great affliction and fatigue: for every time it happened that the cisterns were to be cleaned, hills made plain, gardens to be put in order, buildings raised, or the like, all the labour fell upon the Christians.—The 25th of March, 1540, many of those Christians went from Cairo with a guard of Turks, to a hill or mount two miles from the Nile. — *

Venetians return to Cairo.

We have already observed that the author of this voyage, was obliged to follow Solyman Basha on his expedition, which ended with the siege of Diu; before we proceed to a narration of that remarkable event, we shall say a few words by way of digression, of the occasion of it, and of the character and behaviour of Solyman, which may not be improper for the information of the reader.

A present sent by Badur, king of Cambaya, to Solyman the Magnificent, Emperor of the Turks, was delivered, together with the news of his death. The great value of this present demonstrated to that prince the vast riches of India, and stirred up in him a desire of becoming master of it. He thought it

might be in his power to expel the Portuguese in the east, and one of them, a renegado, then at Constantinople, promoted the design, by representing it as easy to be executed.—The sultan ordered a fleet to be fitted, and gave the command to the eunuch Solyman Basha, governor of Cairo; this Solyman was a Greek janissary, born in the Morea, his age eighty years, of stature short, his face ugly, and his belly so big, he was more like a beast than a man, and could not rise up without the help of four. His purse purchased this command: offering the Turk to furnish the shipping at his own expence. The better to perform this, he put to death many rich men, in order to seize their estates; among others, he hanged prince David, king of Upper Egypt, after taking from him a great sum of money. The fleet was got ready by Ibrahim, a considerable officer under him, and consisted of seventy sail, mostly large galleys, well stored with cannon, ammunition, and provisions. In them were embarked 7000 land soldiers, Turks and Mamalucs, besides the seamen and slaves; many of which latter were taken out of the Venetian galleys, then seized at Alexandria, the peace made by Bajazet in the year 1503 being newly broken. Solyman having set out, he caused 400 soldiers to be put to the oars, and because they complained, put to death 200. He thought to have taken the king of Jodda; but he, who well knew him, retired with the inhabitants. At Zibit, after receiving a rich present, he beheaded the king Nocada Hamed, with a hatchet. At Aden he pretended he had many sick men on board, and having obtained houses in the town from the king, to lodge them in, conveyed soldiers in beds, counterfeiting sickness, on shore. These at a sign given from the fleet, seized the city; and the king coming on board the fleet, Solyman asked him how it came to pass that he had neglected coming, (as it was his duty) for three days. The king's answer having perhaps been freer than his ears were accustomed to, he caused him to be hanged at the yard-arm of his ship; as has been already related.

About the beginning of September, the basha arrived before Diu, having left six ships by the way. He was, by instructions, to have visited Goa first; but, on farther thoughts, had changed that design.

When king Badur was killed upon the sea, with some of his retinue, one Chojah Zaffar swam to shore, and was well received by the Portuguese, who put all others to the sword. He upon several occasions shewed himself so grateful, that Nunno de Cunna much favoured and recommended him earnestly to Antonio de Silveyra. At last, without any provocation, he fled from Diu to Mohammed, the new king of Cambaya, offering his service, and persuading him to war upon the Portuguese; affirming it would be easy to drive them from that coast, with the assistance of the Turkish fleet, which he knew would soon be there. The king with this encouragement, formed a body 5000 horse, and 10,000 foot at Champanel, the place of his residence. The first who appeared was Chojah Zaffar, with 3000 horse, and 4000 foot, which he maintained at his own charge, knowing it is suspicious to advise dangerous enterprises, and not have part in them. Antonio de Silveyra, having notice hereof, provided for a long and dangerous siege.—Chojah Zaffar made the first breach, falling upon the town of the Turks near Diu, where he did much harm, Francisco Pacheco defended himself bravely in a bulwark, with fourteen Portuguese, till he was relieved by Antonio de Silveyra, and Zaffar obliged to draw off, being wounded in the arm. At the same time appeared Alu Chan, the king of Cambaya's general, with all the army; who, in conjunction with Zaffar, sat down before the passes: which posts, on their approach, Antonio de Silveyra gave orders should be quitted by his officers,

Solyman's cruelty.

Solyman Basha

Chojah Zaffar

Besieges Diu.

* Here we might entertain the reader with an account of a burying place on this mount, two miles from the Nile, where, once every year a number of people assemble to see a partial

resurrection of dead bodies: but M. Thevenot and other authors, having sufficiently exposed the falsity of the story, we shall pass it by without farther notice.

the better to maintain the city and fort. In the execution whereof they lost some ships and guns.

By reason of this loss, and because there were many private enemies, who only waited an opportunity of shewing their malice, Silveyra could not maintain the city. Some he hanged, and then retired to the fort; always taking the advice of his captains. Alu Chan and Chojah Zaffar presently possessed themselves of the city and island, abandoned by the Portuguese, and began to play their shot vigorously, Lope de Soufa, who guarded the wood and water, whereof the fort stood in need, had several rencounters, and slew many of the enemy, without losing one man; but was himself much wounded. Antonio de Silveyra hearing of the approach of the Turkish fleet, immediately sent advice thereof to Nunno de Cunna; the answer was the diligence wherewith he prepared to relieve him in person.

Michael Vaz, a resolute man, sent by Silveyra to reconnoitre, saw the enemies fleet, and the better to view it, came up so near, that their shot reached his vessel: however he got off, and carried the news to the governor at Goa. The fleet came to an anchor in the harbour, and was now formidable not only to those few Portuguese, but even to the Moors who had expected it. Next day Solyman landed 600 janissaries, well accoutred, and armed with bows and musquets, to terrify the beholders. They entered the city, and there acted all the insolences used by soldiers. Then drawing near the fort, they killed six Portuguese, but 300 of their musqueteers advancing, killed fifty of them, and forced the rest to retire.

A storm obliged Solyman to remove to Madrefavat, a safe harbour, five leagues from Diu. There he continued twenty days, in which time Silveyra improved the fortifications, planted his artillery, and assigned every man his post. The same was done by the Turks, assisted by Chojah Zaffar. Some of their cannon played upon a bulwark; to burn which, they built a wooden castle on a great bark, filled with combustible matter: but Francisco de Gouvea, who had the command by sea, went out by night, and with great difficulty, got to, and burnt it. At this time came some relief sent by Nunno de Cunna: yet the greatest comfort they brought was the hopes of his coming after in person.

Solyman returned from Madrefavat, and fired his cannon upon the bulwark where De Gouvea commanded; from whence, and from St. Thomas's tower, he was so well answered, that one of his galleys sunk with most of the men. The greatest harm the Portuguese received was from their own cannon, which burst, and slew some: for the enemy only killed two brothers, whose mother (named Barbara) took them in her arms, and carried off the bodies without shedding a tear. Zaffar now furiously battered the bulwark commanded by Pacheco, which he rendered not tenable, 700 janissaries assaulted it, and set up their colours, but some of the scattered Portuguese advancing, fell on, dislodged them, and killed 150. The dispute lasted all day, and the enemy drew off with shame; for the weight of this action lay upon two resolute gentlemen.—Next day Pacheco in despair, surrendered. The enemy entered the bulwark, cast down the Christians colours, and set up the Turkish. Juan Perez, a man in years, enraged hereat, threw down the Turkish, and again reared the Christian ensigns. But the enemy pressing, he and five Portuguese more, who joined him, were all killed upon the spot, and their bodies cast into the sea, which laid them at the gate of the fort, where they were honourably buried. Pacheco, and those with him, had artied for life and liberty; yet the latter was not performed at all by Solyman, and the first but for a while. However he gave them Turkish vests; and sent one of them to summon Silveyra to surrender, who made a jest of the proposal.

Enraged at this contempt, Solyman prepared to batter the fort, and planted his artillery in several

places, under the direction of Zaffar. Among the cannon (about 130 in all guarded by 2000 Turks) were nine pieces of enormous size, carrying a ball of above ninety pounds weight: besides several other sizes. On Monday the 4th of October, the battery began, and continued violently twenty days, doing great harm to the fort; from whence little damage could be done; nor were the besieged well able to repair the most dangerous breaches, notwithstanding all art and diligence was employed.

The sixth day after they began to batter, the Turks perceiving Gaspar de Soufa's bulwark much damaged, thought to carry it; but many of them were killed in the attempt, with the loss of two Portuguese. Every day there was an action, Gonsalo Falcam had his head shot off, Juan Fonseca being wounded in the right arm held his lance with the left, as if he had received no hurt; Juan de Gallego, a youth of nineteen, of a little body but great heart, pursued a Moor into the sea, till losing ground, he was like to drown; which the Moor perceiving laid hold on him to kill him; but he recovering himself, without losing gun or sword, slew his adversary, and came out all bloody; walking leisurely towards the fort, while showers of bullets flew about him. Many other singular acts of valour were performed at this siege.—But by this time many brave gentlemen had been killed in the fort; powder grew short, the provisions scarcer: the relief of the viceroy Don Garcia de Noronna, now arrived in India, moved slow. The neighbouring forts sent no aid; and all began to be in confusion; which was increased by a sickness (caused by the bad water) that hindered most from swallowing the little provision they had, swelling the gums, and loosening the teeth, so that they fell out.—The Portuguese fought and suffered, as if the greatest misery could not overcome them.

The valour of the Portuguese women here, deserves notice. Donna Isabel de Vego, a woman of great virtue, and some beauty, was wife to Manuel de Vescencelos; who fearing the fort might be lost, and she taken by the Turks, earnestly intreated her to go to her father, Francisco Serram, at Goa; but she begged not to be parted from him; which with much regret, at last he consented to. This heroine considering there were many men employed in the works who might fight, and their places be supplied by as many women, assembled all of that sex who were in the fort; and having exhorted them to undertake that labour, to the end so many men might be added to the number of their defendants, they all cheerfully complied, and followed her as their leader with Anne Fernandez, to whom she had before communicated her design. This Anne was wife to a physician, and so courageous, that by night she viewed all the posts, and appeared at assaults encouraging the soldiers; her son being killed in her fight, she drew him away, and returned to her post; when the service was over, she went to bury him.

Gaspar de Soufa perceiving the Turks undermined his bulwark, sallied with seventy men to view their work, which he did, and made great slaughter among them. At his retreat, missing two men, he turned back upon the enemy, and fought bravely; but being surrounded, was hamstrung; yet still he defended himself upon his knees, till oppressed by the multitude. The mine was countermined; but the continual labour became insupportable, and it was impossible to repair so many ruins.—

At this juncture arrived four vessels, sent by the viceroy, Don Garcia de Noronna, which brought only twenty men. Solyman was concerned at this succour, though small, but much more that the fort stood so many assaults: Chojah Zaffar having affirmed he would carry it at two. At the beginning of the siege, there were no more than 600 men in the fort, of whom many were killed, and some cannon burst: but the basha little encouraged thereby, still looked toward the sea, fearful of the Portuguese fleet; which he heard was coming upon him. This moved him

to

1540
The siege
pressed hard.

to press the siege with more vigour. The bulwark of the sea where Antonio de Sousa commanded, was furiously attacked by 50 barks, two whereof were sunk by the cannon of the castle. Then they attempted to scale it, and were repulsed with great slaughter. The assault was repeated, and still the enemy came off with loss. Amongst the wounded men, sent to be dressed, Fernan Pinteado was one, who, while he waited his turn, heard the noise of a fresh attack, and forgetting the dressing, ran thither, and received another wound; the very same happened to him the third time, and then he was dressed of all three: by this time there were left in the fort but 250 of the 600 men fit to bear arms.—

Solyman, now in despair, resolved to make one push for all. The better to succeed in his design, he counterfeited raising the siege; and twelve galleys put to sea, that Silveyra might be the easier surprised; but that vigilant commander kept still upon his guard, as much as ever. One night, some noise being heard, at the foot of the wall by water, it was found that the enemy were applying great numbers of scaling ladders. They were opposed till morning appeared, which shewed the place beset all round, and assaulted by 14,000 men. They began by playing the cannon, and then mounted on all sides, chiefly next the commandant's house, where it was weakest, but he had posted such men there, as made a terrible slaughter of them. Having failed in this place, they attempted a bulwark, pouring in showers of arrows and bullets. Great was the confusion and havock on both sides. In the interim, came up 14 galleys, furiously discharging their great shot, but did no execution. At length Francisco Gouva made them draw off, having battered two of the vessels, and killed some men with his cannon. By this time 200 Turks had entered the bulwark, and planted their colours; scarce 30 Portuguese were there to oppose them; but they rushing on desperately, to regain the work, none of their shot were lost, the enemy being very thick; so that having sustained great damage, such as were in this action drew off. However, fresh men succeeded, and set up four colours. The Portuguese, wounded and burnt, ran for ease; and dipped themselves in jars of salt water, where seeking refreshment, they perished with great torture. Antonio de Silveyra indefatigably repaired to every place, encouraging all. Here a soldier wanting ball, pulled out one of his teeth to load his musquet. The enemy had much the better this second assault, which a few gentlemen perceiving, furiously rushed upon them, among whom Juan Rodrigues, a man of great body, and as great courage, ran with a barrel of powder, crying, "Clear the way, for here I carry my own and many a man's death." He threw the barrel among the enemy, and suddenly above 100 men were carried into the air, torn in pieces; 20 lay burnt upon the ground, yet Rodrigues himself came off unhurt, and doing other considerable actions, deserved some of the first rewards and honours, gained the siege. Other fireworks burnt the four ensigns, who had set up the colours; two of the cannon cleared the place of enemies; and two bullets threw down two ensigns, that succeeded the former. The enemy withdrew, and fresh supplies came on the third time, and placed their colours. The commander of these, son-in-law to Chojah Zaffar, being killed, his men were slain, and turned their backs. These assaults lasted above four hours; the same small number of Portuguese withstanding still fresh, and numerous detachments, while their women in the fort, and those of the enemy on the city walls, were spectators of the whole action. The Portuguese, all smeared with powder, appeared like Moors, and were known by their cloaths and voice, not colour; so black was their appearance with fire, blood and sweat. At length the enemy retired, carrying off above 1000 wounded, and leaving more than 500 men killed: of the Portuguese 14 were killed, and 200 lay useless for want of blood, only 40 remained able to bear arms, and the weapons lay

broken to pieces on the ground, some serving such as could not stand on their legs, for crutches. No hope was left, if the enemy renewed their attack; the walls were all shattered, and the powder spent; nothing but horror appeared; only the brave Silveyra's countenance was what encouraged all men. Solyman put an end to all these calamities; for not knowing the condition the fortress was in, and terrified with ill success, he raised the siege. Antonio de Silveyra seeing them weigh anchor, and hoist sail, thought it was only another feint, and prepared to resist; as if he could still resist an attack. He posted the 40 men, and caused some that were wounded to lean against the walls, to shew a number. Those who could not rise, ordered themselves to be carried in their beds, saying, It was to die in an honourable place: some of the women also armed themselves, and appeared upon the works. The night was spent upon the watch, but the morning was more comfortable to the afflicted; for Solyman was withdrawn in earnest, without any thought of returning. Though fear did much, yet a device of Chojah Zaffar did more towards removing the basha. Zaffar was moved to it as well by the insupportable pride of that Turk, as an order he had from his king, that in case, he found the basha intended to keep that city and fort, (as was feared) he should rather endeavour to leave it to the Portuguese. To effect his purpose, he framed a letter, intimating, that the viceroy of India would be there the next day, with a vast fleet; which falling into Solyman's hands, as was designed, he thought fit not to delay his departure; but sailed away on the 5th of November, after two months siege, having lost 3000 men.— The same night Zaffar's men fired the city, and marched off. This was the first siege of Diu, which was admired throughout the world, and added new lustre to the Portuguese glory: all due to the invincible courage and vigilance of the heroic Antonio de Silveyra, and those valiant gentlemen who were with him. Solyman touching at the ports on the coast of Arabia, and took some Portuguese, he found there. He gathered above 140, and cutting off their heads, then their ears and noses, salted and sent them to the Grand Turk, as we have seen. Among these likewise was Francisco Pacheco, who had not the courage to die like a gentleman in his bulwark. Solyman being arrived at Constantinople, and not agreeing with one who aspired his post, was reduced to kill himself.

His death.

This famous siege was far advanced, when the viceroy Don Garcia de Noronna arrived in India, to whom Nunno de Cunna immediately resigned the government. His arrival, (with so considerable a relief as he brought) might well have bettered the affairs of Diu, yet, on the contrary, it much endangered them; for had he not come, De Cunna had relieved Diu, with 80 sail that he had in readiness for that purpose, and prevented so many miseries, and the death of so many brave men. Still fresh advice was brought of the danger the besieged were in, and still Don Garcia wasted the time in considering the means to relieve them, choosing rather to commit an error through his own wilfulness, (for he did not want for courage) than act rightly by the advice of De Cunna. Thus the siege was raised, before he pitched on the method for relieving the place, and the expence of preparation thrown away. Antonio Sylva Meneses was the second sent with succours, being 20 small vessels, and came too late: yet he contended with Silveyra for the honour of that victory. The viceroy was still at Goa, though ready to sail with a fleet of 160 sail of several sorts, and in them 5000 fighting men, and 1000 cannon, when advice came, that the Turks had raised the siege. On this news, he set out with 90 ships, but moved slowly, as if he did not care to go thither. Hearing at Dabul that Alu Chan and Chojah Zaffar still ranged about with fire and sword, he sent against them Martin Alphonso de Melo, with his galley, and the vessels that went with De Sylva; but being hard set by the enemy, he was forced to take shelter

shelter under the castle. The viceroy, at the same flow rate, failed to Bazaim, nothing moved with the news he received from Diu. It was whispered about that he either consulted his safety or private interest. Let what would be the cause, his actions justified the worst of suspicions; but when least expected, he steered for Diu, on the first of January, when a storm rising, which lasted eight days, his fleet was dispersed into several ports, and several vessels, with two galleys lost, so that he entered but with 50 sail. A treaty of peace was presently set on foot, and concluded little to the advantage of the Portuguese, which common fame attributed to covetousness.—Antonio de Silveira soon after returned to Portugal, and had scarce anchored at Lisbon, when the great men of the court came to conduct him to the king, and princes, who with joy to see and honour this hero, whose generosity did him as much honour as his valour at the siege of Diu. What a pity so much courage as the Portuguese displayed in the discovery and conquest of the Indies, had not been always sanctified by justice, and crowned by humanity!

Silveira's character.

Don Stephano de Gama's expedition.

In the year 1540, Don Stephano de Gama, set out from Goa, on an expedition, wherein he is said to have had two ends in view; the one of which was to carry succour to the emperor of Abyssinia; and the other, to destroy the Turkish fleet, which he expected to find at Suez.

The account of this voyage is written by Don Juan de Castro; who was afterwards governor and viceroy of India,* from whence we have derived our authorities.

It was on the 31st of December at sun-rise, that they departed from the bar of Goa, towards the streights of Mecca, and discovered the island of Socotra on the 13th of January following. Of this island we have already spoken, but the description given by our author is so exact in many particulars, that we shall here transcribe it.

“Socotra (says he) is twenty leagues in length, and nine in breadth, and lies in 12 deg. 40 min. of south latitude. The northern coast runs east and west, somewhat inclining to the north-west and south-east. The shore is quite clear from rocks and shoals, and all impediments to sailing. The ground in the road is generally sandy, but in some places stony, yet, not so as to cut the cables. But there is no other place or harbour throughout the island where ships may safely anchor. The coast is very high, and girt with lofty craggy mountains. The tides there are contrary to those of India; for when the moon appears on the horizon, it is high tide, which from that time begins to ebb, and by the time she comes to the meridian of the island, it is low water; then as the moon declines from the meridian, it begins to flow again in the same order, as it sets at Goa, and being set, it is here full sea.”—The inhabitants of Socotra are Christians. They have churches throughout the island, in which there is no oracle but the cross; for which sign they have great devotion, it being rare to find any person without one about his neck; and they use the Christian names of John, Peter, Andrew, &c. and the women generally that of Mary.

These people have no king, ruler, prelate, nor any other person to whom they are subject, but, though Christians, live in a manner like wild beasts without any order or government. In all the island there is neither city nor town, but most part of them live in caves, and some in little thatched cottages quite separate from one another. Their food is flesh and wild dates. They drink milk, and seldom any water. The people are of the best disposition. The women

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* Don Juan de Castro was a Portuguese nobleman, the son of Alvero de Castro. In his youth he had served at Tangier, and afterwards under Charles V. (against Tunis) of whom he refused to accept his part of a present in money, saying, he served the king of Portugal, and from him expected his reward. He af-

are fair, and the men go naked, except covering the private parts with a sort of cloth, the manufacture of the islands. The inhabitants are not industrious in catching fish, and have not the art of navigation.† The fruit of the palm-tree is their chief sustenance; but the land yields all sorts of eatable and medicinal plants.—

The fleet came within sight of Aden on the 27th of January, when they perceived some land, which they had seen before, and taken for an island, to be the mountain of Aden. Leaving Aden, they proceeded on their voyage; and our author here takes occasion to describe the streights of Babelmandel, and the Arabic gulph or Red Sea, of which we shall say more hereafter. We have already observed that the destination of the fleet was towards [Habesh, Abesh, or] Abyssinia, which they supposed to be the empire of Praster, or Presbyter John, a prejudice that for a long time was entertained among the European nations. In their course they passed by Shamo, Dallaka, and other places in the channel, and on the 12th arrived at Massua, the situation of which the author has described in the following manner.

“Massua is an island not half a mile in length, and in breath not a caliver shot. It is very flat, and lies in a great and crooked nook of the coast, very near the point of it. The current is very small, and all the winds come from the land. The depth of the water is eight or nine fathoms, and the ground oozy. The entrance of this port is on the north-east side, towards the middle of the channel, in order to avoid the shoal running from the point of the work. Near this island lie two others. There is no spring in any of them; but in Massua are many cisterns of water, and many shoals lie scattered between them; but vessels are safe in the mid-channel.”

Massua described.

Massua was subject to the emperor of the Abyssinians or Abassins, till the king of Dallaka seized it, and fixed his residence on account of the trade carried on for gold and ivory. The air is exceeding hot and unhealthy in May or June, for want of wind, so that both the king and inhabitants retire to Dallaka, during these two months. The land, as far as Archico, where there are many wells, a league to the south of Massua, is very high and full of mountains, between which and the sea are spacious fields and plains; but thence forward the coast is more clear. The country abounds with elephants, tygers, wolves, wild bears, stags, elks, and other sorts of beasts unknown to the Portuguese.

Nilus is still called Nil, by the Abyssinians, Egyptians, Arabs and Indians. Its springs are in the southern borders, towards the country of the Caffres; Nile. nor does the river hide itself any where under ground, according to the author, but continually shewed itself carrying a great breadth and depth. He likewise learned, that the increase and overflowing of the Nile was owing to the great and continual rains which fall in June and July, in their country, which also was overflowed; and that in August the rain ceased, and the water fell by degrees. As a confirmation of this, he observes that at Massua in June, and part of July, there fell great storms, rains, and thunder; and that he could perceive within land continual tempests, and the sky black and cloudy; which yet the Abyssinians said gave but a faint idea of what it really was. He adds, that the same months of June and July, are the winter at Cape Buena Esperanza, and along that coast, where the rains fall without intermission. Upon enquiry he was farther acquainted that the river made several islands; and, among the rest, one very large, with a great city on it, which he concludes must be the antient Meroe; that it abounded with certain

Meroe. The cataraacts.

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terwards commanded a fleet upon the coast, and was sent with another to the relief of Ceuta, which joined that of Spain.

† These people have since been conquered by the Arabians.

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dangerous animals, which he supposes to be crocodiles; and that in a certain place which they named, it fell from a large rock with great noise; but not so as to make people deaf.

Abyssinia invaded.

Atine Tingil, (called afterwards David) reigning in 1530, became so cruel and tyrannical, that he grew hateful to the Abyssinians. At this time Gradumot, king of Zeyla, encouraged by the disaffection of his subjects, or invited by some of the lords, invaded his dominions, and took some towns; by the plunder of which, he animated his troops; the chief strength whereof consisted of 300 Turks, armed with harquebusses. On the other hand he made all the inhabitants free in the cities he passed through, and eased them of taxes: by which means he gained not only the people in general, but the nobles themselves over to his interest.

The emperor sent an army against him, but on the Turks firing their calivers, which killed some, the soldiers were so terrified, that they presently fled. The king of Zeyla, encouraged by this victory, and joined by multitudes of Abyssinians, ravaged the country; and marched towards that part adjoining Magadoxa and Melinda, in order to attack a mountain, where the royal treasure was lodged. To prevent this, Atine Tingil met him, with all the forces he could muster: but this army was very soon put to flight like the former, by means of the Turks. The emperor, after this defeat, directly retreating to the mountains, died within a few days. The king of Zeyla, after his victory, continued his march to the mountain, by great journeys; and arriving there, assaulted the passes with such vigour, that although the place seemed inaccessible, yet, at length, he took it, and therein the greatest treasure that ever was known in the world.

The loyal Abyssinians on the emperor's decease, elected his eldest son in his room; who being very young, and the country in confusion, a brother of his tampered with some great men (or they prompted him) to obtain the kingdom, which proved the utter ruin of the Abyssinians. While the unfortunate youth was thus engaged in a civil war: the king of Zeyla came upon him; and he being unable to resist, fled to a mountain very high and great, and of difficult ascent, having but one way up to the top, which is a large plain, abounding with springs, fruit-trees, cattle, and cultivated lands. The inhabitants here, were said to observe the law of Moses; but how they came here, (there being no Jews any where else in the land) or why they never came down and conversed with the Abyssinians, Don John owned he could never discover. However these people defended the king against the Moors, and king of Zeyla, who entering the mountains, were obliged to retire.

About this time the Portuguese arrived at Massua, which disinayed the Moors, and encouraged the king to quit the mountain, and advance with his people to certain hills near the coast about Massua, from whence he sent most dutiful letters to the Portuguese governor, who returned answers with hopes of succours; and after his return from Suez, 500 men were sent under a commander, to his assistance.

"The Abyssinians are described as ceremonious and full of punctilios of honour. They use no weapons but darts, marked with a lance and cross, only a few wear half swords. They are very active on horseback. They are generally addicted to lying and rapine. They do not reckon those rich who possess money, but only such as have abundance of cattle and camels; notwithstanding which, they prize gold very much. At home they are weak and cowardly; but in other countries, strong and valiant; so that it is become a proverb through India, "That the good soldier must be an Abyssinian;" and they are so highly esteemed in Ballegat, Cambaya, Bengal, and other places, that they are always the principal persons in the army. Their habit is very mean, consisting of a linen shirt; only some great persons wear a bedon: the common people go naked. They eat

People of Abyssinia,

Their habit and diet.

their victuals either quite raw, or with most of the blood in it, only just shewing it to the fire. In the land there is no cities nor towns, but they live in the fields, under tents, like the Arabs.

It is a thing much talked of among the Abyssinians, that a sultan of Babylon having made war against the emperor, the latter gathered a great multitude of people, with an intent to turn the river Nile by another channel, into the sea; which when the sultan heard of, he was amazed; and being sensible, that if the work was executed, it would ruin Egypt, he sent ambassadors, with great gifts, to obtain peace and friendship with the emperor, and gave the Abyssinians a privilege to pass through his country, without paying tribute; and at this day they pay none, when they go to visit Jerusalem and Mount Sinai. This passage was confirmed in every circumstance, by some learned grave Moors, of whom the emperor made enquiry in the Arabic Gulph.—The 19th, at sun rising, they left the nook half a league beyond Massua, and set sail, keeping about half a league from land. This day the weather was very close, and it rained. The fleet consisted of sixty-four rowing vessels, viz. three galliots, eight small galleys, and thirty-five foists. At night the wind being N. W. it calmed, and blew a little at W. In the second watch it began to rain, some time after they weighed anchor, and rowed along the shore till morning, it raining still very hard.—The 20th, in the evening, they were as far as the point of the range of islands on the north-side, about fourteen leagues from Massua, and four from the coast: which in that distance, lies N. N. W. In Herate, Dohul, and Damanil, some of the outermost islands, they found cattle and water, with a few poor dwellings, the land of them is low, and they are surrounded with shoals and flats. All the first watch of the night, they sailed N. N. W. with a fair wind at E. At the beginning of the second, they fell on a sudden among certain white spots, which cast flames like lightnings; wondering at this strange appearance, they took in their sails, believing they were upon some shoals or banks; but on sounding, found twenty-six fathoms water. Therefore, perceiving the pilots of the country not surprised at it, they continued their course.—The 21st, when it was day, they saw off at sea a low island, whereof the Moorish pilots were afraid.—The 22d, at day break, they set sail, and arriving by noon at a very long point of land, which comes from shore, the emperor's pilot observed the latitude to be 18 degrees 30 minutes. After doubling this point, they found the sea very open, and sailed N. W. by W. An hour after they came to an harbour called Marate. The coast this day stretched N. N. W. and is all low land; but farther inwards, the mountains seem to reach the clouds.—Marate is a very low desert island, of a roundish shape, about three leagues from land, sixty-six beyond Massua, and in compass, a league and a half. On the south-west side facing the coast, there is a very good haven, secure from all winds, especially the eastern, made by two long points, which extend north by west, and south by east, enclosing a spacious harbour, narrow at the mouth; where there lies a long very flat island, with some sand banks and shoals, so that no sea can get in. This port has two entries, both very near the points. The channel, on the east side, lies north by west. The depth is three fathoms in the shallowest place, and increases advancing in the port, where, near the shore, there are four or five fathoms: the bottom is muddy. They rode here all night.—On the 23d, departing at sun rise, they found seven fathoms, and sandy ground. At eleven, they came in sight of two little islands, far off at sea; one called Daratata, the other Dolcofallar, from which to Swaken, is a day's sail; from noon they sailed N. W. by W. till evening, when they entered the channel of Swaken, steering N. W. for the space of a league;—then meeting with shoals, they, to avoid them, sailed W. by N. and sometimes W. They held

White spots in the sea.

Marate described.

Two islands.

held this course about three leagues, and then seeing a great island a-head of them, tacked towards land; and, before sun-set came to an anchor among rocky shoals, in a good harbour called Shabac. This day the pilot found the latitude, by the meridian altitude, to be scarcely 19 degrees.—The shoals of Swaken are so many, and so intermixed with islands, banks, rocks, and channels, that there is no describing them; at the entrance among them to the right, there is a shoal under water, on which the sea breaketh much: and to the left, a little island that stretcheth with the shoals, N. E. by E. and S. W. by S. The distance is about three quarters of a league.—Being entered, the channel appeared very spacious; and, the farther they advanced, the more numerous the islands appeared to the right, or sea-ward. They are very low, and with the flats and banks of sand or rocks, are without number: but those towards land are not so many; though in comparison of any other sea, it is the foulest and most unnavigable. The rule for sailing through these shoals, is to keep as near those to the right as may be. The breadth of the channel, in some places is about half a league; in others, a quarter; and in others, less than a caliver shot. From the entrance to the port of Shabac, which is about five leagues, they never found less than six fathoms water, or more than twelve. The extent of these shoals may be eight or nine leagues, and then you pass into another channel, surer for ships and great vessels. Or you may leave all these shoals to the right, sailing close to the shore; and this is by much the best, and most pleasant way.

On the 24th, at sun-rise, they left Shabac, and rowed along so narrow a channel, that two could not go a-breast; the widest part being not above a cross-bow shot over. They never went nearer the land than the same distance, nor a cannon shot from it, all the shoals, rocks, and banks, which surrounded them, were under water, yet easily discovered by the colour of the sea, which over them appeared either very red or very green; but dark or blackish, where the channel was deep and open. At half an hour past eleven, they cast anchor to leeward of a little low, round island, four leagues from Shabac, in nineteen degrees. In this latitude Ptolemy places the Mountain of Satyrs, which the pilots of the country knew nothing of. But the emperor walking about two miles from the coast, found various kinds of beasts, and vast flocks of pianets, whose footsteps covered all the plain to the sea-side. From Shabac hither, the depth is never less than two fathoms and a half, or more than eleven. The tide here rises not above half a yard; and it begins to flow as soon as the sun ascends the horizon, after the manner of the tide of Socotora.—The 28th, at day break, they hoisted sail, and at nine o'clock came to an anchor about two leagues from the land, in twenty-three fathom water, on a soft sand, like ooze. In the way, they perceiving some shoals out at sea, by the water's appearing either very green or red. Two hours after noon, they set sail again, and at night cast anchor in thirty-seven fathoms water, the bottom sand, near by an island, a league and a half short of Swaken. The coast bears N. N. W. and S. S. E. along it runs a shoal that entereth into the sea, half a league. The land upon the sea-side is like the former.—The first of March, setting forward, they doubled a point made by the shoals: and entering by the channel inward, came to anchor in the port of Swaken.

Swaken was one of the richest cities in the east, standing on the coast of the Abyssinians. It equalled, if not exceeded, the most eminent places in goodness and security of the port; facility in lading and unlading ships, traffic with remote countries; strength and advantageous situation of the town.—The harbour is sheltered by nature from all winds, and the water is smooth and still, that the tides are scarce perceptible. It is able to contain 200 ships, and galleys without number. The road has in all

places five or six fathoms water, and in some seven. The bottom is mud, and may be seen, except where it is ten or twelve fathoms deep. The ships come up close to the shore, quite round the city, and may be laden by laying a plank from them to the merchants warehouses, to the doors of which the galleys are fastened, with their beaks stretching over the streets, which serve as bridges. As for commerce, the author says he knew no city that could compare with it but Lisbon, for it traded to both Peninsulas of the Indies, particularly Cambaya, Tanasarin, Pegu, and Malacca; within the Arabic Gulph, to Joddah, Cairo, and Alexandria; besides what it carried on with Ethiopia, and the land of the Abyssinians, from whence it had vast quantities of gold and ivory.—For the strength, the city seemed naturally well secured, by the many shoals, islands, rocks, sand-banks, and intricate channels, that lay for sixteen leagues about it; which made the approach by sea very dangerous and terrible to navigators; yet the inhabitants have not taken the less care to defend it by art. The situation of this city is in this manner; in the midst of a circular nook stands a flat island, almost perfectly round, and level with the water, about a mile in compass. In this space, there is not a foot of ground that is not taken up with houses; so that all the island is a city, and all the city an island. On the east-south-east, and south-west, its distance from the land is not a bow-shot. The road lies round about the city, to the distance of a great cross-bow-shot; having every where six or seven fathoms water; so that the ships may cast anchor at pleasure, in a mud bottom. This road is incompassed with a great shoal, and that by others, which render it almost inaccessible by sea.—In the nook on the north-west side, lie three other islands: two of them which stand farthest in, are but small; but the third next the channel, is about as large as the city. Between this island and the coast, on the north side of the nook, runs a great and long channel: where a numerous fleet may ride in seven fathom water, out of all danger of being hurt or even seen from the city, except their masts. At sun-rise it is full sea, and gradually ebbs, till he comes to the meridian, when it is dead low water; after that the tide begins to rise, and at sun-set is full in. At this time the water does not rise in the city, above one quarter of a yard; and along the coast the most that it rises is a yard and a half, and, in some high places, less than three quarters.—Before sun-set, on the 9th of March, they left Swaken, and anchored at the mouth of the channel. The 10th, they departed; they lay all night at anchor, when a vast quantity of dew fell. The 11th, they had a storm from the north, which carried up the sand of the shore to a great height, and then scattering it through the air, made it appear like a great mist or smog.

On the 12th, they passed out of the channel two leagues beyond Swaken, being about a league and a half from the coast; but met with so many rocks, shoals and flats, whereon the sea broke violently, that they were forced to take in their sails, and row for three hours, till they got clear of them. In the evening they came to an anchor within the banks, entering a very narrow channel, one league beyond the former, and three from Swaken. It is great and spacious within, the ground very clean, nor can the sea enter and do any damage.

The 13th, an hour before day, they passed out of the channel, and saw to the right, about a cannon-shot distant, a very long range of shoals, which seemed to bear the same course with the coast. At eleven, the wind lessened; then blowing from the north north-west, they could not make any way, and were forced to fasten their vessels to the rocks. But about two in the afternoon, the wind springing brisker at N. N. E. they bore N. W. and coming up with the bank of the land, took in their sails, and rowed into a very narrow and winding channel, harbouring within the bank. It is about seven leagues beyond Swaken, from

The road for ships.

Channel and tides.

ity of Swaken

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from whence the coast bears north and south, and north by west, and south by east. The 16th Don Juan went on shore, and observed that when the sun was two hours above the horizon, it was full sea, and at two in the afternoon, low water.—The height to which the tide rose was twenty-two cubits.

On the 16th they left the channel, the wind at north, and half a league beyond, cast anchor. The 17th they put into a very good harbour; called Tradate, ten leagues from Swaken; the coast between lying north by west, and south by east; the land near the shore is all very low; but three leagues within, there are very great and high mountains.

Tradate justly merits to be ranked amongst the most eminent ports: it lies in the altitude of 19 deg. 50 min. The entry has in breadth about a small falcon shot, but within runs gradually narrowing, yet the depth of water all the way is twenty fathoms; the ground oozy. About a quarter of a league inwards, there are several wells, affording the best and greatest quantity of water known in all these coasts.

The 19th, they sailed about three leagues and a half in sight of many shoals: the coast stretched north and south. The 20th, at sun-rising, the sea being ruffled with a north wind, they were forced to seek a harbour within the shoal, entering by a very narrow and troublesome channel: after they had cast anchor, the wind came north north-east. The 21st, they departed with a fair west north-west wind, and sailed north, within half a league of the shore. An hour after sun-rising they came up with a very long and fair point, behind which, is the bay of Doroo.

Doroo bay.

Doroo, is a very fine and great bay, fifteen leagues and a half beyond Swaken. On the south side it thrusteth a very large and bare point into the sea, where there is built a great and round tower, resembling a pillar. The bay is full of islands, creeks and nooks, where many vessels may take shelter unperceived: the mouth is closed up all round, with a dry shoal, lying about a mile off at sea; only opposite to the cape, it leaves a narrow entry, in which is found six fathoms water; and advancing gradually, the depth diminishes till you come into three fathoms, which is the shallowest. The ground is a very hard clay, and the course into it east by north: about a cannon shot from this port is a well, with plenty of water, but very brackish.

Bay of Fushaa.

At day-break on the 22d, they departed with their oars, and passing safely through the rocks, with which the sea was full, towards ten o'clock made their ships fast to some of them; and about evening, doubling a low point of land, came into a very spacious bay, called Fushaa, three leagues and a half beyond Doroo. The coast between lies north and south, inclining a little to the west and east.

Fushaa Bay is remarkable for a high and sharp peak, the latitude is 20 deg. 15 min. the mouth is made by two very low points, lying north by east, and south by west, a league and a half asunder. As no great sea enters, there is a good harbour, with an oozy bottom. At the mouth there are ten or twelve fathoms water; the depth inward diminishing till it comes to five fathoms. There is no water here, and the land is very dry and barren. Along the southern coast of the bay there lie nine little islands in a row, and others scattered elsewhere, all small, low, and surrounded with shoals.

On the 25th, coasting the land in sight of many rocks on the right, at ten o'clock they entered a very capacious harbour, called Arkea, four leagues from Fushaa. This is the strongest and most defensible haven that our author had seen, 22 leagues beyond Swaken. In the midst of the entry lies an island, about a cross-bow shot in length, and near the same in breadth. On the south side there runs out a shoal and bank from the land, which hinders a passage that way. The channel on the north side is a cross-bow shot over, and 15 fathoms deep, running north-west,

and south-east, the length of a caliver shot. It must be sailed in the middle, for the sides are shallow, and full of rocks. Having passed through this channel, the coast winds on both sides, and widens, forming a large and safe port, one league in length, and a half in breadth. 'Tis deep in the middle, but near the land is full of shoals. There is no water in this place. When the peak bears west south-west, you are then up with the port. From hence Gama sent all the fleet back to Massua, except 15 small galleys, with which he continued his voyage. From hence the coast begins to wind very much, and for a league beyond Ras al Dwaer, runs very low to the north north-east, and at length makes a point of land, where there are 13 little heaps or elevations of stone, which the Moorish pilots said were graves. And from this point of the Calmes, about two leagues, the coast runs north north-west, and thence as far as the shoal, where they anchored. It is the most noted point through all this coast, because all that sail from Massua, Swaken, and other places, to Joddah, al Cossir, and Tor, must of necessity make it. The sea, for these seventeen leagues, is so full of rocks and shoals, that it seemed fitter for wading through, than passing even in boats; insomuch, that no directions can be given for sailing hereabouts; but all must be left intirely to the care of a skilful pilot.

Between Salaca and Ras al Dwaer, there are three islands, forming a triangle; nearer the latter place of the two. The biggest of them, named Magarzawn, is about two leagues in length: it is very high land, and without water, lying three leagues to the south of Ras al Dwaer. The second island, called Al-mante, which lies much out at sea, is likewise high, and without water; but the third is very low, and all of sand, four leagues from Salaca. On the 2d of April, an hour before day, they loosed from the shoals, and having rowed along the coast four leagues, came to Farate, a very large and fine river. On each side of the channel, which runs from west to east, in 21 deg. 40 min. north lat. is a low point of land, distant from each other a caliver shot; and from each point runs a shoal, and between the two is the entrance into the river. The water there has thirty fathoms depth, and thence diminishes to eighteen. The land on each side is very low, and without either bush or tree to be seen. Sailing a league farther, they came to Kilfit. Kilfit is a fine harbour, secure from all winds, with 12 fathoms water. Every where there are at the entry two very low points, bearing north-west by north, and is about distant near a mile. The circumference of the whole port may be three leagues. Along the shore the coast is rocky. Between this port and the river Farate, there crosses a range of mountains one higher than the rest.

The third of April they departed one hour before day, rowing along the coast; and, having advanced nine leagues an hour before sun-set, came to anchor in Port Ras al Jidid, that is in Arabic, the New Head. In the way they saw some shoals to the right, but not so many as they used to do. Rasal Jidid.

Two leagues from Kilfit there is a very good harbour, called Moamaa. And presently from this point of the shrubs, to another very long point of sand, about two leagues before (or on this side of) the port of Ras al Jidid, the coast lies north by west, and south by east; the distance is about three leagues and a half.—Ras al Jidid is a small, but very pleasant harbour, about two miles in compass, fifty-seven leagues beyond Swaken. It is shaped like a great cauldron, and round as the arch of a circle. The entry is formed by two points, which lies north and south of each other, and has 18 fathoms water; within there are thirteen. The ground is very clean, and the port subject to be ruffled by no wind but the east. Half a league within land there is a well of very brackish water.

On the 4th, from sun-rising till eleven o'clock, they had a storm at north-west, and then it began to thunder very hard, and hailed with the biggest drops the

Variation. the author ever saw: during these thunders, the wind ran through all the points of the compass, and at last settled north. This day Don Juan found the variation one degree and a quarter to the north-east, and the port 22 deg. of north lat. by many observations. But he takes notice, that notwithstanding these operations were performed on shore, and so great care was taken to fix the instrument, that it was never stirred after it was once placed, till the whole was over; yet that they must needs have erred somewhat, because the intense heat of the sun had cracked the ivory plate in the middle, and made a slit wide enough to thrust in a piece of Portuguese gold. The 6th, an hour before day, they left the port of Jidid; and proceeded all this day but about three leagues and a half. The 7th, in the morning, having a brisk wind, at north-west, they rowed along the shore about three leagues, and at eight o'clock fastened themselves to a rocky shoal, that lies before a long point of land: about noon they set sail, but in great apprehension, by reason of the surprising number of shoals that appeared on both sides of the shore, so that they were forced to take in their sails, and make use of the oars again. At sun-set they came to an anchor in a good haven, called Comol, 11 leagues from Ras al Jidid.

Coast to Comol. Two leagues beyond Ras al Jidid is a point of land, from which, to the long flat point abovementioned, are about four leagues north-west. Between these two points, there is a great and famous bay, in which, towards the north-west point, is a very deep and close harbour, secure against all winds. This point is an island; and from hence, to another great point, at Comol is about five leagues, north west by west, making another great bay between them: at this point, which is low and flat, the great mountains running along this coast end.

Comol port. Comol is 68 leagues beyond Swaken, in 29 deg. 30 min. north lat. This port stands in the end of this second bay, very near the face of the north-west point; though small, it is very secure, for the entrance is guarded with a dry shoal before it, that keeps out the sea. The land surrounding it is flat and pleasant, inhabited by Badwins, or Badonins, like (wild Arabs.) —About three hours after midnight, leaving the port of Comol, they rowed along the coast a little while, and then hoisted sail, but an hour before day-light some foists striking upon rocks and shoals, they lowered their sails, and fell to their oars again till morning. The 8th, at day-break, they came into a great and fine bay, to which, towards the north and north-west side, they saw no end, or any point to bound it. And although they sailed in open sea, the shoals on every side were so numerous, that with tacking and wandering to find the way, they could make but little advantage of a brisk gales. About sun-set they fastened themselves to the rocks of a great shelf, and there harboured. The 9th, being clear, they set sail, and took harbour within another great dry shelf, extending north east by east, called in Arabic, Shaab al Yadayn, which signifies, The shelf of the Hands, because it is shaped like two arms, wide open with their hands. It lies at the end of a great bay, far out to sea. The port is on the side towards land, four leagues distant from Ras al Nashef, east south-east; and by the much winding of the shelf is shut up, and secured against all winds. From the point of the cape of the mount, to another point beyond it, where there are great furze bushes, the coast runs north-west by north, the distance about three and a half, or four leagues, from this last point. The coasts of the great bay wind and turn very much: and taking a large sweep from another great cape, called Ras al Nashef, or the Dry Cape. The island of Zemorjete, (which they saw from the shoal off to sea) is distant from this point about eight leagues, towards the east, and according to the Moorish pilots, is the first place from whence both coasts may be seen, but that of Arabia is much the farther off. This island is very high and barren, with another very small one close to it.

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On the 10th, the sun being up, they set sail, north north east, the wind blew fresh, and the sea appeared open and navigable, about half a league from the point, they thought they saw a ship under sail, but making towards it, found it was a white rock, by which they were informed all mariners are deceived. Hence sailing north by east, at nine o'clock, they came up with an island called Cornaca; and passed between it and the land, which is about a league and a half distant. This island is small and barren; it is about half a league in compass, and in shape resembles a great lizard, with its legs sprawling out, whence it is noted by navigators: it is distant from Zemorjete, about six leagues north-west by west. Half past ten o'clock they were up with a very long point of land, called Ras al Anf, that is the Cape of the Nose. It hath no high land about it, but a vast plain, without tree or herb. In the very front of the point stood a great temple, without any other building near it. On every side of it is a very clear sandy coast, in manner of a bay. Ras al Anf, is very famous among navigators, for being once past it, they reckon all their trouble and danger over.

Proceeding along the coast, with a south-east wind, at noon, being about three leagues beyond the cape, Don Juan's pilot found the lat. 24. deg. 10 min. whence Ras al Anf, must lie in 24 deg. Half an hour before sun-set, they passed by Shevarit, an island two miles from shore. It is a caliver shot in length; and in the middle appeared a large green bush; on the east side there is a great rock, like a little island, and about a mile farther, they came to an anchor among certain shelves, some of sand, others rocks, in an harbour called in Arabic, Sial, one hundred and three leagues beyond Swaken. On these shelves, they saw a greater number of fowls than they had met with any where before in this sea. From Basal Naspaf, till so far as the island Shevarit, is about 16 or 17 leagues. The coast at first winds very much inwards, and there thrusts out the very long point of sand, called Ras al Anf, which point bears north east and by north of the other. —About six leagues distant from Ras al Anf, the coast runs directly north-west, as far as Shevarit, the distance ten or 11 leagues. The country from Swaken to Ras al Anf, is inhabited by the Badwins beforementioned; so is the country from thence to Suez, (which belongs to Egypt.) Between the coast and Nile, Don Juan observes, that Pomponius Mala, and the rest of the ancient geographers, call the former Ethiopians, and the latter, Arabs; except Ptolomy, who gives them the name of Egyptian Arabs.

On the 11th, leaving Sial, they rowed about four leagues north-west by north, and at nine o'clock entered a great bay, which is called Gadenauhi: the land over the sea leaving the shape it had, of a wall or trench, becomes very mountainous, forming a double ridge of hills, surprisingly close. The port of Gadenauhi, is beyond Swaken, 170 leagues, and in lat. 24 deg. 40 min. Here, at one o'clock in the afternoon, it was low water; and full sea an hour after the moon appeared above the horizon; thence it ebbed till an hour after she had passed the meridian, and then began to flow again, till an hour after the planet was set, which made full sea. The wind blowing from north-west, two or three hours after midnight, they departed; and in passing between the shoal, at the north-west point of the bay, and the island of Bahuto, they struck upon the shoal, but got clear without damage, and hit upon the channel; rowing along the shore, against the wind, till day; and on the 12th, an hour after sun-rise, anchored in a small but very safe port, called in Arabic, Sharm al Chiman, that is a Cliff, or Opening of the Mountain; it is a league and a half beyond Gadenauti, and 180 from Swaken, much like the harbour of Ras al Jidid.

From Gadenauti, to a port that is called Shacara, (incompassed with a very red hill) the coast runs north-west by north, about 10 leagues; and from this

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Cornaca island

Ras al Anf.

Shevarit island

Sial port.

People of the coast.

Gadenauhi port.

Bahuto island.

Sharm al Chiman

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red hill, to a point almost a league beyond Gualibo, there are about six leagues, north north-west. In these sixteen leagues the coast is very free from shoals, (excepting one, a league beyond the red hill, and half a league from shore) and is full of many good ports: among them is Shawna, abovementioned, a very capacious and noted harbour, where, according to the report of the Moors and inhabitants, there stood formerly a famous city of the Gentiles. Along the coast run an infinite number of huge mountains, close together, and double like the former: and beyond them, far within land, other lofty hills rear their heads. Among these which range the coast, are two more remarkable than any to be met with, here or elsewhere. One of them is very black, and looks as if it was singed; the other yellow; and between them are certain heaps of sand. Beyond the black mountain, in a large plain, there are many very great and high trees, with spreading tops. They were the first which seemed the native ones and proper to the land: for those before mentioned, a little beyond Massua, are the kind that grow in marshes, and by the sea and rivers. In like manner, the trees at ports Sharm al Cihiman, and Al Jidid, are wild, without either boughs or fruit; and the leaves seemed naked and dry. These two mountains stand about two leagues before the port of Sharm al Cihiman.

Gualibo port.

The port of Gualibo, which is 122 leagues beyond Swaken, resembles much, both as to shape and entrance that of Sharm al Ciman: only, whereas the land about this latter, is mountainous, the country round Gualibo, is a vast plain.—The entry of this port is between certain rocks or shoals, whereon the sea breaketh exceedingly, but the channel is deep and large. The 13th of April, after sun-rise, they rowed out of the port of Gualibo. The wind blew very strong at north-west, and made the sea swell much. At ten in the morning, they entered a port called Tunna, a league and a half beyond the other.

Tunna port.

Tunna is a small and foul harbour, in 25 degrees 30 minutes latitude, one hundred and thirty-two and a half leagues beyond Swaken, the entrance is between certain rocks, and within, the greatest part of it is occupied with a shoal, and rocks, to which is owing the smallness of the port. On the north side, there is a point of land, which by its turning, makes a good harbour and road, against the north-west wind. The country about it is a very barren sand. On the north-west side, towards the land, there are three peaked mounts of stone, made in Don Juan's opinion, to shew that there is an haven here.—An hour before sun-set, they fastened themselves to a shoal a league beyond Tunna, from a point almost one league beyond Gualibo, a league and a half beyond this shoal, the coast bears north-north-west, the distance four leagues.—On the 14th, after they had rowed about five leagues beyond the shore, against both wind and sea, which swelled much; at noon they entered a very good bay, and cast anchor at the farther end, where it makes a good port, about 129 leagues beyond Swaken. The coast in these six leagues, bears north-west, and the land over it, is partly plain, and partly mountainous.—The 15th, having proceeded about seven leagues north north-west, an hour and a half after sun-rise, they came to anchor in the port of Al Cossir.

Town of Al Cossir.

Al Cossir from Swaken 136 leagues, and in the latitude of twenty-six degrees, fifteen minutes, as Don Juan found by observation. It was seated formerly two leagues higher on the coast: but for want of a port capable of the great resort of shipping, it was removed higher. There are still some remains of the antient town, which is called Old Al Cossir. The new town is very small. The houses look like the yards cattle are kept in, although there is no kind of cattle in the place. They are built of stone and clay, or sometimes only fods, covered at the top with mats, or the like; more, as they said, to keep

off the sun than the rain, which seldom falls. The port is the worst on all the coast, and the only place that wanted fish, which every where else abounds. It is very large, and exceeding subject to easterly winds. The ships anchor between the land and some small shoals, whereon the sea breaks. Near the town are three wells of water, of which the people drink, though scarcely to be distinguished from seawater. The place is quite encompassed with barren peaked mountains, scorched quite black with the sun; which, together with the barrenness of the soil, makes a most uncomfortable prospect; for there grows no manner of herb, grass, bush, or tree, in either the coast, the plains, or mountains; and whatever ground may lie between the hills and the town, is a barren sand, intermixed with gravel.—The extraordinary barrenness of the place, made Don Juan curious to enquire of the more understanding Moors, how they came to pitch on such a miserable situation to inhabit. The reason, they said, was because it happened to be the nearest port to the river Nile, fifteen or sixteen days journey distant, and therefore most convenient for lodging the provisions with which all the towns are furnished by their respective ships. Egypt they described as a plain, the most fruitful in the world, in cattle and all provisions; and observed that these last were conveyed up the Nile to a place nearest Al Cossir, and from thence carried by land to this port; but they observed that the caravans were often attacked by the Bedouins, who sometimes assaulted Al Cossir itself, which circumstance occasioned the inhabitants, for their security, to construct their houses of stone and earth. It seemed that the name of Egypt was unknown to them; but all the country from Al Cossir to Alexandria, was termed Al Rif, or Rifa.

Having struck on a shoal on the 18th, getting clear of it on the 19th, they put into an island called Safanj-al-Bahar, * which stands thirteen leagues beyond Al Cossir in latitude twenty seven degrees. It is about two leagues in length, and in breadth not a quarter of a league. The soil which is sandy, produces neither trees nor water. On the north side of the island is one harbour, and another on the south side; the former of which is reckoned secure against all weathers. The deepest part of the channel is towards land. There are some shoals above water in the mouth of the great port, which are not dangerous in the day time, and there is a rock in the opening of the smaller. There are a number of creeks, ports, and harbours along the coast.

Safanj-al-Bahar.

On the 21st of this month, they came up with an isle called Sheduum. This island is high and craggy, consisting of a hard rock. Its length is three leagues, and its breadth is about two; and is equally distant from the coasts of Arabia and Egypt. There is no water, nor are there any trees to be found in this. Three smaller low islands, with shoals between them, were discovered to the north-west.

Sheduum.

From hence the fleet sailed along the land of Arabia Petrea, and came to Tor, at the distance of twelve leagues, which lies in latitude 28 degrees, 10 minutes, on a plain long strand. At the distance of a cannon-shot from hence, they saw twelve palm-trees close by the shore, and from thence discovered a plain extending to the foot of some mountains, which beginning at the gulph of Ormuz, ran along the coast skirting the sea to this place, and then turned off to the north-east, dividing Arabia Petrea, from Arabia Felix. Several Christians led a devout life on the tops of these hills. A mountain appeared gradually rising a little beyond the town, projecting a point into the sea, and appearing at first sight like three separate mountains.

As to the town, it was small but pleasant, and inhabited by Christians, who spoke the Arabic language, having a monastery of Greek Friars, where there was kept an image of St. Catharine of

* Signifying a sea-sponge.

Mount Sinai. A long rocky point ran parallel to the shore of the town, forming a safe harbour between it and the land. The breadth of the sea at Tor, Don Juan computed to be about three leagues. It is worth observing, that though Don Juan seems to have been very studious in examining situations, he appears to have made an error in affirming here, that this place must be the antient Elanatic, and adding, that there is no such gulph on the coast of Arabia; notwithstanding much plausible reasoning on the matter, not only the Arabs, but the more modern voyagers have confirmed what he calls a mistake. His wrong idea of this circumstance probably arose from his not having sufficiently examined the coast on the side of Arabia.—According to the account of the friars above-mentioned, Mount Sinai was but thirteen small days journeys distant, making eighteen leagues within land. They were the persons who informed him that many hermits inhabited the boundary mountains, and also that there were several Christian towers on the plains. It seems these good fathers being fearful of losing the body of St. Catharine, feigned a story that it was removed from them, lest the Portuguese should take it away by force. At this place they were also acquainted that none were suffered to enter Suez, except those appointed by the governor of Cairo. —

The fleet departed from Tor on the morning of the 22d of April, and on the 24th, were in the latitude of twenty-nine degrees and seventeen minutes. On the 26th, at eleven o'clock, they were close in with the land. Then rowing a little along the shore, they cast anchor; but two hours before sun-set, they weighed again, and still rowed along the coast. Having proceeded little more than four miles before the sun had set, they put in behind a point of Arabia, (where there was good shelter) short of Suez about three leagues, and about half a league within land, found what was called the Fountain of Moses, the water of which, was very agreeable. When they had cast anchor, they went on shore, and saw the end of the Red-sea, and the masts of the Turkish ships; and the wind blowing hard at north, they lay at anchor till it was day.

The wind blowing hard at north-west, on the 27th, they departed at ten o'clock from the point, rowing along the coast at the distance of about a league from Suez. Don Juan went before to view the situation of the town, and the intended place of landing. They arrived at three in the afternoon, and saw many troops of horse in the field, and two large bodies of soldiers in the town, who shot at them several times from a block-house. After this they passed on to the bay on the west side of the town, and came to an anchor near the shore, in five fathoms water, where there was a very good harbour. Besides the little castle, there were two high and antient towers, supposed to be the reliques of the City of Heroes, which formerly stood here, and which Strabo says, was by some called Arfinoe. But on the point of land where the creek stood, they saw a great fortification of more modern date, which defended the mouth of the river, and commanded the coast by the stern of the galleys. To prevent any attempt to land in that place, there was likewise a trench, with a ditch between the galleys and the strand, so that the place seemed to be equally strong by nature and by art, and Don Juan could observe no place which was not sufficiently secured by the enemy, except behind a hill on the west side, where there might be a chance of gaining the town, by means of the eminence, without being exposed to the fire of their artillery; but the coast along was there so full of shoals, and the bottom in general

consisted of a soft clay and sticky sand, circumstances very unfavourable to the landing of the troops. —

All these things being considered, nothing was done to answer the purpose of the voyage, and the Portuguese returned disappointed. *

Suez, which as we have just observed, is supposed to occupy the same spot, once famous for the City of Heroes, lies in latitude 29 degrees 45 minutes north, being the nearest port to Cairo in this sea. †

Sesostris king of Egypt, and Darius king of Persia, undertook to open a trench or canal from hence to the Nile, for the purpose of joining the Arabic Gulph to the Mediterranean sea; but both left the work unfinished, as some report, because they looked upon the latter to be higher, in which case, it was thought inundations would ensue. Ptolemy took up the idea, and absolutely cut a sluice of an hundred feet in breadth, and thirty in depth; but desisted for a similar reason.

When the fleet appeared before Suez, they found the place but small, and they observed that it owed its chief consequence to the Turkish army's lying there. The city stands on a long and narrow point of land, the sea terminating in two bays divided by it. —

The expedition having come to nothing, the Portuguese fleet left Suez on the morning of the 28th of April, in order to return towards Massua, and, having run about twenty leagues, were about a league short of a sharp and red peak, which runs over the sea, at sun-set. They coasted along Arabia at night, under their forefalls, the wind blowing hard at north-west, and at length came to an anchor near the shore in five fathoms water. They set sail the next day, and came to an anchor at Tor, at nine o'clock; but soon after weighed again, and proceeded to a place called the Watering Place of Solyman, where they took in water, (which however proved brackish) digging it out of pits in the sand, about a stone's throw from the sea.—On the 30th, they departed, and came to the first of three islands lying to the north-west of Sheduam.

Thus proceeding, on the 4th of May, they came to anchor in a port two leagues to the south-east of Shakara, where they lay all night, the wind being at north-west.

The port of *Bahulel Shame*, ‡ furnishes a safe harbour in deep water. It is said to take its name from Bahulel, an eminent Bedouin, who used to sell cattle here to voyagers, on which account it was called Bahulel's Land. They found a handsome tomb here, with a sort of chapel built over it, where hung a silken ensign, and many arrows and trophies. There were also sweet waters and perfumes in the chapels, and they were informed, that Mahometan pardons were dispensed to such good Mussulmen as visited this house. However the Portuguese revered it so little, that they burned it to the ground.—

The Bedouins (or Badwis) are wild men among whom law and order are unknown. Certain tribes of them occupy the mountains and sea coasts from Melinda and Magadoxa in Africa, round by Cape Gardafu and the Abyssinian coast to Suez, and indeed along the whole coast of Arabia, as far as Ormuz. They are above all others given to stealth and rapine, and make depredations upon all they meet with indiscriminately, not sparing their own countrymen who live in cities. Their food is simple, their habit mean; but they are extremely agile, and fight well both on foot and on horseback with their darts. They have no king to rule the whole community, but each tribe has its chief, who leads them to war, and determines their differences. The greater part of them, like the original

* It appears however, that they made an attempt, but the enemies shot poured thick from the town, 2000 Turkish horse broke out from an ambush, and though the Christians killed many with their cannon, the enterprise was defeated.

† This is said to be the place whither Cleopatra caused ships

to be carried by land from the Nile, (after the total defeat of Anthony by Octavius Cæsar) in order to fly to India.

‡ Shame signifies land in the Arabic language.

|| These people are concluded to be the Troglodites mentioned by Ptolemy and other authors.

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original race of Ishmael, § dwell in tents, but some chuse caves for their habitation. Their complexion is black, and they speak the Arabic language.

Proceeding on their way towards Massua, they struck on a shoal at about four leagues distance from that island, but having escaped that danger, they got safe into the port, about nine o'clock, where they made a great rejoicing through the whole fleet. From this time to the 25th of June, the winds continually blew at north-north-east, and north-north-west, but from that time to the 7th of July, they came from the east, east-south-east and south-east, often with great violence. On the last day of June, there was a storm so violent that the galleys drove, and were in danger of running a-ground. Rain and thunder accompanied this storm, and the mast of one of the vessels attracting the lightning, was split by it, in the midst of the horrors of the tempest.

After having experienced more stormy weather, they departed from Massua on the 9th of July, and by day-break on the 11th, they were within three leagues of the port of Dallakha. Thus they held on their course, and came to Ancheditia on the 9th of August, from whence they embarked on the 21st, and proceeded directly to Goa, where they arrived in safety, after having completed a voyage, in the course of which they had made many curious remarks, but performed no military exploits worthy of notice.—

The Red Sea, is called al Colzum, and the coasts of it are accurately described by Aboulfaid Ishmael, the celebrated prince of Hama, who died in the year 1332. He begins his descriptions at al Colzum, a small city at the north end of this sea, which from thence runs southward, inclining a little to the east, as far as al Casir, (or al Cossir.)—Hence it continues its course south, bending somewhat westward. And from hence afterwards it passes directly south to Swaken, a small city of al Sudan, or the Land of the Blacks: thence proceeding south, it encompasseth the island Dallakha, not far from the western shore; after which, advancing on the same direction, it washes the shore of Ethiopia, as far as the Cape (mountain) al Mundab, at the mouth of the Red Sea, which here terminates, the Indian sea flowing into it. The mountain al Mandab, and deserts of Aden, approach very near, being separated only by so narrow a streight that two people may see each other across it. The streights generally called Babel Mandel lies on this side of Aden, a day and night's sail towards the north west. The mountains of al Mandab, are in the country of the Blacks, and may be seen from the mountains of Aden, at a great distance.

The coast of the Red Sea, runs northward from Aden; and thence it proceeds round the coast of Generen, till it comes to the borders, from thence it runs north to Joddah, and declines a little to the west, as far as al Jahafeh, a nation of the people of Egypt. Thence advancing north, and bending a small matter to the west, it washes the coast of Yambaah.—Here it turns off northward; and having passed Madyan, comes to Aylah, then descends southward to Mount Tor, which thrusting forwards, separates two arms of the sea. Whence returning to the north, it passes on to al Colzum, (where the description began) which is situated to the west of Aylah, and in almost the same latitude. At Colzum, and Aylah, are seated on two arms or tongues of the sea, between which the land interposes, running to the south, which land is Mount Tor, almost in the same latitude with Aylah. This latter stands at the end of the eastern tongue, and Al Colzum at the end of the western; so that Aylah lies more to the east, and Tor

more to the south, than al Colzum. Aylah is situated on the farthest part of the promontory, which extends into the sea between Tor and the coast of Egypt, the sea passes, namely, that tongue of the sea or the outermost part (or shore) of which al Colzum stands between Tor (or al Four) and Hejaz, the sea runs; that is, the tongue of water, on whose utmost part or shore, Aylah is situate. From Mount Tor, to either of the opposite coasts, the distance is small by sea; but longer about the desert, because those who travel from Tor to Egypt, are under a necessity of going round by al Colzum, and those who would go from thence to al Hejaz, must pass without Aylah. Tor, on the north, joins to the continent; but its other three sides are washed by the sea. The sea of al Colzum, after passing a little towards the south-east, begins to widen on either side, till at length it becomes 70 miles broad.

Don Juan de Castro, (whose voyage is given above) was present at the second siege of Diu, when he performed the part of a valiant soldier.

Chojah Zaffar, who was so active in the former Zaffar's deceit. siege, from that time forward, kept a fair correspondence with the Portuguese: yet, underhand, persuaded the king of Cambaya, whose favourite he now was, to endeavour to shake off the yoke of the fort of Diu. To effect this, he drew together a great number of men; but desirous rather to succeed by policy, than force, he agreed with an infamous Portuguese, called Buy Freyre, to poison the cistern, fire the magazine, and, upon a sign given, admit him into the fort. The treachery however was discovered by an Ethiopian, a Turk, and a woman slave. Chojah Zaffar, astonished to see his design detected, began to compliment Don Juan Mascarenhas, commander of the fort; and because they obstructed building that wall between the fort and the city, which Don Garcia de Noronna had so weakly allowed, and Emanuel de Soufa had courageously beat down, he assigned that as the reason for breaking the peace; making use of dissimulation, till he had gathered a great power. Mascarenhas, perceiving the danger that threatened him, prepared to meet it, and gave advice thereof to the governor Don Juan de Castro, and neighbouring commanders. He appointed every man his post, and placed an officer with 30 men in each of the four bastions; his lieutenant over the gate with 20, and another with a like number, in a small work; reserving 50 for himself, to be wherever the greatest danger called. This was his whole force, and this their disposition, when Chojah Zaffar came on with all his power, resolving to attack the bastion of the sea, with three castles, built upon a ship of a prodigious bigness, well stored with cannon to batter the wall. Within the castles were 200 Turks, (out of 500 sent from Mocha by the king of Zibid) who were to distract the defendants, by pouring in continually all sorts of fire-works. But the Portuguese commander, having notice of this design, sent an officer to burn that ship. He took 20 men in two vessels, and tho' unexpectedly discovered, (for he set out by night) yet did not desist, but immediately went on and set fire to it; then returning, saw a great part of it fly into the air, with most of the Turks, the remainder casting such a flame, as at a distance, discovered the enemy's army running in battalions to quench it. He perceiving them in clusters, let fly his cannon and killed many, having had only seven men wounded in the action. After this he went on to the mouth of the river, and took from the besiegers some vessels of provisions, with which he returned to the fort, much admired of all. Chojah Zaffar now began to build the wall that had been before beat down; and

He attacks the castle.

* Ishmael is acknowledged to be the great father of the Arabians, and the Turks are still willing to own him.—Hence the name Islim, by a prefix, Missim, corruptly Mussulmen.

† There have been various reasons assigned for this appellation; among these Don Juan de Castro attributes it to the redness of the sea in certain parts, where there was red coral at the bottom, and a quantity of red weeds floating on the surface.

and though the cannon from the fortrefs killed many of the workmen, yet it was brought to fuch perfection, that he planted thereon fixty great cannon, be- fides many fmall; there was one of fuch extraordinary bignefs, that it fhook the whole ifland, and made pieces of the fort fly, being managed by an expert French renegado. At this time arrived Don Ferdinand de Caftro, fon to the governor, with fuc- cours: Mafcarenhas wanted fome intelligence from the enemy's camp, which Diego Datnaya Coutinno, a gentleman of note, and a man of great ftrength, coming to the knowledge of, at night put a helmet on his head, with a fword by his fide, and taking a fpear in his hand, let himfelf down the wall, thus lying clofe at fome diftance from the fort, he difcovered two Moors, who being come up to him, he killed one of them with the fpear, and taking up the other in his arms, ran with him to the gate of the fort, and call- ing, threw him in, to the great admiration of thofe who beheld it: he had borrowed the helmet, and pro- mifed to return it, or die. In this fcuffle it fell off, and he miffed it not till the owner asked for it; Cou- tinno faid nothing, but letting himfelf off the wall a fecond time, went to look for the helmet, found, and reftored it to the right owner.—Mafcarenhas obferving an extraordinary motion in the enemy's army, and being defirous to know the caufe of it; fix Portu- guese falled out at night, and fell among fixty Moors who were all afleep, whereof they killed fome, but the noife waking the reft, as alfo others not far off, they were forced to retire with the lofs of two. The four brought a prifoner with them, who informed the commander, that the king of Cambaya was come from Champanel with 10,000 horfe, to fee (as Chojah Zaffar faid) that place taken. This action fo incen- fed them, that they renewed the fury of their batteries, and did much harm. However, the renegado French- man was ftruck dead by a chance dart; and the gun- ner who fucceeded him, being ignorant, did more harm to his own party, than to the Portuguese. All the neighbourhood refounded with the noife of the cannon, and cries of dying men, when a bullet from the fort, falling in the king's tent, fprinkled him with the blood of one of his favourites, who was beaten to pieces, which fo terrified him, that he infantly fled, leaving the command of the horfe to Juzar Chan, a valiant Abyffinian. The fieve being vigorously push- ed, there was great flaughter and deftruction on both fides; which was the more vifible and prejudicial in the fort, by reafon of its little compafs, and the fmall number of men. Mafcarenhas appeared wherever there was danger, as hoping to gain no lefs honour than Antonio de Silveyra had done there a few years before. He was no lefs fortunate in courageous women, who encouraged the men, affifted and relieved them at the work. One of them hearing, that the enemy were got into a houfe, ran with a fpear, and fought till Mafcarenhas came, and put them all to the fword.— Chojah Zaffar omitted nothing that could be devifed, to fill the ditches, and lay open the fort; while the befieged repaired the breaches. The prime gentry did the duties of private foldiers and mafons: the walls and baffions were ruined at night, and reftored by morning.—Zaffar, aftonifhed to fee all he de- froyed fo fuddenly made up again, coming on in a rage, with a frefh fupply of men, a ball from a can- non took off his head and right hand, whereon he leaned it. His fon, Rumi Chan, fucceeded him in his command; who, (while Mafcarenhas was fending frefh advice to the governors at Goa, and the cap- tains of the neighbouring places, to haften fuccours) with Juzar Chan, gave a general affault, attacking the baffions of St. John, and St. Thomas, where they met with a moft vigorous refiftance, and many were killed: valour was forced to give way to num- bers, and the enemy mounted St. Thomas's baffion: but defpair adminiftered fury, the few Portuguese rushed upon the multitude, and making a wonderful flaughter, threw headlong from the wall, fuch as had efaped the fword.—Rumi Chan, having fpent this

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night in prayers and proceffions, in the morning re- newed the affault, but after mounting the two baf- tions, was forced to retire with the lofs of near 2000 men, and among them Juzar Chan, general of the horfe, whom an uncle of the fame name fucceeded. In this action feven Portuguese were flain; feveral other affaults were given with the like fuccels: in one of thefe, the fire was fo clofe and furious, that fe- veral who were clad in cotton, which foon took flame, ran and dipt themfelves in the water, and fo returned to their pofts: thofe who wore fkins efaped better. Mafcarenhas taking notice of this, caufed fome gilt leather, wherewith his rooms were hung, to be made into coats for the foldiers. At one time he and Don Pedro de Almeyda, with 100 men, falled to deftroy a mount raifed to overlook the fort, killing 300 Moors. Martin Botello, another time, went out with ten men, to take fomebody who might give in- telligence, and falling upon eighteen, put them to flight, except a bold Nubian, who ftanding all the eleven, wreffled with Botello, and he finding it hard to overcome him whilft he could touch the ground with his feet, ran with him in his arms to the fort.— Mean while, the defendants were equally fpent with labour, and with hunger, fo that they were glad to feed upon naufeous vermin; a crow taken upon the dead bodies, was a dainty for the fick, and fold for five crowns; the ammunition was likewise almoft fpent; and now the enemy gave a hot affault with frefh men, 10,000 having newly joined them: they entered St. John's baffion, and retired; fcarcely had they left it, when it blew up, being undermined, and in it feventy Portuguese, ten of whom came down alive; Diego de Sotomayer fell into the fort with a fpear in his hand; a foldier in the fame manner dropped among the enemies, and was killed by them. Mafcarenhas forefeeing the danger, had ordered them to quit the baffion; but one Reynoso profefled, if they did, he would accufe them of cowardice:—13,000 of the enemy having attacked the breach they had made, were withftood by five foldiers only, till Maf- carenhas came with fifteen more: the women affifted the men, and ran even to brave death. The prieft, who was returned from carrying the advice to the neighbouring places, appeared, encouraging all, with a crucifix lifted on high. The actions done here were aftonifhing; but it growing dark, the enemy re- tired, having loft 300 men, and Mafcarenhas fpent all the night in repairing the damages. The enemy daily renewed their attacks with no better fortune, and held out by means of their vaft numbers: Rumi Chan pierced the very rocks that ftood in his way, but met not with fuccels as he had done the time be- fore; for Mafcarenhas perceiving his work, counter- mined it, and killed many of them. Don Alvaro de Caftro, the governor's fon, who was fent with fupplies, having met with incredible ftorms, at length arrived at Baffaim: Antonio Moniz Barretto got firft into Diu, with eight gentleren, who, though fo few, were no fmall comfort to the befieged; one of thefe, called Michael Darmida, a man of prodigious ftrength, being refufed admittance into the boat, leaped into the water with his mufquet in his mouth, and fwimming after it, Barretto was obliged to take him up: Louis de Melo, and Mendoza, came alfo with nine men: then Don George and Don Duart de Menefes, with feventeen; after them, Don Antonio de Atayde, and Francisco Guillerme, with fifty each; and laftly, Ruy Freyne, factor of Chaul, with twenty-four. All thefe fell upon the enemy, then poffeffed of fome of the works, and among them the baffion of St. Jago: the difpute was hot, yet the enemy fet up their colours on the walls. Antonio Barretto made good his poft with only two foldiers, and was going to quench his flames in the water; but one of the two, who was in the fame condition, detained him, and both did things worthy admiration. Antonio Correa falled out with 20 more to difcover the ene- my, and faw twelve Moors fitting about a fire. He exhorted his men to fall upon them, but they fled.

4 L

How-

1545

Juzar-Chan
flain.King Moham-
med comes.frighted
back.valour of the
women.

Zaffar flain.

general af-
fult.The breach at-
tacked.Several af-
faults.

1545

However, going forward, in hopes to take one who might give intelligence, he fell on, and behaved himself bravely, but was taken and carried to Rumi Chan, who examined him about the posture the fort was in, which though then very miserable, he represented so powerful, as drove that general into despair; and moved him to cause the unfortunate prisoner to be dragged through the streets; then his head being cut off, it was set upon a pole next day in sight of the fort. The enemy had, by this time, lost 5000 men, and the besieged 200, so that the latter had not so many more left; and what was worse, half of them were not able to do duty, when Don Alvaro arrived with the supplies, which consisted of 400 men, and a sufficient quantity of ammunition, having by the way taken a ship of Cambaya richly laden. The joy of this relief was soon allayed; for the soldiers of this reinforcement, fearing the mines, proposed to meet the enemy in the open field. Mascarenhas, prudently refusing to comply with their motion, they broke out into open mutiny, in contempt of all military discipline. The commander seeing himself in danger of perishing in the fort, by his own men, sallied with almost 500 in three bodies. Presently they gained the enemy's advanced post, forcing them to retire to their works; but when they came there, those who had so insolently forced their commander to this extravagancy, stood at the foot of the trenches, while others mounted who had been less forward with their tongues. Mascarenhas seeing them in this posture upbraided their behaviour in such terms, that, roused by shame, they took heart and went up. The whole army now came down upon the Portuguese, who having done wonders, were forced to retire in such disorder, that the enemy must certainly have possessed themselves of the fort, had not Mascarenhas, by his prudence and courage, prevented Mojate Chan, who with 5000 men attempted to enter, and was valiantly opposed by Lewis de Sousa in St. Thomas's bulwark. Sixty men were lost in this action, and Don Fernando de Castro mortally wounded in the head. The Moors had taken the cannon of the Bastion Sant Jago, when Vasquez de Cunna, and Lewis de Almeyda, brought a fresh relief. The latter immediately went out with three caravals, and quickly returned with two great ships of Mocha, and some other vessels, whose loading was worth 50,000 ducats. Many Moors were hung at the yard-arms, whose heads were then cut off, as was the captain's, who was a janissary, and offered 3000 ducats for his ransom. The siege had now lasted eight months; when in the beginning of November the governor Don Juan de Castro, had gotten together a great fleet of all sorts of vessels for the relief of Diu. Every one admired the constancy wherewith he received the news of the death of his son Fernando: for though he highly resented it, he dissembled his grief; and dressing himself gayer than ordinary, went first in procession, to give God thanks that Diu was still in the possession of the Portuguese, and then to a public feast, which was the imitation of a fight, wherein they use canes instead of lances. The fleet consisted of above 90 sail, besides three of the ships that then came from Portugal; and several gentlemen that came in them, went in other vessels. The governor being come to Basaim, waited the coming up of the vessels that were scattered; and in the mean while sent Don Emanuel de Lima to scour the coast. Near Daman, he took several ships, and cutting the Moors in pieces, threw them into the mouth of the river, that the tide carrying them up, they might strike a terror in all that coast. Entering the river of Surat, after a vigorous resistance made, he destroyed all that belonged to the town of the Ethiopians. The same was done at the city Anfoto, not far distant, without sparing either sex or beauty: the

finest women of the Bramins and Baneans, being slaughtered in that and the neighbouring towns. When the fleet appeared in the sea of Diu; the enemy stood amazed, though they had just then received a supply of 5000 fresh men sent by the king. The governor went privately into the fort, and afterwards landed his men. It having been resolved in council to attack the enemy, they marched in the following order: Don Juan Mascarenhas, commander of the fort, led the van, consisting of 500 men; Don Alvaro led as many; Don Emanuel de Lima the like number; the governor headed the rest, which were 1000, and a body of Indians. Among the rest were some Portuguese women in men's cloaths, to assist the wounded. In the fort was left the lieutenant with 300 men. The governor appointed rewards for those who first mounted the enemy's works. At break of day, on the 11th of November: this small army marched out to attack the numerous forces of the enemy, who were well intrenched, and prepared with cannon. They gave the onset with much bravery, and some fell. At length the Portuguese mounted the works. Such was each man's eagerness to be first, that it could not be known who really was so. Cosme Pasvd having lost a leg, fought on his knees, till he was killed. Another cut down one Turk, and stooping to make an end of him, was slain by his fellow. Francisco de Azevedo was killed after having made a great slaughter. Mascarenhas, and Don Alvaro de Castro, having taken a bulwark, made them room in the field. The governor came up, and inflamed the fight. He ordered his ensign to fix the colours on the enemy's works. Twice was the ensign thrown down, and twice he remounted. The men, encouraged by the governor's presence, pressed forward, and the enemy gave way. The Portuguese entered their works pell-mell with them, and Rumi Chan came on with the whole body of his army; but, after a hot dispute, retired, leaving his adversaries masters of his works. He went to join Juzar Chan, who on the other side was worsted by Mascarenhas. The governor marched out of the works to meet them, giving the van to his son Don Alvaro. The Portuguese were much distressed, when Friar Antonio del Cazel put himself before them with a crucifix on the point of a lance; on which they took courage, and covering the field with dead and wounded men, put Rumi Chan to flight. He rallying again in his turn, forced the Portuguese to retire in great confusion; but the governor renewed the fight, and restored good order. At this time a stone broke an arm of the crucifix, and the priest calling to the men to revenge the sacrilege, they fell on with such fury, that drove the enemy to the city.—The first who entered the city with them, was Don Mascarenhas, and after him came Don Alvaro, and Don Emanuel de Lima, and the governor, all several ways, making the streets and houses run with blood. The women escaped not the fate of the men, and children were slain at their mother's breasts. The first part of the booty was precious stones, pearls, gold and silver: other things, though of value, were neglected. Rumi Chan, and his general officers, rallying their men, appeared again in the field with 8000 men. The governor and his son, and Don Juan Mascarenhas killed, encompassed them. The fight was bloody: in the heat of it, Gabriel Teyxeira, took the standard of Cambaya (after killing the bearer) and dragged it about the field, proclaiming victory; George Nunez, from among the dead, brought out Rumi Chan's head, and presented it to the governor. Others took Juzar Chan, who was wounded. The Portuguese were left absolute masters of the field, having lost 100 men; of the enemy 5000 were slain, and among them Azede Chan, and some other men of note. Free plunder

Don Juan arrives at Diu.

The Rumi Chan

Juzar Chan

* Two gentlemen, who had challenged each other, now agreed he should be owned victorious over the other, who first

entered the enemy's quarters; both honourably strove for this glory, and both died in the attempt.

Much plunder.

der was allowed; some were enriched; many got much, and all were satisfied, there were taken many colours, forty pieces of cannon of an extraordinary bigness, which with the lesser sort, made up two hundred, and a vast quantity of ammunition.—Many particularly signalized themselves in the action, and the governor acted the part of a soldier, as well as the general. Don Juan Mascarenhas, after a siege of eight months, did more than could be imagined; Don Alvaro de Castro, behaved like his father; the Ensign Duarte Barbudo, being several times thrown down, as often mounted the works; Friar Anthony employed his crucifix to very good purpose. The king caused twenty-eight Portuguese he had in custody, to be torn in pieces in his presence, in revenge for his loss. Whilst the governor was employed in repairing the damage received. Don Emanuel de Lima, in the beginning of the year 1546, by his order, scoured the coast of Cambaya with thirty ships, demolishing all the towns along the shore. The city Gogo, one of the chief of that kingdom, was taken, plundered, and burnt, without any resistance; the inhabitants flying to the mountains, where being pursued, they were found at night, about a league off asleep, and all put to the sword. All the cattle in the fields, were either killed or ham-strung, and the city Gandar, and several other towns, suffered the same fate. And thus the Portuguese sullied their victories with those cruelties that add to the horrors of war.—The joy at Goa was great on account of these tidings sent by Diego Rodriguez de Azevedo, by whom the governor desired the city to lend him 20,000 pardas for the use of the army, sending a lock of his whiskers in pawn for the money. The city returned the pledge with respect, and remitted him more money than he demanded. The women, to express their gratitude, sent their pendants, necklaces, bracelets, and other jewels; but all was punctually restored by the governor, as it was sent, having been supplied the day before, by a rich ship of Cambaya, taken by Antonio Moniz Barreto, on the coast of Mangalor. Afterwards the fort was repaired, and put into a better condition than it was before the siege: 500 men were left in it, and Don George de Menezes, with six ships upon the coast. The city likewise became better inhabited, through the good usage of the governor to the Moors. After which, sailing for Goa, he arrived there the 11th of April, where he was received with loud acclamations, and a splendid

Castle repaired

triumph prepared by the city, in imitation of those of Rome. The gates and streets were hung with silk, the windows thronged with fine women; all places resounded with music and noise of cannon; and the sea was covered with vessels richly adorned. The governor entered under a rich canopy, where taking off his cap, they put on his head a crown of laurel, and a branch of it in his hand; Friar Antony went before him with his crucifix, as he carried it in the fight; and next to him the royal standard; then followed Juzar Chan, with his eyes fixed on the ground, perhaps that he might not see his prince's colours dragged and others flying, besides the mortifying sight of 600 prisoners in chains. In the front, the cannon, and other sorts of arms were carried in on proper carriages.—The governor walked upon leaves of gold and silver, and rich silks. The ladies from the windows, sprinkled him with sweet water, and threw flowers on him.* The news of the victory at Diu was brought to Lisbon the same year: when the king having resolved to honour Don Juan de Castro with unusual favours, continued the government to him, with the title of vice-roy. He sent him also a present in money; and made his son Don Alvaro, admiral of the Indian seas: but Don Juan did not live to enjoy that honour. When he saw that there were no hopes of life, he sent for the council, which he had appointed to act in his stead, and told them "that he had nothing; and desired that they would order something out of the king's revenue, that he might not die for want;" then a mass book being brought, he laid his hand upon it, and swore, "That he had no way made use of the king's or any other man's money, nor had driven any trade to increase his own stock;" and desired that this act of his might be recorded. After his death there were found in his private cabinet, a bloody discipline, and three rials, which was all his treasure. In 1576, his body was brought to Portugal, and laid in the church of the Dominicans, on a hill not far from Lisbon.—He is painted crowned with palm branches, and clothed in red. He was a great linguist, and well skilled in mathematics. He was the fourteenth in the number of governors, and may be accounted the fourth vice-roy. His death is said to have been accelerated by the bad conduct of some gentlemen in an expedition a little before; and thus died a good governor and a brave officer.

De Castro's Triumph.

1552

His death.

VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH TO GUINEA AND THE EAST INDIES.

THE successes of the Portuguese in their African and East Indian expeditions, raised a spirit of emulation among other nations. The Spaniards had endeavoured to come in for a share of the advantages; and the English failed not to follow their example. The designs of our countrymen in this respect, appear to have been supported by the Spaniards, and were suppressed upon the remonstrances of the Portuguese.—It appears however that the English frequently traded to the Canary Islands, and even established factors in those parts.

to Barbary.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, the English spirit for trade exerting itself, and meeting with a favourable conjuncture, they began to push it to the south as well as north, about the year 1551. Capt. Thomas Windham, in the ship Lion, sailed to Morocco, whither he carried back two Moors of the royal family. This was the first voyage we meet with to the western coast of Africa; and these are all the particulars to be found relating to it, excepting, that one James Alday, a servant to Sebastian Cabato, in a letter to Mr. Michael Locke,

in 1552, represents himself as being the first promoter of this Barbary traffic: he also observes, that he should have performed this voyage himself, and have had the whole command of ship and goods, but that Sir John Lutterel, John Fletcher, Henry Ostrich, and others, with whom he had joined, died of the sweating sickness: and he himself, after escaping that disease, had been seized with a violent fever. But before he recovered, the ship being at Portsmouth, Thomas Windham had her away from thence, by whom he lost eighty pounds. Next year, 1552, Windham performed a second voyage to Zafin and Santa Cruz, without the Straights, where he had been the year before. This gave great offence to the Portuguese, who threatened to treat the English as enemies, if they met with them in those parts.—Notwithstanding these menaces, the year following, the same Windham, and Antonio

* Queen Catharine of Portugal, hearing the relation of his victory and triumph; said "Don Juan had overcome like a Christian, and triumphed like a heathen."

1552

Anes Pinteado a Portuguese, the promoter of this attempt, undertook a voyage to Guinea, in three ships, with 140 men, and traded for gold along the coast; after which they sailed for Benin, to load pepper: but both the commanders, and most of the men dying of sickness, occasioned by the climate; the rest, being but forty, returned to Plymouth, with only one ship (having burnt the others for want of hands to work them) and no great riches.—In 1554, Mr. John Lock, made a voyage with three ships, and trading along that coast, brought away a considerable quantity of gold and ivory, but proceeded no farther. These voyages were succeeded by others almost every year. At length, upon application to queen Elizabeth by certain merchants, two patents were granted, one in 1585, for the Barbary or Morocco trade; the other, in 1588, for the Guinea trade, between the rivers Senaga, and Gambia, or Gambia; and in 1592, a third was obtained by others, taking in the coast from the river Nonnia, to the south of Sierra Leona, the space of 100 leagues, which patents gave rise to the African company.

Summary account of voyages.

The views of the English extending with their success, and finding the discovery of the N. E. and N. W. passages, had been long attempted in vain, they resolved to push their voyage round Africa, by the Portuguese course. In 1591, three large ships undertook that voyage for the first time, under the command of captain Raymond: and in 1596, another fleet of three ships, commanded by captain Wood, set out on the same design; but with ill success. Mean time, several navigators were employed to discover this way to the East Indies, and the Portuguese possessions there. At length, in 1600, a body of gentlemen, merchants, and others, (to the number of 216) with George Earl of Cumberland at the head of them, obtained a charter from queen Elizabeth, for carrying on a trade to the East Indies, under the denomination of The Company of Merchants Adventurers. From this time forward, ships were sent regularly every two or three years, to those parts of the world. And thus was laid the foundation of the East India Commerce, which subsists at present.

The voyage to Barbary, in 1552, by Captain Thomas Windham, was projected by Sir John York, Sir William Gerrard, Sir Thomas Worth, Messrs. Francis Lambert, Cole, and several other merchants. The ships that went on this voyage were three. First, the *Lion*, of London, the admiral's ship, about 150 tons, Thomas Windham, captain, and part owner, a Norfolk gentleman, who lived at Marshfield Park, Somersetshire: second, the *Buttolfe*, about 80 tons: and the third, a caraval, bought of some Portuguese, at Newport in Wales, and freighted for this voyage, of 60 tons: the number of men in the fleet were one hundred and twenty: the master of the *Lion* was one John Kerry, of Somersetshire; and his mate was David Landman.—This fleet departed out of King-road, near Bristol, on Monday morning, the beginning of May, 1552, and Monday fortnight, in the evening, came to anchor in the road of Zafia, on the coast of Barbary, in 32 degrees of latitude, which was the

first port they were bound to, and there landed part of their merchandize, to be conveyed to the city of Morocco.—After this, having refreshed themselves with victuals and water, they went to the second port, called Santa Cruz, where they discharged the rest of their goods, being linen and woollen cloth, coral, amber, jet, and divers other things, esteemed by the Moors; here they found a French ship, which not knowing whether war or peace subsisted between England and France, drew as near the town as she could, craving its protection, if need were; insomuch, that observing the English still to advance, a piece was shot from the walls, which flew between the main and foremast of the Admiral; whereupon, casting anchor, there presently came a pinnace aboard to know what they were, who understanding that they had been there before, and came with consent of their king, were fully satisfied, and gave them leave to land their goods. They had not been long here before the viceroy, whose name was Sibill Manache, came to visit them with great civility: but by one delay or other, they spent very near three months before they could get in their lading, which was sugar, dates, almonds, and molasses.—Yet although they were here in the heat of the summer, none of the company died by sickness. When the ships were laden, they put to sea, expecting a westerly wind; but as they were setting forward for England, the *Lion* sprung a leak, so that they were driven to Lancerote, on the side towards Forteventura, where they landed out of her 70 chests of sugar, with 12 or sixteen of the company. The inhabitants supposed the caraval had been seized by them, suddenly came with force, and took them prisoners, and spoiled the sugars. This being perceived from the ships, they manned three boats to rescue them, and put the Spaniards to flight, of whom they slew 18, and took the governor of the island prisoner, who was about 70 years of age, but chasing the enemy too far, and being in want of powder and arrows, the Spaniards perceiving this, returned and slew six of them in their retreat. After this, coming to a parley, it was agreed that the English should be exchanged for their old governor, and that a certificate should be given under his and their hands of what damages they had received, which damages were made good by the Spanish merchants, upon their return into England. Having found out and stopped the leak, they set sail; and as they left one end of the island, the *Cacafuego*, and other ships of the king of Portugal's armada, entered at the other, and came to anchor in the road from whence the English departed, shooting off their ordnance in their hearing. The Portuguese were much offended with this new trade into Barbary; and both in this and their former voyage, gave out in England, by their merchants, with great menaces, that if they took the English in those parts, they would use them as their mortal enemies. They were seven or eight weeks before they could reach the coast of England, putting first into Plymouth; soon after they arrived at London, where they landed their merchandize about the end of October, 1552.

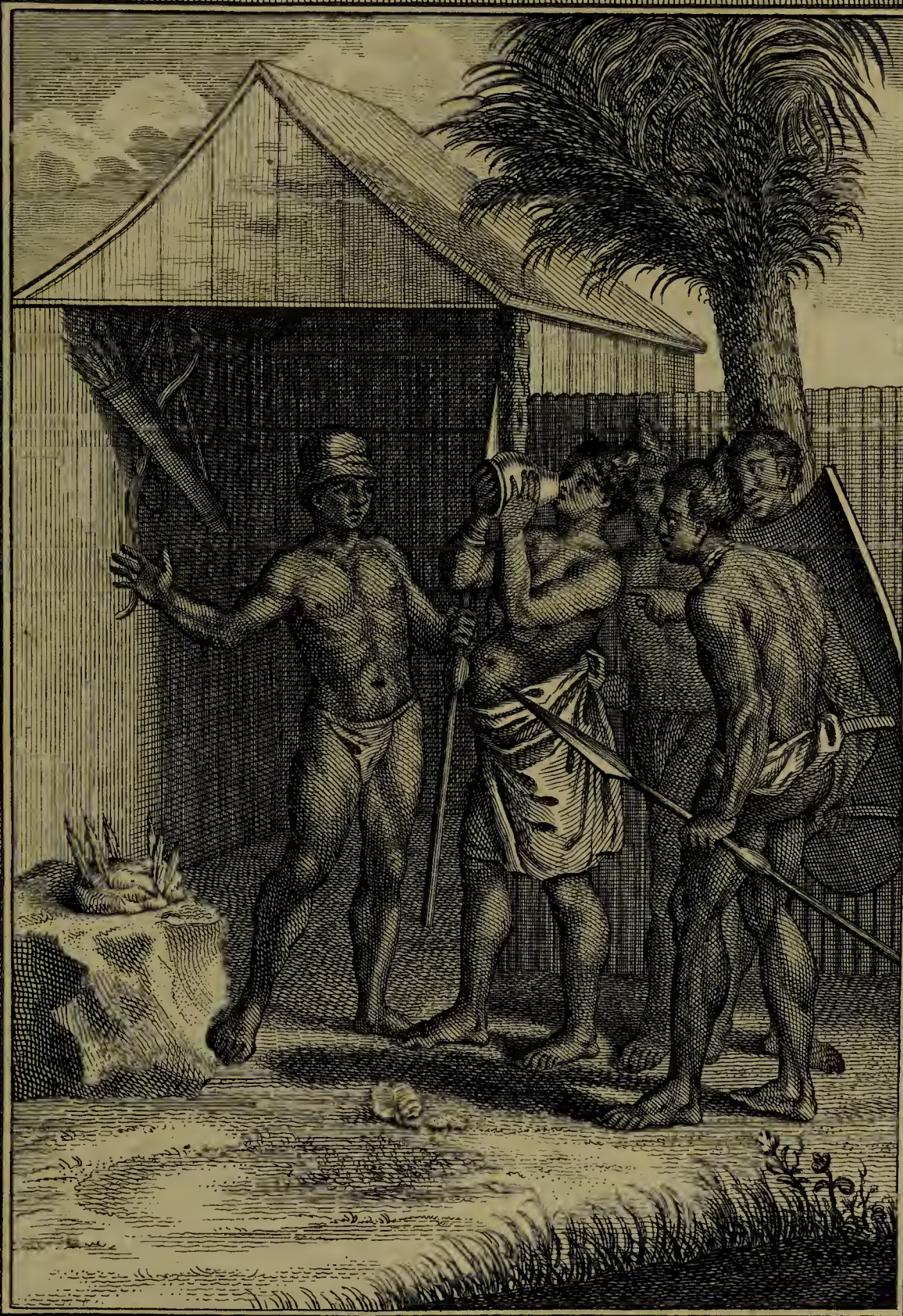
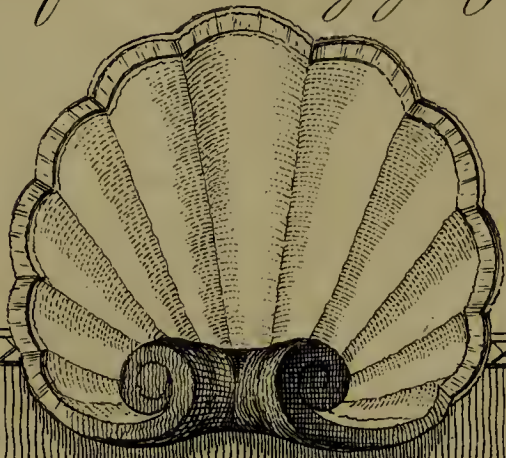
Santa Cruz.

A VOYAGE TO GUINEA AND BENIN, BY THOMAS WINDHAM, AND ANTONIO ANES PINTEADO, CAPTAINS.

ON the 12th of August there sailed from Portsmouth two fine ships, the *Primrose* and *Lion*, with a pinnace called the *Moon*, furnished with 140 able-bodied men, ordnance and victuals. They were

commanded by two captains; the one a Portuguese, called Antonio Anes Pinteado, the son of Juan Anes, born in a town named, The Port of Portugal, a wise, discreet and sober man. He was an expert pilot as well.

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



*A method whereby
the MEN of GUINEA oblige
their Wives to purge themselves
from the accusation of
ADULTERY*



well as a prudent captain; and for his skill in navigation had been in great favour with the king of Portugal, who committed to his care the coasts of Brasil and Guinea, against the insults of the French, to whom he was a terror in those seas. He was likewise a gentleman of the king's household: but falling afterwards into disgrace, through the malicious insinuations of some who envied his good fortune, was forced by his majesty to come to England. The other captain's name was Windham, a person of very different qualities, and endowed with little virtue.—He began to shew his evil disposition at Portsmouth, by turning out of his ship a kinsman of one of the principal merchants concerned in the voyages; although it proved very happy for the young man, and others wished he had served their sons in the same manner.

“Setting out on their voyage, they came to the island of Madeira, where they took in wines for the use of their ships. At these islands they met with a great galleon of the king of Portugal's, full of men and ordnance, sent out on purpose to prevent ships of other nations from trading in those seas, and particularly to frustrate this voyage of the English, although they could not have done it in case they had attempted it. It seems the king of Portugal had been secretly informed that our ships were designed against his castle of Mina, although nothing less was intended. Hitherto Windham behaved in a seemingly very good natured friendly manner to Pinteado; but after they had left Madeira, he began to change his carriage: he took upon him the sole command, setting nought by Captain Pinteado, and the factor; and proceeding even to vile language and menaces. He took from him the service of the boys, and certain marines, that were assigned him by the orders and directions of the merchants, and left him as a common seaman: this was a sensible mortification to that worthy commander, because nothing can afflict a Portuguese or a Spaniard more, than to be deprived of their honours. Sailing forward, and passing by the Canaries, they came to the island of St. Nicholas, where they victualled with the flesh of wild goats, which is very plentiful there, though scarce any thing else is to be met with. From hence they pursued their course; yet, to avoid arriving too soon at Guinea, on account of the heats, they staid by the way at the Desert Isles, but being under an arbitrary direction, from whence no good can proceed, tarried too long. At length they fell in with the great river of Sestos, on the coast of Guinea, where they might have laden their ships with the fruit of that country; which is very hot, and much like a fig, as it grows on the tree, being full of grains, which are loose within the cod, having a hole through the middle. This kind of spice is very much used in cold countries, and may be sold to great advantage, in exchange for other wares: but the men, by the persuasion, or rather compulsion, of this tragical captain, setting light by that commodity, in comparison of the fine gold they thirsted after, sailed 100 leagues further, till they came to the Golden Lands, where, without attempting to approach the king of Portugal's castle, situate on the river Mina, they sold their wares on this side, and beyond it, for the gold of that country, to the quantity of 150 pounds weight; and might have had gold in exchange for their whole cargo, if Pinteado's advice could have taken place. But Windham, though there was gold enough where he was, would needs go farther, and commanded Pinteado (for so he took upon him) to carry the ships to Benin, 150 leagues beyond, under the line, where he proposed to have them laden with pepper; Pinteado considering the late time of the year, advised him not to go elsewhere, but to stay and dispose of the remainder

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of the goods for gold; but Windham refused.* Pinteado's view was to preserve the men, well knowing their lives would be in great danger, either if they got thither too late; or too soon, they were to meet with the Rofia, which is their winter, not for cold, but for smothering heat; with close and cloudy air, and stormy weather, of such putrifying quality, that it rotted the very clothes on their backs. If they arrived too soon, then they were to fear the scorching heat of the sun, which was the reason of their lingering by the way. Thus was he forced against his will, to bring the ship to the river of Benin. Here casting anchor, they sent their pinnace up the river fifty or sixty leagues; where Captain Pinteado, Francisco, a Portuguese, Nicholas Lambert, a gentleman, and other merchants landing, they were conducted to the court ten leagues from thence. Being arrived, they were brought amidst a crowd of people, to the king's presence. He was a black Moor, (although not so black as the rest) and sat on a great hill, long and wide: the walls were made of earth, without windows; but in the roof, which was of thin boards, were several openings, like funnels, to let in the air.—The king is served with great state; his noble-^{The king's} men never look him in the face, but sit covered ^{state.} with their elbows upon their knees, and their hands before their faces, nor dare lift up their eyes, until his majesty commands them. When they approach him, as soon as they come in view, they assume the same posture, and when they retire, go creeping backwards with like reverence, it being a crime to turn their backs upon him.

“The king at first caused them to stand up, and then in Portuguese, (which he had learned from his infancy) he demanded the cause of their coming. They answered by Pinteado, that they were merchants, and came to exchange the commodities of their own country for those of his. The king then desired him to look at 30 or 40 quintals of pepper, which had lain a long time in his storehouses, and to bring a sample of their merchandises; thereupon he sent some of his people to conduct the captain and merchants to the water-side; and others to fetch the wares from the pinnace to the court. When they were returned, and the wares seen, the king agreed with the merchants to provide in 30 days the lading of all their ships with pepper; and, in case their goods should fall short of the value, he offered to give them credit till their next return. He forthwith sent the country round to gather pepper, so that in thirty days no less than 80 tons were brought to the court. In the mean time, the English having no command of themselves, eat of the fruits, and drank the palm-wines to excess; neither could they be kept from running continually into the water to cool their bodies, melting with the heat of the climate; so that not being used before to such sudden and violent alterations, it brought on swellings and agues, towards the latter end of the year, whereby three or four, and sometimes five, died in a day. Windham finding his men drop off so fast, as soon as the 30 days were expired, sent to Captain Pinteado and the rest, to come away forthwith; they let him know by letter, what a quantity of pepper they had procured, and that they daily expected as much more, desiring him not to hurry them, considering what reputation they should gain, in case they should make a prosperous voyage, and how shameful it would be to return without full lading. But Windham, not satisfied with this answer, and the mortality continuing amongst the men, sent them word that if they did not come away instantly, he would leave them behind. Hereupon Pinteado, thinking to persuade him by reason, returned to the ships, being conducted thither by the king's order. Mean time, Windham, in a rage, broke up Pinteado's

4 M

* He fell into a rage, and reviled him, calling him Jew, and other opprobrious names, saying, “This whorson Jew hath promised to bring us to such places as are not to be found, or he

cannot bring us to: but if he do not, I will cut off his ears, and nail them to the mast.”

Nicholas.

iver Sestos.
Guinea pep-
er.

iver Benin.

1553. do's cabin and chests, spoiled such cold distilled waters and other things as he had provided for his health, and left him nothing either of instruments to sail by, or apparel. Then falling sick himself died also: for all this, Pinteado, when he came on board, lamented his death as much as if he had been his best friend. Yet several, both of the mariners and officers, spit in his face, some calling him Jew, saying, he had brought them thither to destroy them, and others drawing their swords on him, offered to kill him. They insisted to leave the coast, he desired them only to stay till those who were at court should return from thence; but they would not grant this request. Then he intreated them to let him have the ship-boat,

Windham's death.

with a piece of an old sail, promising therewith to bring the rest into England."—Finding all he said was in vain, he wrote to acquaint the merchants with what had happened; assuring them, in case he lived to return, forthwith to fetch them. As for Pinteado himself, after being kept on board against his will, he was thrust among the cabin-boys, and worse used than any of them, being glad to find favour at the cook's hand.* Having sunk one of their ships for want of hands, they departed, and six or seven days after, Pinteado died, heart-broken with his hard usage; and of 140 men, scarce forty returned to Plymouth, of whom also many died. Pinteado died of grief.

VOYAGE TO GUINEA, IN 1554, BY CAPTAIN JOHN LOCK.

THE adventurers in this voyage, were Sir George Barne, Sir John York, Thomas Lock, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castlelin.

The fleet sets out.

On the 11th of October, 1554, they left the Thames with three good ships, the Trinity 140 tons; the Bartholomew, 90; and the John the Evangelist, 140. There were likewise two pinnaces, (whereof one was lost on the coast of England) Having staid at Dover fourteen days, and at Rye, three or four; they last of all touched at Dartmouth, and thence proceeding, the first of November, at nine at night they set off, the Start, bearing south-west, and by the third, about noon ran sixty leagues.

"On the 17th, in the morning, they had sight of Madeira, which in the north north-east part, appears very high; and to the south south-east, is a low long land, and a long point, with a saddle through the middle of it, standing in thirty-two degrees in the west part, they saw many springs of water, descending from the mountain: also several white fields, like corn fields, and some white houses to the south-east. The top of the mountain seemed very ragged; and in the north-east part they saw a bay, resembling a harbour: also a rock at a little distance from the shore; and over the said bay was a great gap upon the mountain.—On the 19th, at noon, they had sight of the Isle of Palms, Teneriffe, and the Canaries. The first, (which lies in twenty-eight degrees) rises round, and extends south-east and north-west; the north-west part is lowest. In the south is a round hill over the headland; and another round hill in the land. Between the south-east part of Madeira, and the north-west part of Palm isle, are fifty-seven leagues; their course south and south by west, so that they had sight of Teneriffe, and the Canaries; the south part of the Isle of Palms is distant from the north north-east of Teneriffe, twenty leagues north-west. Teneriffe and the great Canarie, called Gran Canaria, and the west part of Forteventura, stand twenty-seven degrees and a half. Gomera is a fair island, but very ragged, and lieth west south-west of Teneriffe; and the course in sailing between them south by east. In the south part of Gomera is a town, and good road for ships; it stands in twenty-seven degrees and forty-five minutes. Teneriffe is high land, with a great high peak like a sugar-loaf, whose top is covered with snow

throughout the year: by this mark it may be known above all other islands. Here they were becalmed on the 20th of November, from six in the morning till four in the afternoon.—On the 22d, under the Tropic of Cancer, the sun sets west by south, upon the coast of Barbary, twenty-five leagues north of Cape Blake, three leagues from shore, there are fifteen fathoms, no streams, and good shelly ground mixed with sand; also small islands in twenty-two degrees twenty minutes.—From Gomera, they sailed south by east 100 leagues, to Cape de los Barbas, in twenty-two degrees and a half. All that coast is very flat, with sixteen or seventeen fathom water; and from that cape, till within seven or eight leagues of the river del Oro; is frequented by Spaniards and Portuguese, who trade for fish during the month of November.

"From thence they steered south south-west, and south-west by south, till they came into twenty degrees and a half, reckoning themselves seven leagues off shore, and there were the coast shoals of Cape Blake. Then they went south till they got into thirteen degrees, and by estimation, twenty-five leagues off. They discovered the Crofiers when they were in fifteen degrees, and might have done it sooner, if they had looked for them. Those constellations are not right a-crofs in November, by reason that the nights are short there; nevertheless they had sight of them the 29th of the same month.—On the 1st of December, being in thirteen degrees, they proceeded south by east, till the fourth at noon, when they were in nine degrees twenty minutes, and by estimation thirty leagues west-south-west of the shoals of the Rio Grande, which are thirty leagues long. On the 4th, being in six degrees thirty minutes, they began to set their course south-east. The 9th, they directed it east-south-east; and the 14th, east, being then in five degrees thirty minutes, and by computation thirty-six leagues from the coast of Guinea. On the 19th, they sailed east by north, seventeen leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, which bore east-north-east, and the river Sesto east.—On the 21st, they fell in with Cape Mensurado, to the south-east, about two leagues off, which rising like the head of a porpoise; may be easily known; it stands nearly in six degrees. Also to the south-east there are three trees, the easternmost is the highest, the middlemost

Cape Mensurado.

* It appears that after this gentleman had been long imprisoned by the king, he was released on the representation of that prince's confessor, a grey friar, who made known his innocence; that it was poverty, and not any crime, which obliged him to leave his country; that the king, repenting of his severity towards him, by letters patent, dated the 20th of September, 1551, in consideration of his good service, made him a Knight of his household, with a pension of 700 rees (or ten shillings)

a month, and an alcaire (or half bushel) of barley as long as he kept a horse.

This patent is to be found in Hakluyt's Collection. Notwithstanding those friendly overtures, however, Pinteado durst not venture home, nor so much as to converse with his countrymen, unless in company with others; because he had private intimation given him, that they intended to murder him, if they could but find a proper opportunity.

1554

River de los
Potos.

Island Flores!

middlemost like a hay-stack, and the southermost resembles a gibbet: upon the main are four or five very high hills rising one after another like round hillocks, and to the south-east of the three trees, the whole coast is a white sand.—On the 22d, they came to the river Sesto, and remained there till the 29th. From hence they sent before them the pinnace to the Rio Dolce, that they might have the beginning of the market, before the coming of John the Evangelist.—In the river of Sesto, they had a ton of grains. From whence to Rio Dolce, in five deg. thirty minutes, are twenty-five leagues. The river of Sesto is easy to be known by a ledge of rocks on the south-east part of the road. And at the entrance of the haven, there are six trees that bear no leaves. This is good harbour, but very narrow at the mouth, where there is a rock just as you enter. All the coast between Cape De Monte, and Cape De las Palmas, lies south-east by east, and north-west by west, being three leagues off the shore; and you shall have in some places, rocks two leagues off, and that between the river of Sesto and De las Palmas.—From the river of Sesto to the river Dolce, are twenty-five leagues, and the high land between, which begins eight leagues from the former, is called Cakeado; to the south-east, whereof is a place called Shawgro, and another Shyawe, where you may get fresh water. Off Shyawe lies a ledge of rocks, and to the south-east a head-land, called Croke, between which and Cakeado, are nine or ten leagues. To the south-east hereof, is a harbour called St. Vincent, right over against which, there is a funk rock, two leagues and a half from shore. To the south-east of that rock, there appears an island about three or four leagues distant, and not above one from the coast east-south-east of the island, is a rock, that rises above the water, and the entrance of the river Dolce, which thereby may be known. The north-west side of the haven is flat sand; the south-east side resembles an island, and is a bare plot without any trees; such as is not any where else. Ships ride in fourteen or fifteen fathoms, good ooze and sand; being the marks of the road to bring the island and the north-east land together. Here they anchored the last of December.—On the third of January, they sailed from the river Dolce.*

“On the 12th of January, they came to a town called Samma, eight leagues east-north-east from Cape Tres Puntas. In the way, is a great ledge of rocks far out at sea. They continued four days at that town, the captain whereof would needs have a pledge: accordingly one was sent (being Sir John York's nephew) whom, when they had received they detained, and would traffic no more, but shot at them with their ordinance, whereof they have only two or three pieces.—On the 16th, they came to a place called Cape Corea, where Captain Don John dwelleth, whose men entertained them friendly. This cape is four leagues eastward of the castle of Mina, where they arrived the 18th, and made sale of all their cloth, saving two or three packs.—On the 26th, they sailed forward to the Trinity, which was about seven leagues eastward of them, where she sold her wares; and advised them to go eastward of that eight or nine leagues, in order to sell more in two other places. The first called Perekow, the farthest Perekow Grande. This last may be known by a great round hill, named Mont Rodondo, lying

near it on the west, and by the water side are many high palm trees.—From hence they set forth homeward the 13th of February, and plied up along till they came within seven or eight leagues of Cape Tres Puntas.—

“On the fifteenth, about eight at night, they cast about to seaward.—In returning from the coast of Mina, be sure make your way good west, as far as Cape da las Palmas; where the current sets westward, and within twenty leagues eastward of that cape, you may have fresh water, and ballast enough, with plenty of ivory, or elephants teeth, at the river De los Patos, which is in four degrees, and almost two thirds, and when you reckon yourself as far shot as the cape, being in a degree, or a degree and a half of latitude, you may go west, and west by north till you come into three degrees, and then you may go west north west, and north west by west, till you come in five degrees; after which proceed north-west. In six degrees they meet with northerly winds, and great ruffling tides, the currents tending, as they judged, to the north north-west, moreover, between Cape de Monte and Cape Verde, there run great currents, which deceive many.—The 22d of April, they were in eight degrees; and so they ran to the north west, having the wind at north east, and east north east, and sometimes at east, till May day, that they came into eighteen degrees twenty minutes and so from eighteen degrees forty minutes, they had the wind at east, and east north-east, and sometimes at east south-east; and they reckoned the islands of Cape Verde to lie to the east south-east, forty-eight leagues off. In twenty and twenty-one degrees, they had the wind more easterly to the southward than before; and so they ran to the north-west, and north north-west, and sometimes north by west and north, till they came into thirty-one degrees north, where they reckon themselves 180 leagues south-west by south, off the island of De los Flores; and there meeting with the wind at south south-east, set their course north-east.

In twenty-three degrees, they had the wind at south and south-west, and then they steered north north-east, till they came into forty degrees, after this they bore north-east, the wind being at the south-west, and the island Flores seventeen leagues east of them. In forty-one degrees, they met with the wind at north-east, and ran north-westward. Then it blew west-north-west, and at the west within six leagues, they running towards the north-west, presently they cast about and lay at north-east, till they came into forty-two degrees, where they set their course east north-east, judging the isle of Corvo to be thirty-six leagues distant, south by west.—The 21st of May, they consulted with John Rafe, and he thought it best to go north-east, and judging himself to be twenty-five leagues eastward of the Isle de Flores, in thirty-nine degrees and a half.—On the fourth of September, under nine degrees, they lost sight of the north star: and in forty-five degrees, the compass varied eight degrees to the west. In forty degrees it varied fifteen degrees in the whole: and in thirty degrees and a half, five degrees to the west.—Two or three days before they came to Cape Tres Puntas, the pinnace went along the shore, thinking to sell some wares; so their ship cast anchor three or four leagues west by south of the cape, where they left the Trinity, and their pinnace came aboard for more

* Cape de las Palmas, is a fair high land, but on the east side there are some low places by the shore, which look like red cliffs, with white streaks, resembling high ways, each the length of a cable. This cape is the southernmost land in all the coast of Guinea, and standeth in four degrees one third. The coast from Cape de las Palmas to Cape de tres Puntas, is fair and clear, without rocks or other danger, and twenty-five leagues from the former cape. The land is higher than any other place, till you come to the latter, about ten leagues short of which it rises gradually all the way thither; likewise five leagues before you come to it to the north-west, there is

certain broken ground, and two great rocks; within which in the bite of a bay, is a castle called Arra, belonging to the king of Portugal, easily known by the rocks that lie off it, there being none such from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Tres Puntas. This coast lies east by north, and west by south. from Cape de las Palmas to Arra, are ninty-five leagues; and the coast from that castle to the westernmost point of Tres Puntas, lies south-east by south, and north-west by north. This westernmost point is a low land, running out half a mile into the sea; also upon the innermost neck, to the landward, is a tuft of trees; and there they arrived on the 11th of January.

1541

more goods. They told him, they would go to a place rich in gold, where the *Primrose* had taken in a considerable quantity in the first voyage. He fearing a brigantine, that was then upon the coast, followed them, leaving the *Trinity* about four leagues behind. They rode before that town four days; so that Martin, by his own desire, and consent of some of the commissioners that were in the pinnace, went on shore; and John Berin went to trade at the town of Samma, already mentioned.

The ships brought home this time 400 pound weight and odd of gold, of 22 carrats and one grain in fineness; also thirty-five butts of grains (Guinea pepper) and about 250 elephants teeth of different sizes. They measured some of nine spans in length, as they were bent; others were as thick as a man's thigh, and weighed about 84 lb. weight a-piece.

The Nigritæ (or Negros) possess a great part of Africa, extending westward to the ocean, and southward to the river Nigritis (or Niger) which increases and diminishes at the same time with the Nile; and produces the same kind of animals, as crocodiles; for which reason, Eden takes it for that called by the Portuguese Senega. Those who made the voyage confirmed what is here reported of this last river, viz. That on one side the inhabitants are tall and black, and on the other side low of stature and tawny.

As to the manners and nature of the people on the Guinea coasts, their princes and noblemen pounce and raise their skins in different figures, like flowered damask; and although they go in a manner all naked, yet many of them, especially their women, are, as it were, laden with collars, bracelets, hooks and chains, either of gold, copper or ivory. I myself, (says my author) saw one of their ivory bracelets, weighing 38 ounces: it was made of one whole piece of the thickest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carved, with a hole in the midst, to let the hand through. Some wear one on each arm and leg, where-with they are often so gauled, as to become in a manner lame; yet they will by no means leave them off. Some wear also on their legs, great shackles of bright copper, which they think to be no less comely. They likewise make use of collars, bracelets, garlands and girdles of certain blue stones like beads. Some of their women wear on their bear arms, certain fore-sleeves, made of plates of beaten gold, and on their fingers rings of gold wire, with a knot or wreath, like that which children make in rush-rings.

Among other things of gold which the English had in exchange, were certain chains and collars for dogs. They were very wary in bargaining, and would not lose the least spark of gold. They have weights and measures, and are very circumspect in them. Whoever would deal with them must behave civilly; for they will not traffic if they are ill used. In the first voyage it happened, that one of the English sailors stole, or took away by force, a Musk or Civet cat from the place they first touched at, never imagining that a fraud committed in one place would hinder their trading in another. But although they made

what haste they could to the port they next designed for, yet the news of the injury got there before them, which so offended the inhabitants, that they would bring down no wares to the sea-side, till such time as the aggressors had either restored the cat, or payed for her at their own price.—Their houses are made of four posts or trees, and covered with boughs. Their common food is roots, and fish, whereof they have great plenty. Among the rest is the flying fish, like those in the West Indian seas. The English intended to lay in provision of their fish, but found they would not take salt; some say they must be eaten forth with; yet others affirm, that being salted immediately after they are taken, they will keep ten or twelve days.—But what is more strange, we are told part of the flesh they carried out of England, which putrified there, became sweet again at their return into the temperate climate. Their bread is made and baked in this manner; they grind with their hands between two stones, as much corn as they think may suffice the family; and having thus brought it to flour, make thereof very thin dough, which they stick upon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heat of the sun, and lies till they take it down to eat. They have very good wheat, the ear whereof is two handfuls in length, and as large as a great bulrush, being almost four inches about, where thickest. The stem or straw seems near as thick as a man's little finger; the wheat itself is round like pease, and very white, shining like pearls, that have lost their lustre. Almost the whole substance turns into flour, making little or no bran. Here were counted in one ear 260 grains. The ear is inclosed in three blades, each larger than itself, and two inches broad: and by this fertility, the sun seems in part to make amends for all the great inconveniences the natives incur from its intense heat. Their drink is either water, or the juice which drops from the cut branches of the barren date trees, called *Palmatos*; to receive which, they hang either great gourds on the said branches every evening, or else set them underneath the trees, that the drops may fall therein till morning. They say this liquor tastes like whey, but something more sweet and pleasant. They cut the branches in the evening, because they are closed by the heat in the day. They have also great beams as big as chestnuts, and very hard, with a shell instead of a husk.—When the English came home, they found the keels of their ships quite covered with certain shells, more than two inches in length, and wide enough to put one's thumb in. The author saw the *Primrose* in the dock covered with them, which, in his opinion, must have hindered her sailing. They affirm, that in these there grows certain slimy substances, which at length, slipping out into the sea, become those fowls which we call *Barnacles*. The like shells have been seen on ships returning from Ireland, but not more than half an inch in length. Their ships were also in several parts eaten with worms, which creep between the planks, and eat through in many places.

This was one of the earliest voyages of our countrymen to those parts.

VOYAGE TO THE COAST OF GUINEA BY WILLIAM TOWNSON.

ON Monday, the 13th of September, they left Newport Haven, in the Isle of Wight, with two good ships, the *Hart* and *Hind*, both of London. The masters were John Ralph and William Carter, being bound to the River de Seitos in Guinea, and other ports thereabouts. The wind was so

various, that it was the 14th of October, before they could reach the road of Dartmouth, where having continued six days, the 20th they warped out, and set sail, directing their course south-west, and next morning they had run, by estimation, thirty leagues. On the first of November they found themselves in 31 degrees

degrees of latitude, by the reckoning of their master, and ran this day about 40 leagues. On the 3d they had sight of Porto Santo, which is a small island in 38 deg. south lat. about three leagues long, and one and an half broad, possessed by the Portuguese. It appeared to them, coming from the north north-west, like two small hills near together. The east land is a high land, like a saddle, caused by a valley. The west end is lower, with certain small round hillocks. The same day at eleven, they saw the island of Madeira, 12 leagues from Porto Santo. Towards the south-west the land is fair and fruitful; it is inhabited by Portuguese. It appears at a considerable distance like great whole land, and high. By three o'clock in the afternoon, they were opposite Porto Santo, and bore south-west to leave Madeira to the east. About three in the morning they were within three leagues of the west end of Madeira, and, by means of the high hills there, were becalmed; having ran by computation, 30 leagues in the whole. The 6th in the morning, they raised the isle of Teneriffe, otherwise called the Pike, because it is a very high island, with a pike (or peak) on the top, like a sugar-loaf. The same night they saw Isle of Palma, which is high also, and to the west of Teneriffe.—The 7th they perceived the island of Gomera, which lies between Teneriffe and Palma, about 12 leagues eastward of the latter, and eight leagues to the westward of the former; but for fear of being becalmed by this, they left both isles to the east, and passed betwixt Palma and Gomera; having ran this day and night, 30 leagues.*

This day also they had sight of Ferro, which is 13 leagues to the southward of the other islands, and is possessed by the Spaniards. All this day and night, by reason of the wind, they could not double the point of Ferro, except they had gone to the westward of it, which would have been much out of their way; wherefore they tacked about, and ran back five hours, east north-east, to the end they might double it upon the next board, the wind continuing south-east, a thing that seldom happens upon that coast; for the wind blows there for the most part, north-east, and east north-east; so upon the other board, by next morning, they were in with the island, and had room enough to double the same. The 12th they saw a sail under their lee, which they took for a fisherman, and meant to have spoken with him; but an hour after there rose such a fog, that they could neither see the ship, nor yet one another; they shot off divers pieces to the Hind, but she heard them not. In the afternoon, they shot off a piece which the Hart heard, and answered with another. Half an hour after, the fog broke up; and they found themselves within four leagues of the Barbary shore, in 14 fathoms water: the bark also came and anchored with them, by reason of the contrary wind. When they fell in with the land, they could not justly tell what part it was, because of that coast being low land, one has nothing to judge by, but the shore itself, which is white like chalk or sand, and very deep to the strand. By the pilot's reckoning, they were 16 leagues to the east of the river del Oro. Here they immediately began to fish, and found great store of what the Portuguese commonly fish for upon that coast, which they called Pergosses, and the French Sadars; but the English, Salt-water Breems. During the fog, the ship which they followed steered such a course, that they could see her no more, by reason of the shooting off to find the Hind again. The 13th, in the afternoon, the Hart saw a sail making towards them, which they judged to be the sail they saw the day before. The captain ordered the Hind to weigh anchor, and sail up to her, and manned out the skiff, either to lay her aboard, or to discern what she was. The Hart also weighed in half an hour, but the vessel perceiving them, tacked about, and shortly after there fell such another fog, which continuing all night, they

were constrained to leave the chase. This afternoon the wind came about, and they bore south-west, to get clear of the coast. They ran that night sixteen leagues. The 14th in the morning was very foggy; but about 12 o'clock, they espied a caraval of 60 tons, fishing, and sent their skiffs to her with five men. The caraval, for haste, let slip her anchor, and set sail; which they seeing, pursued her, though without any weapons; and in the end, overtaking, made a prize of her, and brought her away, although there were 14 or fifteen men on board, all with arms, but they had not courage to resist. Being come to anchor near the Hart, the captain caused the skiff to come for him, and went on board to see that no harm should be done them, nor any thing taken but what they were willing to spare for money; so the English had of them three tapnets of figs, two small pots of oil, two pipes of water, four hogheads of salt-fish, which they had taken upon the coast, and certain fresh fish which they did not esteem, because there is such plenty upon that coast, that in an hour, and sometimes less, a man may take as much as will serve 20 for a day. For these things, and some wine, which was drank on board, and three or four great cans, which they had sent to the ships, the captain paid them 27 pistoles, which was twice as much as they would willingly have taken; and helped them to get up their anchor and cable which they had let slip. After this, they set sail, but the wind caused them to anchor again, about 12 leagues off the river del Oro. There were five caravals more in this place; but on sight of the fleet they all made off.

On the 12th of December they had sight of the coast of Guinea, which as soon as they saw, they hauled into the land, north-east, and about twelve o'clock at night, came within less than two leagues of the shore, then tacked about, and found eighteen fathoms water. Afterwards they saw a light towards the shore, which they took for a ship, and thereby judging it to be the river de Sestos, forthwith cast anchor, armed their tops, and made all things ready to fight, not knowing but it might be some Portuguese or Frenchmen; but in the morning, seeing no vessel, they judged the light came from shore. About two English miles from them, they spied four rocks, one great, and three small. Then they proceeded east south-east along the shore, because the master did not know well the place, though they were not so far east as the river of Sestos. All this land is low, and full of very high trees along the shore; so that it is not possible to know whereabouts one is, except by the latitude. In these 24 hours, they ran 16 leagues; for all the night they had a great gale, with much thunder and lightning. The 13th, for the most part, they ran east south-east, two leagues from the coast, and found the land full of woods, and great rocks close to the shore, against which the sea beat violently, the waves breaking as white as snow, and mounting so high, that they might easily be discerned four leagues off, in such a manner, that no boat could land there. At noon they took the altitude of the sun, and judged themselves to be 24 leagues to the east of the river de Sestos; therefore they stood towards land, and anchored within two miles of shore, in 15 fathoms water, where the sea was so smooth that they might have rid by a hawser. That afternoon they trimmed the boat, that they might go along by the shore to seek some place to water in, for they could not turn back again to the river de Sestos, because both wind and current is always contrary, the latter running continually eastward. The 14th, they went back again along the coast, and about noon, the boats found a watering-place. Being far out at sea, they met with divers boats of the country, small, long, and narrow, with only one man in each, to whom they gave bread, which they were very glad of. About four o'clock, their boats came to them with fresh water, and this night they anchored against a river. The 15th, they weighed, and set sail to go near the shore. They founded all the way, and found

* These islands are sixty leagues from Madeira.

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sometimes rocks, sometimes fair ground; and never less than seven fathom water. Within a mile of shore, they met with seven fathoms and a half; and there anchored in a manner before the mouth of the river: it is called St. Vincent in the charts; and about a mile up it the boats found very good water. This river lies in four degrees and a half, and is by estimation, eight leagues beyond the Sestos: but it is so hard to find, that a boat shall not discern it at half a mile distance, because the entrance is quite hidden by a ledge of rocks; which being much broader than the river, a boat must run in a good day betwixt the rocks and the shore, before it comes at the mouth. But the river itself is very large, and divers others fall into it; however the entrance is somewhat inconvenient, because the sea runs pretty high; but being once within, it is calm as the Thames. This shore is inhabited near the sea, by a very large kind of people, who go all naked; except a clout to cover their nakedness, about a quarter of a yard long, made of the bark of trees, which will spin small, after the manner of linen; some wear the like upon their heads, painted with various colours; but for the most part they go bare headed, their hair being clipped, and shaved in various manners, most of them have their skin raised with divers works, in manner of a leather jerkin; both sexes go alike, so that the women cannot be known from the men, but by the breasts, which are generally very ugly and long.

The same morning they went into the river with the skiff, and carried basons, manillos, &c. and took that day, one hoghead, and one hundred weight of grains, and two elephant's teeth, at a reasonable rate. They were fond of basons, for each of which, they had about thirty pounds weight of grains; and for an elephant's tooth of thirty pounds weight, they gave the negroes, six basons.

In the morning of the 16th, they carried some of every sort of merchandize; but the natives made light of them, as well as of the wares they were so fond of the day before; offering for basons what could not be taken; so that this day they bought not above one hundred pound weight of grains, by means of the negro's captain, who would suffer none to sell any thing but through his hands, at his price. He was so subtil; that for a bason he would not give fifteen pounds weight of grains, and sometimes would offer small dish-fulls, whereas before they had basket's full. When he found the English would not take such quantities, he departed with all the boats; thinking that they would have followed them and complied with their terms: but perceiving their drift, they weighed, and went away.

Afterwards, going to land to see the country, three-score of them came about the English, of whom at first they were afraid; but at length, finding no harm was done them, grew familiar, and would come and take them by the hand. On the other side those who landed, went into their towns; which consisted of about twenty small hovels covered with green leaves and baggage, the sides all open, and a scaffold underneath the house, about a yard high, where they lie and work many pretty things out of the barks of trees; they also forge handsome darts, and various instruments of iron to make their boats, besides other utensils; the women labouring as well as the men. Many of the women to divert their visitants, danced and sung after their manner, which was not very agreeable to the ear. Their song was fakere, fakere, ho, ho, fakere, fakere, ho, ho; leaping and clapping their hands all the while. They saw no cattle or other animals among them; except two goats, some little dogs, and small hens. After gratifying their curiosity, they returned on board: when the captain of the first boat, with a basket of grains, by signs invited them to come again when they had slept, into the river, promising plenty of the commodity, a sample of which, they shewed the English. On the 17th, in the morning,

Mr. Towerfon sent the master on shore with the rest of the merchants. When they got into the river, the captain, with others came and brought grains. Not seeing Towerfon there, he made signs to know where he was, and being answered, that he was on ship-board, he asked who was the diago or captain, for so they call theirs, and they pointed to the master of the ship. Then he began to shew his grains, but held them so dear, and at the same time had so small a quantity, that they took but fifty pound weight of them, and came away. Then going ashore at the little town, where they were the day before, one of the company plucked a gourd; which so offended the negroes, that many of them came with their darts and great targets, and made signs to them to depart; which they did, having but one bow, and two or three swords. As soon as they got on board, the ships set sail; but as the wind hung off the sea, they could not get clear of certain rocks, and therefore cast anchor again.

This country, as far as they could perceive, was quite covered with trees, different from those of Europe, and of many sorts, with many leaves like the dock, taller than any man is able to reach.—There are certain pease by the sea-side, having very great and tall stalks; one of which the captain measured, and found twenty-seven paces long; they grew upon the sand like trees, and so near the sea, that sometimes it flows into the woods, as they might perceive by the water-marks: in this place the trees and all other vegetables are continually green; likewise the wind blows all day off the sea, and all night off the land, which the master wondered at; but it varied sometimes.—This night, at nine o'clock, the wind springing up at east, (which ordinarily about that time blew north-north-west from the shore) they weighed, and hauled off; but the next morning hauled in again to land, and each ship took in six tons of water.—Mr. Towerfon could not perceive that there was gold here, or any thing else of value; the people being so wild and idle, that they minded nothing. They might gather plenty of grains if they would take pains; but he could not perceive two towns in the whole place. There were some fowls in the country, but the people would not be at the trouble to catch them.

On the 18th, towards night, as they were sailing along the coast, they met with certain boats, which informed them, that in a river opposite to them, there were grains to be sold: but they would not go thither, lest the Hind should get before them. This river has lying before it, three great and five small rocks; and on its bank, stand a great and little tree. They hauled this night, along the coast ten leagues.—On the 20th, the Hind having anchored by them among the rocks, and in foul ground, lost a small anchor. At noon, as they passed along, there came a negro, making signs, that if they would go ashore they should have grains. Where they anchored at night, there came others with grains, which they shewed them, and made signs that they should stay. In the night also, they lighted a fire upon land, to direct them where to put ashore; the like was done in divers other places upon the coast, where the natives saw them anchor.—On the 22d, they ran all day and night to double the point Des Palmas, in the whole, sixteen leagues. On the 23d, about three o'clock, they were thwart of the point; and, before they passed the westernmost part of it, saw a great ledge of rocks, which lie about three leagues west of it, and one or more from land. Soon after they had sight of the easternmost part of the Cape, which lies four leagues from the westernmost part; and upon the very corner whereof lie two green plats like pastures; likewise to the west of the cape, the land parts from it, as it were a bay, whereby it may be easily known; four leagues beyond there appears a head-land; and about two leagues farther, the coast forms a great bay, like the mouth of a river; before which they cast anchor, and staid all night for fear they should

Cape Des
Palmas.Manner of
traffic.

over-run a river where the last year they had all their elephants teeth.

Being under sail on the 24th, about eight o'clock, there came certain boats, bringing small eggs, which were soft without shells; and they made them signs, that within land there was fresh water, and goats. The master thinking it was the river which they sought, cast anchor, and sent the boat ashore, with one that knew the river, finding it was not the same, the boat came back, and with oars and sail, went along shore. The *Hart* weighing; did the like, and being thirteen leagues beyond the Cape, the master thought he saw the river, when indeed they were two miles past it; yet the boat came from shore, and those in her said there was no river. Notwithstanding, they cast anchor, and the master going into the boat with the captain and five men, went upon the search, and when they came near the shore, he perceived it was the river they sought for. They found the entrance very difficult, the sea running high. But as soon as they had entered, several boats came and shewed that they had elephants teeth, whereof they bought one of about eight pounds weight, and a little one of one pound. Then the negroes brought more teeth to the river-side; making signs, that if they would come next day, they might have more. They gave two of their captains a manillo each, and returning aboard, sent the *Hind's* boat to another place, where certain boats that came from shore made signs that there was fresh water, when they got to land, they found a town but no river; yet the people brought them fresh water, and shewed them an elephant's tooth, making them signs, that the next day they would sell them teeth enough.

In this place, and three or four leagues to the westward, there grows palm-trees along the shore, from which they make their palm wine. These trees may be easily discovered almost two leagues off, being very high, white and strait; the biggest standing in the middle. They have no boughs, but only a round bush at top, where they bore a hole, and hang a bottle to receive the juice which runs out of the hole, and that is their wine.—The language of this place, as far as Mr. Towerfon could perceive, differs not much from the language of that where they watered before; but the people were more civilized and comely. As to the building and apparel of one and the other, there was no difference. Here they were fondest of manillos and margarites; having no esteem for the rest of the things. About nine o'clock, there came boats from both places with elephants teeth; and after they had made Mr. Towerfon swear by the water of the sea, that he would not hurt them, three or four ventured into the ship. Such victuals as were on board being set before them, they eat and drank very heartily: afterwards the English bought all their teeth, which were fourteen, ten of which were small. At their going away, they made signs for them to come to the town next day.—As the towns lay three miles asunder, on the 26th, to avoid losing time, Mr. Towerfon dispatched the master and two merchants, to one of them, and went himself, with a merchant to the other; carrying some of every sort of goods, and bought twenty small teeth, at both places. In their absence, the master of the *Hind* had twelve elephants teeth on board, in exchange for manillos; and this was all their stock, except a small goat at one place, and five little hens at the other, which they bought also; and then returning on board, by one o'clock set sail, and went eighteen leagues, still within sight of land.—On the 28th, the wind varying, they stood out to sea; then changing again, they returned towards land, which appeared like a red cliff, round, but not very high, and east of that a smaller, behind which was a round hummock, and green, which they took to be trees. They ran not above four leagues in twenty-four hours.—On the 29th, drawing near shore, they perceived a large grove of trees on the top of the great red cliff; and cliffs of the same colour to the

west of it, as far as they could see, which, as well as the shore, were covered with trees. They could see no cliffs to the east; except one near it, and a mile off a river. This day and night's run was twelve leagues.

Thus proceeding, on the third of January in the morning, they fell in with Cape Tres Puntas, and in the night (as the pilots said) passed by one of the Portuguese castles, eight leagues to the west. The Cape when first seen appeared very high land, grown over with trees. Coming near it, they perceived two head-lands, with two bays between; directly facing the west of the three capes. The middle Cape is not above one league distant from the western, although the charts make it three leagues. Right before the middle Cape lies a small rock, so near that it cannot be distinguished from it, unless one lie near the shore. This cape has a great heap of trees upon it, and being viewed from the eastward, there rises near by it, a round green hummock. The third Cape about a league beyond the middlemost is a high land, like to the other two, and betwixt them comes out a little point of land, with several rocks close to the shore. This day they anchored for fear of overshooting a town called St. John's, and ran not above eight leagues. In the afternoon there came a boat from shore, with five men in her; and went along by them, as they thought, to observe the flags: but they would not come near them, and after a while went back.—On the 4th, in the morning, they saw a ledge of rocks by the shore; and to the west, two great green hills joining together, with a hollow between, like a saddle. The master judged that the afore-named town stood within those rocks; but having sent the boats with goods, they found none.—About two leagues east of the two hills, a ledge of rocks lie out in the sea, almost two miles, and beyond that a great bay, which runs in north-north-east, as the coast doth; but the farthest point of land they could see, bore north-east-by-east. Beyond the uttermost head-land they saw a great red cliff, which the master taking for St. John's town, went thither with the boat, and found a town on the top of the hill; from whence the people waved a cloth for him to come in, there being a fine bay to the east of the cliff; after waiting some time, they sent a boat, with a piece of gold to shew, about half a crown weight; and required to know the measure and weight the English used, that they might inform their captain. Having given them a measure of two ells, and a weight of two angels, they went away, and presently came with a measure of two ells one quarter and a half, and one crusado weight of gold; making signs that so much they would give for the like measure, and less they would not have. Finding after an hours waiting, that they could do otherwise, and understanding withal, that the best places were before them; they departed and ran along the shore, the boat going a-head, and having sailed about a league, passed a point with a ledge of rocks before it; beyond which the master spied a place, which he said positively was the town of Don John, and so it proved. Night coming on they anchored as near it as they could. Next morning they perceived it to be the same town, and manned the boats and went thither, letting fall their grapnel a little way from shore. Here they waited two hours, and no boats came near them; for it seems the year before, the Portuguese took a man from them, and then drove them from the place, with their guns demolishing one half of their town. The *Hind's* boat went into the bay, which lieth to the east of it, and found a fine river. After this, the people waved to them to come in; which done, the negroes came down, and made them signs that they had gold. But none would venture on board the boats, probably because they had none of their own, which the Portuguese might have spoiled. For the English being well armed thrust the boats heads ashore; and then the captain, who was a grave man, came with his dart

in

1555 in his hand, followed by six tall men with darts and targets: the darts were all of iron, handsome and well pointed. After them came another carrying the captain's stool. The English having saluted him, by taking off their caps, and bowing, he, like one who thought much of himself, did not move his cap, and hardly his body, but sat him down very solemnly upon his stool. As to his attendants, they put off their caps and bowed. He was clothed, from his waist downwards, with a cloth of that country's manufacture wrapped about him, and made fast with a girdle. His cap was also of that country's cloth: he went bare-legged and barefooted, as well as naked upwards. Some of his servants were dressed like himself, others had nothing but a cloth between their legs, made fast behind and before to their girdles, with caps of skins, some like a basket, and some like a wide purse.

The chief.
His state and habit.

Their cloth, cords, and fishing lines, are made of the bark of certain trees, which they manufacture very neatly. They likewise work gold very well, and make curious implements of iron, as darts, fish, and other hooks, with iron heads, and large two-edged daggers, some of them as long as a wood knife, exceeding sharp, and bent, after the manner of Turkey blades, which most of them have hanging at their left sides. Their targets are also made of bark, and very close wrought; they are besides very large, and as to form, square, somewhat longer than broad; so that kneeling down, they cover their whole body.— Their bows are short, and pretty strong, it being as much as a man can do to draw them tight;— the string is of bark, and flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad.

Mr. Towerfon sent the captain two ells of cloth, and two basons, as a present. He sent back for a weight answering the same measure, but would not take a weight of two angels, nor suffer the town to buy any thing but the brass basons, not liking the other wares; so that they sold that morning 74 basons for about half an angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons for a quarter of an angel each.—About two o'clock the captain came again, and presented Mr. Towerfon with a hen, and two great roots; letting him know, by signs, that the country people would come to his town that night, and bring plenty of gold. Accordingly, at four o'clock there came about 100 men, under three captains, well appointed with their darts and bows. When they drew near, they stuck their darts in the ground by the shore, and the captains having sat down on stools brought them, they sent a young man on board, who brought a measure with him of an ell, one quarter and one sixteenth part, insisting on having four times that quantity for a weight of an angel and twelve grains. Mr. Towerfon offered him two ells for two angels weight, and at last, when it grew late, he came down to four; but falling no lower, they departed. This day they took for basons, six ounces and a half, and one eighth part. The sixth in the morning, they manned the boat and the skiff well, for fear of the Portuguese, who, the last year, had taken a man from the other ships, and went on shore, because the negros had no boats to meet the English. They were presently accosted by the same young man, who seemed to have dealt before with the Portuguese, for he could speak that language a little, and was perfect in weights and measures. He offered, as he had done before, one angel and 12 grains for four ells, making signs; that if they would not take that, they might depart; which they did, offering him three ells of rotten cloth for that weight, which he refused. The ships being a league off, they sent back again for sand and ballast.

The captain perceiving that the boats brought no merchandise, and that their intention was to sail away in earnest, made signs again to know if they would not give the four ells; and when they saw the boats ready to depart, they came and gave the weight of the angel and 12 grains, which was required before; and made signs, that if the boats would come again, they

would take three ells. For quicker dispatch, Mr. Towerfon, and John Savill, went on shore in one boat, and the master, (John Makeworth) and Richard Curligin in the other; the first took 52 ounces, and the other boat eight ounces and a quarter. Next day Mr. Towerfon went on shore again, and took three pounds 19 ounces by noon, when they had sold most of the cloth they carried, and many of the people were departed. Those who remained, having made signs to fetch them some earthen basons, Savill and Makeworth went again, and took 18 ounces of gold, and then came away, seeing the people departed at a certain cry that was made. While they were on shore, there came on board a young fellow, who could speak a little Portuguese, with three more, to whom Mr. Towerfon sold 39 basons, and two small white saucers for three ounces, &c. which was the most they made by basons. And in the afternoon, the master sold five basons to the same fellow for half an ounce of gold. This fellow seemed to have been taken by the Portuguese, and escaped from the castle; for he said they were bad men, and made them slaves if they could take them, putting irons on their legs. He told them also, that they would hang all the French and English they could take, (which names he pronounced very well;) that there were 60 men in the castle, and that every year a great ship, and a small caraval arrived thither, and that Don John was at war with the Portuguese. This encouraged Mr. Towerfon the more to go to his town, which lies but four leagues from the castle, whence their men were beaten the last year. This Negro came on board the ship without fear, and demanded, why they had not brought back the five men who were taken the year before? He answered, that they were in England, well used, and kept only till they could speak the language; after which, they should be brought again to assist the English in their affairs here. He then spoke no more of the matter.—The boats being come on board, they set sail, and a little after, observed a great fire on land, by the light whereof, they might discern something white, which they took for the castle. And for fear of passing beyond the town of Don John, they anchored two leagues off shore; for it is hard to reach a town here if a ship once overshoots it. This day they took seven pounds and five ounces of gold. The town lieth in a great and very deep bay. The people here desired most to have basons and cloth; some, however, would buy trifles, such as knives, horns; and some of the men going on shore, sold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed Mr. Towerfon a certain coarse cloth, which seemed to be made in France;—the wool was coarse, and the thread small as worsted, and striped with green, white and yellow. Several of the people wore large glass beads about their necks.

In the morning of the 8th, the English saw the castle, but not till they were at Don John's town, on account of a mist which obscured their view. Hauling in shore, they anchored here in seven fathoms. In some places the land appeared low, in others high, and covered with verdure. The town was but small, consisting of about 20 houses, mostly encompassed with a wall about six feet high, made of reeds or sedges. After waiting for some time, they sent their boat on shore, and was informed that Don John, who was gone up the country, would return at sun-set. The person who gave this information, received an ell of cloth for his reward.

A traffic was now began with the natives, though Don John did not return at the expected time. Going on shore again there came out a boat, with a quantity of gold, and after long chaffering, the measure of cloth to be sold was fixed at three ells wanting a nail, and their weight at an angel and 20 grains; after which he took a pound and a quarter of an ounce of gold, in the space of a quarter of an hour.

The natives having made signs that he should stay till they had parted their cloth, when they would return; but receiving a message from the town while they

they were thus employed, they waved their hands to the English, signifying, that they wished them to land at the same time that they fled to the woods with their merchandise. This conduct naturally creating some suspicion, the crew went on board the Hind again, some Portuguese having shewn themselves upon an adjacent hill.

In the mean time, Mr. Towerfon being curious to know what the Hind done, went towards her in the Hind's boat; and when he was near her, two pieces of cannon were fired, and he soon saw the boat and skiff hurrying from the shore. Being come on board, he was told what had happened, and that the goods had been delivered to Don John and his sons; while they waited for his answer, the Portuguese had rushed upon them from the hill, which was the occasion of firing their ordnance. This circumstance obliged them to sail along the coast, after having exchanged some shot with the enemy.

On the night of the 11th, twenty-two boats were perceived running along shore; on which account they set sail on the 12th, and saw several towns, many people from which came out, to take a view of them; but no boats appeared. About four miles from the easternmost of these, some negros came out upon the rocks, waving a white flag, but the English would not stay, conceiving themselves to be near the principal place where (having weathered a point of land) they anchored in five fathoms water, about half a mile from the shore.

They sent out their boat about ten in the forenoon; but none of the natives would come near them, a circumstance which they judged to be occasioned by four men having been forcibly carried off from that part of the coast the year before. Towards night, however, a great number of people came to the water-side, waving a white flag, and their captain came and sat down under a tree, in sight of the ship. It was not, however, without some difficulty that any of them were prevailed on to come on board, by offering them a present for the chief, whom they called their Grand Captain.

The English went on shore on the 13th, but having staid till ten o'clock without being met by any body, they made preparations for returning; but the negros observing their motions, came down in haste with a flag, to induce their guests to stay, making signs that their captain would come presently. During this time a small vessel passed by, which was little noticed by the English, the natives still signifying that their chief would come, and that a free traffic should be established. And soon after, a man clothed like their captain, appeared, saluted the adventurers in a friendly manner. Then one of the chief among them went and seated himself under a tree. But a number of these people were presently discovered in a hollow way, and behind them the Portuguese had planted a gun which was suddenly fired at them, but over-shot the mark.

Having met with the Hind on the 14th in the morning, both vessels turned eastward, and went where the Trinity had been the year before. The master took the Hind, while Mr. Towerfon remained to try what could be done farther.

As soon as the negros saw one ship depart, they expected the other would follow; in order to prevent which, a boat was sent with four people, who desired the English would deliver one man into their hands, offering two pledges for his security. Accordingly a servant went, and two of the natives were sent on board in his room. Notwithstanding this friendly intercourse, three guns were fired at the English,

which, as it appeared, were discharged by a Portuguese brigantine.

The captain came down the next morning with 100 men; and he and several others brought their wives down to the shore. Here the English continued trafficking for gold; and on the 23d some other negros made signs that they would deal with them. To these they sold bells, sheets and thimbles, and received above two pounds of gold in exchange. The 25th they disposed of seven dozen of small bells, and other things; after which there being no more gold to be had, they departed to leeward, to seek the Hind. About five o'clock they had sight of her, and coming up, understood she had made some sales. Next day they received out of the Hind, 48 pounds three ounces of gold, which she had taken in their absence; and at the request of a negro, who came from the captain, they went to shore with their merchandise, and took seven pounds and one ounce. At this place the negros required no gages, but in the evening sent a boat on board which continued all night, to let the merchants know, that they would also come the next day. The 27th they took in both ships eight pounds one ounce, three quarters and an half of gold. The 28th the sale was made for the company, and one pound and half an ounce of gold was taken. The next morning, two guns were heard from shore, which they judged to be shot off either by the Portuguese, or their negros, they manned out their boat armed, and went to land; but they were gone. The 13th they made more sales for the company, and the master next day sent the boats to take in ballast, they met with the negros who had dealt with the ships the day before: they were fishing, and having no gold, exchanged fish for handkerchiefs, helping the men to load the sand into the bargain.— On the first of February, removing to another place, they took one pound nine ounces, and three quarters of gold. The 2d they made more sales; but finding most of their fare was very indifferent, they resolved to stay no longer on that coast. The 3d and 4th they made some sales, though not great, and finding the wind to come off shore, ran along it westwards. Upon this coast they found, that ordinarily, about two o'clock in the morning, the wind comes off the shore, at north north-east, and continues till eight in the morning, and all the rest of the day, and at night it blows from the south-west. As for the tide or current, upon this shore, it goes continually with the wind. On the 5th they continued sailing, and thought to have met with some English ships, but did not. Next day they steered south-west, to form under the land, and ran 24 leagues. The 13th they thought themselves, by their reckoning, to be clear of Cape das Palmas, and ran 12 leagues. Continuing their course, the 29th they found themselves in 22 degrees. This day William King, one of the Hart's men, who had been long sick, died in his sleep. His cloaths were distributed to those that wanted them, and his money kept to be delivered to his friends in England. On the 30th they were under the tropic; and next day made eighteen leagues, sailing on till the 20th of April, they then found themselves in the latitude of the Azores. The 7th of May, they fell in with the southern part of Ireland; and going on shore, had fresh drink, and two sheep of the country people, who were wild Kernes, with such other victuals as they judged would serve them till they arrived in England, for which they gave them gold. On the 14th, with the afternoon's tide, they cast anchor in the port of Bristol called King-road.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF MR. TOWERSON TO THE COAST OF GUINEA.

THE ships employed in this voyage, were, the Tyger of London, Admiral, of 120 tons, Mr. Towerfon commander; the Hart, of London, 60 tons, John Skire, captain; and a Pinnace of 16 tons, John Davis, captain. They carried back with them the negros which had been brought by force from Guinea two years before, as mentioned in the former voyage. On the 14th of September, 1556, the Tyger departed from Harwich for the Isle of Scilly, to meet the Hart and pinnace, which were rigged and victualled at Bristol; she arrived there the 28th, but they were not come; and after waiting for them several days, returned to Plymouth the 12th of October. At length they joined her, and the 15th of November all departed together from Plymouth at one o'clock in the afternoon. On the 28th, they had sight of the isle of Porto Santo; and next day, in the morning, of Madeira. On the 3d of December, they fell in with the Isle of Palma, and the 9th were thwart of Cape Blanco, and found there certain caravals employed in fishing. On the 19th, they found themselves in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day ran thwart of certain currents, which set west-south-west, so swift as if it had been the overfall of a sand; making a great noise like a stream or flood-gate, when the water is shoal; yet they could find no ground with 150 fathoms. On the 30th, they fell in with the Coast of Guinea, which they discovered about four leagues off. The view consisted of three hills, which lay north-east-by-east from them; and betwixt the two northermost, were two great trees: and a little more to the north-west certain hummocks.—Having sailed somewhat into shore, they judged they were shot a little beyond the river De Sestos, and looked about to fetch it. A little after they saw three sail of ships, and two pinnaces in the weather of them, and made ready to meet them, hauling off the ships to gain the wind as near as they could. “Having sailed about an hour or two, they also tacked about, and went the same course to make themselves ready; then the English chacing them, they made off: but when they had put themselves in order, they tacked about again, and came up very finely appointed with their streamers, pendants, ensigns, and the noise of trumpets, very bravely.—When both fleets met, they had the weather of ours, which being determined to fight, waved them to come under their lee. This they stoutly refusing, the English demanded of them whence they were? they said of France; and being told our ships were of London, they asked what Portuguese ships we had seen? The answer was none but fishermen. They said, there were certain Portuguese ships gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the river Sestos, of 200 tons, which they had burned, having saved none but the master, two or three negros, and a few others, grievously burned, whom they left on shore there. The names of the ships were, the Espoier, of Hableneff, Admiral, Denis Blundell, Captain; the Louriere, of Roan, Vice Admiral, Jerome Baudet, Master; the third was of Honneur; the Master called John de Orleans. The captain of the admiral, and several others, came on board our ships in a friendly manner; desiring we would keep them company, because of the Portuguese, and to go to the Mina with them. The English told them, they had not watered, and were just fallen with the coast. They made it appear, that they were fifty leagues beyond the river De Sestos; yet said, there was water enough to be had,

and promised to help them to it with their own boats, because they were desirous to have their company. They declared farther, that they had been six weeks upon the coast, and had gotten but three tons of grains among them all. The English weighed this proposal: they considered that if the Mina coast was clear, the French would spoil their market, in case they went there before them; and that, if it was not clear, and the Portuguese should take them, they would understand that they were behind, and so lie in wait for them. They farther considered that in case they went with them, they should fare as their own companions, if the coast was clear; and that if it were not clear, they would be sure to be stronger than the Portuguese. Upon these considerations, the English told them, that the next day they would confer more largely of the matter. Whereupon they desired Mr. Towerfon to come next day to dinner with them, and to bring with him the masters of the ships and such merchants as he should think fit; offering to give them water out of their own ships.”

On the 31st, in the morning, the admiral having sent his boats on board the Tyger, Mr. Towerfon took the masters with some of the merchants, and went to him. He had provided a good banquet, and treated them very friendly. He renewed his request to keep him company, promising them half of the victuals, or whatever else they fancied on board his ships throughout the voyage; and offering even to furl his flags, and be at their command in every thing. In the end, they agreed to come to an anchor with one of his pinnaces, and an almaide, which they had brought out of France to seek water. As for their own pinnace, she anchored out at sea, and would not come near them.

The boats returned on the first of January, without finding any river. On which they set sail, and came at length to a river; going into which next day, they bargained and took five small elephants teeth. On the 3d, they took five more. On the 4th, the French admiral and they, took fifteen small teeth. This day they went to seek elephants, with thirty men well-armed, with harquebusses, pikes, long-bows, cross-bows, partizans, long swords, and bucklers.—They found two, which they hit several times with harquebusses and long-bows, but they went away, and hurt one of the men. On the 5th, they set sail, and ran along the coast. The 6th, they fell in with the River de San Andre; to the west of which there is a high land, and a fair bay. Next day they went in and found no village, but wild negroes, not accustomed to trade. It is a very great river, and is seven fathoms deep in some places at the entrance; having taken in water, they set sail. On the 8th, they proceeded along shore, and came to the red cliffs, and went forward next day also. On the 10th, they conferred with Captain Blundell, admiral of the French ships; Jerome Baudet, his vice-admiral; John de Orleans, master of a ship of seventy tons; and their merchants. It was agreed, that to whatever place they came, they should be of one mind, and not hurt each others market; to which end, some of their boats should settle the price for all, and then one boat make sail for each ship. This night their boats going to shore, met with certain negros, who said that they had gold, and therefore they would cast anchor.—On the 11th, they took but one half angel weight of four grains, all the day, which they dealt for by hand; for the people of this place, called Allow, had no weights. Allow.

On

Castle del Mina, and Dondou.

On the 12th, running along the coast, they found only one town; but no boats would come out of it, and therefore they went on. On the 13th, Mr. Towerfon went along the coast in his boat, and passing by several small towns, was waved to land at three places; but the sea beat so high upon the shore, that it was not possible, neither could the negros have come to him, if they had had boats, for he could see none but at one place. There a boat ventured out, but was over-set by the violence of the surf, and one of the men drowned; for which misfortune the people made such loud lamentations, that the English could easily hear them. They got his body out of the sea, and carried it to their town. On the 14th, they came within gun-shot of the castle, from whence an almaide was immediately sent out to observe them; and perceiving they were not Portuguese, ran back to the town again; for there is a great town by the castle, called by the negros Dondou. Without this there lies two great rocks like islands, and the castle stands upon a point, which appears almost like an island. Five or six leagues, before they came to the castle, the land was high; and low for about seven leagues before they came to it, and then they found the land high again. This castle stands above five leagues to the east of Cape Tres Puntas. Here Mr. Towerfon went in the boat with his negros, and ran along the shore, as far as the cape, and found two small towns, but no boat at them, nor any traffic to be had. Here his negroes understood the people well; one of them called George went ashore at all the places, and was well received. Next day he went along the shore, and about three leagues beyond the easternmost part of the cape, ran into a good bay, and found a small town and some boats belonging to it; but the natives for a long time would not come out. At last, by the persuasion of his negros, one boat came, with which he sent George ashore; and after he had talked to them, they approached the boats without fear. He gave their captain a bason, and two strings of margarrets; and they shewed him about five ducats weight of gold, but required so much for it, that he would not take it: because the French and English had agreed to settle the price of goods all in one boat; after which, every man was to sell in his own boat. This place is called Bulle: and here the inhabitants were very glad to see the negros that came with him; and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they found they were the men, who had been taken away, and were now brought back again. Here the boats were informed, that a month before two ships attacked one, and put it to flight, and that a little before one French ship, being met by four Portuguese made them shear off. This they took to be the Row-barge; for the French, who were in company, judged her to have been there about that time, with her pinnace. They said also, that after her, went first a ship of 240 tons, called the Shaudit; and then another of eighty, both bound for the Mina; and that they had lost one at Cape Verde, called the Louriere of Diepoe, and another at the River de Sestos.—On the 16th, Mr. Towerfon went along the shore, with two of the French pinnaces, and found a bay and river; after which they went to the town called Hanta, twelve leagues beyond the Cape. Here his negros were well known, the people weeping for joy when they saw them, and asked where Antony and Binne were: the others told them they were at London in England, and should be brought home the next voyage. After this, the native negros came aboard with them, and brought a weight which was so small, that they could not give them half their demands. They informed the boats, that there were five ships at the castle, and one pinnace; that the Portuguese did much harm to their country, and that they lived in fear of them: but were very glad when the English told them, that they would defend them from those disturbers. On the 17th, they went on shore along with the French, but did no great

good, the negros were so unreasonable. Then departing, they came to Shamma, (two leagues beyond) and went into the river with five boats well appointed with men and ordnance; under sound of trumpets and drums; for they thought here to have found some Portuguese, but did not. After sending their negros on shore, several of them followed, and were very well received: the natives were overjoyed to see their country-men again, especially a brother's wife of one, and an aunt of another. In short, all the people shewed as much fondness for them as if they had been their own brethren. The English comforted the captain, and told him, they need not fear the Portuguese, for they would defend him from them: hereupon they ordered their boats to shoot off their bafes and harquebusses. They likewise caused their men to land with their long bows, and shoot before the captain and his people; who were much surprised, especially to see them shoot so far as they did, and tried to draw their bow, but could not. When it grew late, they departed to their ships, for they looked every hour for the Portuguese. Here the negros gave them to understand, that there was an English ship at the Mina, which had brought one of the negros again, whom Robert Gainsh took away. On the 18th, they went into the river with no less strength than before; and concluded with the negros to give them for every fuffe, two yards and three nails of cloth, and to take for it one angel and a ducat; they took in all seventy ducats, of which the French had forty, and the English thirty. On the 19th, they went ashore, every man for himself, and took a good quantity of gold; Mr. Towerfon for his own part, took four pound two ounces and a half of gold; and the Hart's boat twenty-one ounces. At night the negros gave them to understand, that the next day the Portuguese would be with them by land or sea; and when the boats were ready to depart, they heard harquebusses shoot off in the woods, which they knew to be the Portuguese, who did it to frighten them, and make them give over their traffic, but durst not venture nearer themselves. On the 20th, the English manned their five boats, and a great boat of the French, with their and the admiral's men. Twelve of them had on their corslets, and the rest were all well armed; there were also four trumpets, a drum, and a fife, and the boats were adorned with silk streamers and pendants. In this order they went into the river and trafficked; their men of war lying off and on in the river to waft them; but they heard no more of the Portuguese. This day the negros told them that some ships were arrived at Hanta.

Trade for gold

On the 21st the English manned their boats, and went to a place a league to the westward, and there found many negros with another captain, and sold at the same rate they had dealt with the others. The 22d they went on shore again, and trafficked quietly; Mr. Towerfon taking four pounds six ounces of gold. On the 23d, about night, the negros, with their captain, came and told them, that the king of Portugal's ships had sailed from the castle, with a design the next day to ply up to the windward, and come to them, warning them to be on their guard. They told them, that they were very glad of their coming, and would be ready at all times to meet them. To let them see they were serious, they sounded their trumpets, and shot off some guns, at which the negros rejoiced, and intreated them to fall on the Portuguese without mercy, if they offered to hinder their traffic, promising, if they came by land to give them notice. On the 24th they went on shore with their trumpets and drums, and trafficked; the captain of the town that day dining with Mr. Towerfon. The next day, while their boats were on shore, the ship descried five sail of the Portuguese; and having shot of their ordnance to call them away, they threw every man his cask on shore for water, and returned: but by that time they had weighed and given out orders, it was dark. They set sail, and lay close all night to

get

anta town.

1556

get the wind if they could, and make themselves ready for the fight. The Tyger coming near some of them, one shot off a gun, which they judged to be the Portuguese admiral, for the rest of his fleet to come up and speak with him. The 26th, the English ships coming in with the shore, had sight of the Portuguese, where they rid at anchor, and bore with them. They gave all their men white scarfs, that the French might distinguish one from the other, if it came to boarding; however, night coming on they could not fetch them; but they continued within a demi culverin shot of them. "The 27th they weighed, as did the Portuguese, and about seven o'clock, (says our author) got the wind of them, which, when the enemy perceived, they tacked about to shore again, and our ships after them. When they were so near the shore, that they could not well run any farther that way, they tacked about again, and lay to the leeward. Our ships tacked at the same time, being a-head of them, took in their topsails, and waited for them. The first that came up was a small bark, which carried good ordnance, and sailed so well, that she valued nobody. She shot at the Tyger, but overshot her, and then let fly at the admiral of the French, and shot him through in two or three places. After this, she went a-head of the English, because they were in their fighting sails. Then came up another caraval, under the Tyger's lee, and shot both at her and the Frenchman; she hurt two of his men, and shot him through the mainmast. Next came up their admiral under the lee of the Tyger also; but he was not able to do them so much harm as the small ships, because he carried his ordnance higher: neither was the Tyger able to make a good shot at any of them, because she was so weak in the side, that she laid all her guns under water. Mr. Towerfon therefore resolved to lay the great ship a-board: but as soon as the French admiral went room with him, he fell a-stern, and could not fetch him. After that he fell behind two caravals more, and in short could fetch none of them, but fell to leeward of them all; and tacking about to the shore, left the English to shift for themselves. The other two Frenchmen kept the wind also, and would not advance. The Hart was a-stern, so that she could not come up to them. For all this the Tyger hoisted her top-sails, and gave the enemy chace; and after she had followed them two hours to seaward, they tacked about again towards shore, thinking to hit her as they went by, and to get the wind of the French admiral; she tacked about with them, and kept still the wind; but continued to the English ships, as well as the French, run to seaward, and left her in the lurch. She passed still along, and kept the wind of them to succour the French admiral, who was under all of their lees. Being come up with him, every one gave him a broad-side: after which they tacked about again, and durst not board him, because they saw the Tyger in the weather of them; otherwise, without doubt, they would have taken or sunk him: for the three smallest went so fast, that it was not possible for a ship to board them; and carried such ordnance, that if they had had the weather-gage, they would have gauled three of the best ships in the confederate fleet. As for their admiral and vice-admiral, they were both well appointed. When the Frenchmen were clear of them, he lay as near the wind as he could; and seeing the Tyger still follow them towards the shore, ran to sea after the rest, and left her all alone. The Portuguese perceiving this, turned about with her, and she with them, to keep the wind, running still within base-shot of them; but they shot not at her, because she had the weather of them, and saw that they could do her no hurt. Thus they followed one another till night, and then she shot them: as for all the rest of the ships, they crowded all the sails they could, and ran to sea, praying for the Tyger, as they confessed, which was all the help they designed her.

"On the 28th she met with the vice-admiral, the pinnace, and two of the Frenchmen; the third, which

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was the Roan ship of 80 tons, was fled clear off: Mr. Towerfon went in the skiff, to know why they left him in such a manner. Skires's excuse was, that his ship would not steer; and as for the pinnace, Davis said she would do nothing, and that he could carry her no farther, for her rudder was so shattered, that the Hart was forced to tow her. Then he went to the French admiral, whom he found to be a man of courage, but one-half of his men were sick and dead: the smaller Frenchman said, he was in the same condition, and that his ship would bear no sail: so that he was not able to do any thing. After this, the French durst not anchor, for fear of the Portuguese. The 29th the master of the pinnace came to tell him, that they were not able to keep her any longer, her rudder, with all the iron work, being broken, both aloft and below. It was therefore agreed to break her up, and put the men into the Hart. Having taken out of her four bales, one anchor, and certain fire-wood, they set her on fire, and afterwards ran along the coast.—The 30th, they ran in shore, and spoke with certain negroes, who told them, that some French ships had been there; but there was no dealing with them, they were so unreasonable. Next day Mr. Towerfon went ashore, but did not traffick. The 1st of February, seeing they could not bring the negroes to any reason, they weighed, and came to another place standing on a hill. The 3d day he went to a town four leagues from them, and shooting off two pieces, the captain came; who being known to Thomas Rippon, he was sent to shore. As soon as he landed, he was remembered by the captain, and divers of the negroes, who asked for Mr. Towerfon; and being told that he was in the boat, the chief immediately caused two boats to put to sea, and seeing Mr. Towerfon at a distance, called out to him, and seemed to be very happy on the occasion, so did all the company who knew him. He made him a present, according to the custom of the country, and caused the Frenchman to do the same, promising to treat with him the next day. That night, because it was late, he would not talk of any price, but left a pledge, and took another of Mr. Towerfon. The 4th, going on shore, he found that the ships of France, which had been there, had done much hurt to the markets: yet took five ounces and a half of gold. The 5th he took eight ounces, and 1-8th part of gold; but observing, that the negroes perceived the difference betwixt the English and the French cloth, which was better and broader, he told Capt. Blundel, that he would go to leeward, because he found he could do no good where his cloth was sold, at which Blundel was concerned. On the 6th, there came an Almado and negros aboard, requesting him to go to their town, where they said there was much gold, and many merchants. He went, and found their old captain gone, and another in his place; but the merchants not being come down, they did nothing that night but give pledges. On the 7th, George the negro came to him, having followed them at least 30 leagues in a small boat. When he came, the negros and the English soon concluded about the price; and Mr. Towerfon took this day five pounds one ounce and three quarters of gold. This Negro, who had been left at Shamma at the time of the fight, said, that he saw the action from shore; that when our ships went away, the Portuguese came to their river, and told them the English had slain two of their men with a cannon; (this shot from the Tyger) and that they required harbour there; but the captain of the Shamma would not suffer them; and now they took many pounds of gold. On the 11th came Jerom-Baudet, vice-admiral of the French, and his pinnace, saying, that where they left them, there was no good to be done, and therefore he would go to the eastward; but they told him he should not, and commanded him to go to his company, which he was appointed to be with. This he refused to do, till three or four shot were made at the pinnace; and when the ship saw that, they both tacked about, and ran to sea. The English took this day, one pound five ounces. The 12th,

12th, there came one of the French pinnaces laden with cloth, and would have made a sale, but Mr. Towerfon would not suffer him, and sending him on board the ship, caused him to ride there all day. They took five pound six ounces and a half of gold; and next day four ounces more of some negros. On the 6th, they came to another town; and next day Mr. Towerfon going on shore, understood that three of the Portuguese ships were at the castle, and the other two at Shamma. The captain, who was gone to speak with the king, on his return brought a weight and a measure to the merchants; and Mr. Towerfon sent a man to the king, and to the principal town.

The natives now began to trade with their guests, who acquainted the king by message, that they wanted provisions. The messengers were very well received by that prince, whose name was Abaan, and he sent word that he had but little gold, but if they would stay he would send for some up the country; he added, that they might then find vent for their wares in general; but as to cloth, the French had overstocked the market.

Our voyager thus describes this town.—“It stands about four leagues within land, and appeared as big as London, (in the year 1556) but the buildings were no better than in other places. There was abundance of that country corn in the neighbourhood. On one side of the town were computed about 1000 ricks of wheat, and another sort of corn called mill, (millet). Strict watch was kept there every night, and they had cords with bells to them, stretched across the way that led into the town; so that if any one touched the cords, the bells rang, and then the watchmen run to see whom they were. If they were enemies and passed the cords, they took them by letting fall nets hung for that purpose over the roads, which they were obliged to pass, and there was no getting otherwise to the town, by reason of the thickets and bushes which were about it; it was also walled round with long cords, bound together with sedge and bark of trees.”

[This town seems to have been a place called Guaffe, which however was by no means so big as London in 1556. The nets and walls of cords, if the natives really used such must have been but a poor defence indeed; but we have given the passage as it stood, as it is not certain what place is meant in the original.]

At this town the English arrived about five in the morning, travelling by night, in order to avoid the heat. The king sent for them three times, and would not receive their present, till the last time of their attendance.

“After this, says our author, he caused a pot of palm wine to be brought, and made them drink. Throughout the country, before they drink, they use certain ceremonies; first they make a hole in the

ground, and put some of the liquor into it; then they cast the earth upon it which they dug out before. This done, they set the pot on it, and with a little cup made like a gourd, take out some of the drink, and lay it on the ground in several places. In many parts they have certain branches of palm set in the earth before them; and there they put in some drink, doing great reverence every where to these trees. The ceremony being over, the king took a cup of gold, into which wine being poured he drank, the people at the same time saying, *Abaan, Abaan!* with certain other words, just as they do in Flanders on twelfth night. When the king had drank, they gave liquor to each; after which he dismissed them. In quitting the king's presence, it is the custom for every one to bow three times towards him, at the same time waving both hands together. The king has commonly eight or ten men with grey beards sitting by him.”

From this time, till the 28th, the English continued trafficking for gold, of which they took about 15 pounds weight, and departed, when it appeared that there was no more gold to be had in exchange for their commodities.

As they proceeded, passing by the castle del Mina, they there saw the five ships at anchor; and at night they reached Shamma.

A tall ship of about 200 tons burden was seen on the 3d to the windward of them, at the distance of about two leagues; and soon after a ship and a pinnace were discovered astern of her. Finding these to be a new fleet, lately come from Portugal, they weighed and got to sea, when the Hart fell to leeward. At last, observing the admiral to be a-stern of his company, the Tyger resolved to face them again; but her consort was too far to leeward, and by the manner in which these on board behaved on coming up with them, it seemed as if they had done it on purpose.—On the 18th, Mr. Towerfon lost sight of her after passing Cape Mensurado, and concluded that it was the master's determined resolution to part company. They came in sight of two small islands, which they judged to lie about six leagues from Sierra Leona, from whence by their reckoning, they should have been 40 leagues distant. This could only be attributed to a strong current setting to the north-west.

On the 15th of April they met with two large Portuguese ships, which they supposed were bound to Calicut; and on the 23d of the same month were met and engaged by a French vessel, which they obliged to sheer off, with considerable damage.

After consulting together on the 28th, they agreed to go into the Severn, and to proceed from thence to Bristol; but the same night they came to the Lizard, and the wind not favouring their design, they put into Plymouth;—and thus ended their voyage.

MR. TOWERSON'S THIRD VOYAGE TO THE COAST OF GUINEA.

THEY departed again from Plymouth Sound on the 30th of January, with three ships. The admiral was the *Minion*; the *Christopher* was the vice-admiral; the third ship was the *Tyger*, and they had with them a pinnace called the *Union*.

These were all bound for the Canaries, and the day after they set out, met with two Danzickers, whom they examined, and finding French property on board, made prizes of them. And now a dispute arose whether the ships so taken should be brought into Spain

or England; but Mr. Towerfon being strictly enjoined not to prolong the time, observed that it would be the height of imprudence to attempt bringing them into any port. And it was at last determined that each of the ship's crews should take what was most proper and necessary out of the prizes.—This was agreed to; but the English sailors so effectually stripped the Danzickers, that Mr. Towerfon pitying their condition, thought proper, after having secured the lawful prize goods, and had taken an acknowledge-

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ment under their hands, that they were laden partly on the French account, to restore part of what had been taken from them before he dismissed them by the general consent.

On the 10th, by their reckoning, they were 25 leagues from the Grand Canaries. At this time the pinnace broke her rudder, and was towed at the stern of the Minion, which still kept company with the rest of the vessels.

After they came to the island, they found it was Teneriffe, and then saw the Grand Canary, which was twelve leagues to the eastward, to which they directed their course, and came into the road on the 12th.

After they had saluted the town and castle, the governor sent to desire that they would come on shore, and received them in a very friendly manner, offering them their horses to ride to the town, to which they went with two English merchants, who staid there that day. They went on board the next day, in order to get their pinnace mended, and to deliver their merchandise.

The Spanish fleet of the emperor Charles V. bound to the Indies, came into the road on the 14th, and some civilities passed between them and the English; but a dispute arose about paying honour to the Imperial flag, which Mr. Towerfon refused, and the Spanish admiral did not think fit to insist upon it, and told the Englishman he had punished some of his men who fired at the Minion on that account.

They found themselves to be in 20 deg. 30 min. west, and four days afterwards saw the land in the bay to the northward of Cape Verde.—Mr. Towerfon went in the pinnace on the 26th, with Francisco and Francis Castelin, on board the Tyger, which was nearest the shore, and running about four leagues beyond the Cape found an agreeable island, with two or three others, which were high rocks, and full of pigeons and other land fowls. As they were told the French had a great trade here, they came to an anchor in the bay, being desirous of learning all they could, relative to that nation: but the master of the Christopher declared he would not stay there, as he was not bound thither. However, Edward Selman from the Tyger, and John Makeworth from the Christopher, came to Mr. Towerfon, and agreed to go with the pinnace along shore. They did so, and saw negroes on the coast, who making signs to them, they cast anchor with the pinnace, and went on shore in the cock-boat to see where the trade was. It appeared that they had elephants teeth, musk, and hides, and offered to fetch down their captain if the English would send a man with them, for whom they proposed to leave a pledge, but the master of the Christopher would not stay.

The voyagers fell in with the coast of Guinea on the tenth of March, five leagues off Cape de Monte, near the river das Palmas.

The next day they went on shore, and found a man that could speak a little Portuguese, who informed them that three French ships had passed by, one two months, and the other about one month before. Nineteen elephants teeth, and two ounces and half a quarter of gold were here received by Mr. Towerfon. Sailing from hence on the 12th, for the river de Sestos, and fell in with it on the night of the 13th.

The next day the Minion sent out her boats for water, and delivered to the Christopher and Tyger the commodities which were most wanted in those vessels. Meeting on the 15th, they agreed to send the Tyger to another river to take in her water, and to buy pepper, if any was to be had. They went afterwards into the river with goods, where they found a negro that was born at Lisbon, and had been left there by a Portuguese vessel, which was burnt the year before in an encounter with three Frenchmen. He likewise made mention of some vessels belonging to the former nation that were gone towards the castle of Mina.

From hence proceeding along the coast, they came to the river Potes, and afterwards to Hanta, continu-

ing to trade for some pepper and elephants teeth, for bracelets and other wares.

Having observed five sail of Portuguese on the first of April, they put to sea, and both parties endeavoured to gain the wind of each other, but the Portuguese succeeding in this, got within gun-shot of the English at last, and after exchanging a few shot without receiving any material damage, the latter having at last got to windward, the Minion, Tyger, and pinnace stood off to sea, leaving the Christopher, which, as soon as they met with her, informed them that they had been also attacked by the Portuguese, who had shot through their sails and rigging, but had done them no other damage. On this it was resolved to go in pursuit of the enemy, which they did, but in vain; afterwards, however, they fell in with a fleet of French ships, that retired before them, however they took one of them on the 6th, which proved a good prize, and had fifty pounds and five ounces of gold on board.

On the 12th of this month they came to the farther part of the Mina, called Egrand, where they began taking the goods out of the prize, and afterwards divided all the prisoners among the ships except four, who being sick were unable to help themselves. These, both the Christopher and the Tyger refusing to take, were left in their ship alone in the night, but about midnight Mr. Towerfon fetched them on board his vessel.

The voyage to Benin was proposed on the 15th of April, but this being refused by the company, it was resolved to spend as much time as they had to spare upon the coast, and having done what they could where they were, they set sail for Don John's town, which they reached on the 21st. They went on shore with their boats twice, but could not enter into any sort of traffic with the negroes, who on the contrary made signs that they wished their new guests would depart.

Mr. Towerfon, after experiencing some repulses of this sort, went on shore with a white flag at Don John's town on the 24th, but they concluded the Portuguese were there, as none of the negroes approached them. The boat arrived afterwards well manned, and a man was sent to the town. However, he no sooner arrived, than the negroes retired without ever speaking to him; and though another was sent into the woods after them, they would not come to any terms. On this the English took 12 goats and some hens, and did no farther damage. From hence they sailed to Macoa, and afterwards to Cormantin and took some gold. From hence they steered their course for Shamma, and on the 7th they saw five Portuguese ships, and Mr. Towerfon went in the pinnace to view them on the tenth, and some of the people would have attacked the Portuguese fleet, which consisted of one ship and four caravals (on account of provisions being scarce); but the master and company of the Minion would not agree to such a proceeding for fear of being punished on their return to England; in consequence of which the others desisted from the attempt. Mr. Towerfon went to Shamma on the 20th, where the Tyger had arrived the day before. By this time they had sent away the Frenchmen on board their pinnaces, as they perceived their provisions would hardly hold out for their own company.

At Shamma they were told that there was no gold to be got, and not so much as a single hen to be bought, which was on account of the agreement between the natives and the Portuguese, and sending to Hanta, they met with no better success. On which account they burned Shamma, and departed on the 25th for England. After meeting with contrary currents, they saw the island of St. Thomas on the 7th of July, and though they meant to hold on their course, were driven close in shore the next day; but a breeze springing up cleared them of the island. The Christopher and the Tyger tacking about, on the 10th, those that were in the Minion, thought they were going in quest of the ships in the road, and were not inclined to go after them, for fear

fear of running in with the land again, and putting themselves in the same danger they were in the night before; but they discharged a piece, and put out two lights, which were answered with lights again. On this they kept their course, thinking the others had followed them: but not seeing them in the morning, they perceived they had dropped them by design, and resolved to go after them no longer. However on the 11th, they altered their minds; and tacking about again for the island, to seek the ships, about four in the afternoon met with them. On the 13th, they fell in again with the island of St. Thomas; and the same night they found themselves directly under the line.

This island is very high, and being on the west side of it, there appears a very high pike, which is very small and strait, like the steeple of a church, lying directly under the line; and about a mile west of the same south end of the island, there lies a small island.

On the 3d of August, departing from the island of St. Thomas, they met the wind at south-west.—The 23d, in the morning, the skiff being sent on shore, found no houses, or any men but four, who kept at a distance. As for cattle they saw none, except goats, which were very numerous, but so wild, that they could not catch above three or four. To make amends, they have good store of fish; and in a small isle near the same, they met with sea-birds.

On the 24th, the master of the Tyger came to acquaint those on board the Minion, that his men were so weak, and the ship so leaky, that he was not able to keep her above water; and therefore requested them to go back again to the island, in order to take out the goods, and give her up. They intreated him to persevere a while, and put a French carpenter into her, to see if he could find the leak. This day they took a view of all their men, and found there were not above thirty found in the three ships. On the

25th, they had sight of the isle of St. Nicholas; and the day following, of Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Anthony; which four bear in respect to each other, north-west-by-west, south-east-by-east. On the 26th, they came again with the island of St. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Jones, master of the Christopher, came on board the Minion, and told them that those of the Tyger were not able to keep her, she was so leaky, and the master so very weak. Farther, that he had agreed with the master and company, that in case they could double the island the next day, they should run to the leeward of it, and there unload her: but if they could not double it, then to put in betwixt that and St. Vincent, with the same view. On the 3d of September, Mr. Towerfon went on board the Tyger, with the master and merchants, and found the ship very leaky, and only six labouring men in her, whereof one was the master gunner: whereupon they agreed to take in the men, and such of the goods as they could save, and set the ship a drift. Next day they went about it, and having taken out the artillery, goods, victuals and gold; on the 8th, they gave her up in the latitude of twenty-five degrees. On the 6th of October, the Christopher came to desire those of the Minion, to put in with Cape Finisterre, her men being so weak, that they were not able to keep the sea: as they were weak also, they agreed to go for Vigo, a place frequented by the Englishmen. On the 10th, the Christopher went towards the Cape: but the Minion, having a brisk wind for England, and fearing the danger of enemies, who ordinarily ply thereabouts; having warned the Christopher, she not being able to keep up with them, they held on their course for England, where they arrived in safety on the 16th, after having experienced many inconveniencies.

A VOYAGE TO GUINEA IN 1562.

THIS voyage was at first designed to be undertaken by Mr. Lock, but he having declined it, the undertakers were Sir William Chester, Messrs. Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castelin; the ships were the Minion and the Primrose, which left Dartmouth on the 25th of February, 1562.

On the 20th of March, they arrived at Cape Verd, where they made no stay, but sailed along the coast to their first appointed port, River de Sestos, which they reached the 3d of April, in the morning. Here they found a Frenchman, who, as soon as she perceived them, set sail, and made to the sea; mean while they came to an anchor in the road; and after she had discovered by their flag, that they were Englishmen, she bore with the shore, and hailed their ships with her ordnance. At this time Rutter, and the other merchants of both ships, were in the river trafficking, and having understood by the negros, that she had been there three days before them, they resolved, in case she sent her pinnace to trade, not to suffer it, till they had settled matters with their captain and merchants. In the afternoon the pinnace coming into the river, they spoke to the men not to proceed, till they had talked with their captain, desiring that he might come in the evening on board the admiral; which was done. At the time appointed, M. Burton, and John Munt, went on board the Minion, where the Frenchmen were, and there concluded, that they should lie by eight days, and let the English traffic by themselves; wherewith they were not well

pleased. Hereupon, next morning, the French ship left them, sailing along the coast eastward, towards the River de Potis: wherefore the merchants of both ships, in consideration that no vessels were upon the coast, concluded to send the Primrose before, that their traffic might not be obstructed by the French. They went, and overtook them trading to the west of Potis, where passing them, they arrived the 12th of April. They trafficked there till the 15th, and then departed for the River Sant Andre, where they came the 17th. Here by agreement, they were to wait for the Minion, and the same day she found them.

At Cape des Palmas she met a great ship and caraval of the king of Portugal, bound to Mina, which gave her chase, and shot briskly at her, as she did at them; but received no hurt. Hereupon they hastened towards Cape Tres Puntas, with design, if they could, to put them (the ship and caraval) from the castle. At the Cape they lay a-hull one night and two days; and judging they had gone past, the Minion went near the shore, and sent her merchants to Hanta. Next morning very early, being the 21st of the month, they again had sight of the ship and the caraval a good way to sea-board. They presently set sail, and bore with the foremost of them, hoping to have got between the castle and them, but came short of their design, which was a great disappointment. When the enemy was under the protection of the castle, they shot smartly at the English, and they at them; but to little purpose. In the afternoon, they set sail, and came to the town of Don John, where,

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where, on the 22d, in the morning; they went on shore to traffic, but the negros would do nothing till they heard from Don Luis; for at that time Don John was dead. On the 23d, Antonio, (the son of Don Luis) and Pacheco, arrived, with intent to traffic with them. At the same time, two galleys came rowing from the castle, to interrupt them. On the 24th, the English set sail; and chased the galleys to the castle again. The negros pleased at it, required them to go to the Mowre, about three leagues behind, promising to come thither; for that they stood in fear of the Portuguese. There they waited for the merchants out of the country, who were come with their gold; but Don Luis's son, and Pacheco, were on board the Minion.

On the 25th in the morning came the two galleys from the castle again: the weather being very calm; they shot at, and hit the Primrose three times. And shortly after, the wind blowing from the shore, she descried the ship and caraval coming towards her. Then she set sail, and bore as near unto them as she could; but it being dark before she came up with them, she lost them in the night. On the 27th the English plied to the shore, and at night agreed to go to Cormantin: but next morning they found themselves near the great ship, and the two galleys having no wind at all, and the caraval close to the shore. Presently the two galleys came rowing to the stern of the Minion, and fought with her most part of the forenoon. During the fight, a barrel of powder happening to take fire in the steward's room, hurt the

master-gunner, the steward, and most of the gunners, which the galleys perceiving, they began to be more fierce upon her, and with a shot cut her fore-mast in two, that, without present remedy, she was not able to bear sail. Immediately upon this, the great ship sent her boat to the galleys, which suddenly departed. As soon as they were gone, those of the Primrose went on board the Minion to consult what was best to be done. They found her company grievously dejected; therefore perceiving that the negros neither would nor durst traffic so long as the galleys were upon the coast, it was agreed to depart for Rio de Sestos.—The 14th of May in the morning, they fell in again with the land, and sending their boats to see what place it was, found it to be Rio de Barbos, to the east of Sant Andre, and there stayed to take in water, till the 21st. The day before, the Primrose lost five of her men, by the black pinnace oversetting. The 22d, the ships departed for Rio de Sestos, where they put in the 2d of June; and the 4th, leaving that river to return home, arrived the 6th of August within sight of the Start, in the west part of England, the men being very sick and weak. Besides 21 who died, many were sorely hurt. In short, there were not above 20 men that were found and able to labour. Mr. Burton, who had been sick for six weeks, was then so weak, that his life was despaired of.

There were brought home this voyage, 166 elephants teeth, weighing 1758 pounds, and two butts of Guinea pepper, dearly enough purchased by the voyagers losses and misfortunes.

A VOYAGE TO GUINEA BY MR. BAKER, IN 1563.

MR. Baker, who has written an account of this voyage in verse, after the unlucky disaster that befel him in Guinea the year before, had made a sort of vow never to go near that country any more: but being returned to England and recovered of his complaint, he soon forgot the sorrows that were past, and being invited to undertake the voyage the next year, in quality of a factor, consented. After they had been at sea two days and a night, the man from the mainmast discovered a sail or two. They presently made up to the largest of them, which they judged to be the best, and Mr. Baker hailed her to know whence she was: she answered, from France; whereupon the English waved them, and she, nothing dismayed, waved them again. Mr. Baker immediately ordered men with arms to the main and fore-tops, also powder to be laid on the poop, to blow up the enemy, if they should enter the ship that way. Then, at the sound of trumpet, they began the fight, discharging both chain and cross-bow shot from their brazen artillery; while the French, from the main-yard, flourishing their swords, called out to the English to board their ship. The English, on their side, willing to accept of the invitation, plied them hotly with their cannon, poured in their arrows, and their harquebusses from the loop holes; attempting, at the same time, to burn their sails with arrows and pikes carrying wild fire. Baker, wishing to encourage his men, made the spiced wine go briskly round among them, proposed boarding the enemy, which they did with their lime-pots, breaking their nettings with stones, while the men from above entered the enemy's tops, after killing those who defended them; then cutting the ropes, brought down the yard by the board. Those who entered by the side of the ship, played their parts so well with their swords, that at length the remainder of the Frenchmen fled beneath deck, and surrendered themselves. Having thus taken the ship, they sailed to the Groine, in Spain, and there sold the lading. After

this they proceeded on their voyage for Guinea; where being arrived, Mr. Baker, one day about noon, with eight more, went on shore in a boat to traffic; intending to dispatch his business, that he might be back again by night; but just when they had got near land, a furious wind arose, accompanied with rain and thunder, which forced their ships from their anchors, and drove them out to sea. In the mean time, those in the boat, in order to provide for their safety, ran along the coast, seeking some place to put into; yet meeting with none, were forced to lie on board all night, by the shore, exposed to thunder, rain, and wind, which continued without intermission. Next day the ships turned back again, thinking the boat staid behind; and the boat rowed forward along the coast, supposing the ships were before them, still looking out to sea; but the mist that morning occasioned by the jarring of the elements the night before, was so great, that they could not see each other. Thus they continued beating the sea two or three days together; after which those in the ships concluded the boat was cast away in the storm, made the best of their way towards England. Mr. Baker and his companions in distress, having been three days without any food. At length they landed, and having exchanged some wares for roots, and such other provisions as they had, put to sea again in pursuit of their ships, which they still supposed to be before them. Thus they continued 12 days ranging the shore; where they saw nothing but thick woods and deserts, full of wild beasts, which often appeared, and, at sun-set, came in herds to the sea-side, where they lay down or played upon the sand, and sometimes, to cool themselves, plunged into the water.

They often saw a man or two on the shore, who, as soon as they perceived the boat, came to it with their Almaide. Then casting anchor, they offered the negros their wares in exchange for fish and fresh water, or any victuals of their own cooking. These

people would bring to them great roots and berries, which grow on the palm-trees, being such eatables as were most agreeable to themselves; likewise some of their wines, the colour of which is like the juice that runs out of the tree. Sometimes they brought them wild honey in the combs. With these, and such other things as came, they relieved their hunger; but nothing could repair the strength they lost by grief, fatigue, and the want of rest, which reduced them to a very weak condition. They were so oppressed with affliction, to think of the dreadful circumstances they were in, that their hearts were ready to break. They had now been so long seeking the ships in vain, that they were resolved to give over their pursuit, concluding that they were lost or returned home, but what course to take was difficult to determine: as for returning home in such a boat as that, in want of every thing, they saw was an utter impossibility; and considering they were in a strange country, inhabited by a people, whose manners and customs were so opposite to theirs, they knew not what to resolve on. By this time they found they had passed beyond the Melegete (or Grain) Coast, and were advanced as far as that of Mina; for their negroes speaking Portuguese, came on board them with their scales and weights, proposing to traffic, and asking where their ships were? They, in hopes to be better used, answered, there were two at sea, and that they would be with them in a day or two. However, much dismayed at a question which only renewed their grief, they turned off from the natives to consult how they should dispose of themselves. They considered, that if they continued at sea in their boat, exposed to the burning heat of the day, which sensibly consumed them by sweating, and the frequent hurricanes accompanied with lightnings, thunder, and rain, which deprived them of rest all night, that they could not possibly long hold out. They were often three days without eating; and having sat continually for 20 days together, the boat affording no space to walk in, they were in danger of losing the use of their legs, for want of exercise; and their joints were so much swelled with the scurvy, that they could scarce stand.

On this Mr. Baker told them, that as it was not possible for them, in the condition they were, to keep their boat much longer, it was time to come to some resolution, and make choice of one of the three courses they had to take. The first was, to repair to the castle of Mina, which was not far off, and put themselves into the hands of the Portuguese, who were Christians, if they durst trust them, or could expect the more humanity from them on that account. However, he told them, the worst that could happen to them, was to be hanged out of their misery. That possibly they might have some mercy on them for their own sakes, seeing nine such young men would be serviceable in their galleys, that although they should be made slaves for life, yet they should be sure of having victuals enough, in order to enable them to tug at the oar; whereas there they rowed and starved. The next course was, to throw themselves upon the courtesy of the negroes. As to this expedient, Mr. Baker told them, it was a very discouraging one: for that he could not see what favour was to be hoped for from a beastly savage people, whose condition was worse than that of any slave; that possibly they might be cannibals, and then they were sure to be destroyed at once, without any ceremony: that in case they should not, their customs were so opposite to the Europeans, that they could not possibly comply with them: That it was not to be imagined, that they who had always been fed upon the flesh of animals, could live upon roots and herbs (as the negroes did) which was the food of wild beast; that being accustomed to wear cloaths, they could not for shame go naked, and expose those parts of their bodies to view, which, from their infancy, had been covered; that in case they could get the better of modesty in this point, yet, for want of that defence against the sun-beams,

which they had always been used to, their bodies would be grievously tormented, as well as emaciated, and their spirits exhausted by the scorching heats.— The last course they had to take, was to stay in the boat, and die miserably there. But as they seemed determined to run any risk at land, rather than to continue pent up in such a narrow compass, subject to all the inclemencies of the weather, day and night, as well as liable to be famished for want of victuals, Mr. Baker, in conclusion, gave it as his opinion; with regard to the other two methods, that more trust and confidence was to be put in the Portuguese, who were baptised, than in the negroes, who lived in a brutish manner. Mr. Baker ended his discourse, and they all determined to throw themselves on the mercy of the Portuguese, and hoisted sail, immediately setting forward for the castle, which was not above 20 leagues distant. They went on without stopping all day, and till late in the night, when they perceived a light on the shore. The boatswain concluding from thence that it was a place of trade, proposed to cast anchor, and try in the morning if they could get some food in exchange for their wares. This was agreed upon, and the next morning, going towards shore, they perceived a watch-house upon a rock, in the place from whence the light proceeded the night before, with a large black cross of wood standing near it. Here they began to doubt what place this was, and looking forward, beheld a castle, which perplexed them still more; but their doubts were quickly solved, by the appearance of a Portuguese or two, one of them holding a white flag in his hand, made a signal to them to come ashore. Although they went in quest of the Portuguese, yet at sight of them, their hearts began to fail them, and they tacked about to make off. This being observed from the castle, immediately a gun was fired at them by a negro, the shot falling within a yard of the boat. If they had been provided with a stout ship or two, they would not have valued their bullets, but being unable to make any resistance, they complied with necessity, and rowed as fast as they could to land, to yield themselves and know their doom. This they thought would please those in the castle; but, to their great surprise, the nearer they drew to the shore, the more the Portuguese shot at them. The bullets fell thick about the boat, yet they still advanced, till at last they got so near the castle wall, as to be out of danger from the cannon. They now resolved to land, in order to try the courtesy of the Portuguese; but presently there came showers of stones from the castle wall; and soon after they saw the negroes marching down with their bows and targets. The assault was so furious, that having much to fear if they staid any longer, from the heavy stones that fell into the boat, and with their weight threatened to break thro' the bottom of it, as from the showers of arrows which hissed about their ears, and wounded some of them; they, like desperate men, who did not value what became of their lives, put off from shore, to return to sea, setting four of their company to row: yet being unwilling to depart from the coasts, without repaying the inhabitants some part of their civility, they began to handle their bows and fire-arms, which they first employed against the negroes, of whom several presently dropped, and then against the Portuguese, who stood on the walls of the fort in long white shirts (or gowns) many of which were soon dyed red by means of the English arms. They thus maintained their ground a long time, and fought at their leisure; never regarding the enemy's menaces, since they saw there were no galleys in the place to send to take them. When they had sufficiently revenged their want of hospitality, they rowed off; and although they knew they were to pass through another storm of bullets from the castle; yet they pushed on, and like men, commonly who fear no danger, escaped without receiving any damage. By the time they had reached the sea, they perceived three negroes, who came rowing after them to know what country they were of, speaking very good Portuguese. They told them they

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Englishmen, and had brought wares to traffic with them, if they had not used them so ill. The negros were farther inquisitive to know where their ships were. They answered they had two at sea, well appointed; which would soon take their way along the coast, to trade for gold, and only waited for their return. The negros pretending a concern for what had happened, intreated them to stay for that day, promising to bring them whatever they stood in need of. But the English putting no confidence in their words, only asked them what place that was; and being answered that it was the Portuguese castle, at the western point of Cape Tres Puntas, without exchanging any more words, hoisted sail, and put to sea, to seek out a more friendly place.

The Portuguese kindness being thus experienced sufficiently, they were resolved to have recourse to them no more, but try the negros. Therefore sailing back again about thirty leagues, they cast anchor, and the natives coming immediately to the boat, the English gave every one some present or other, whereby they won their hearts. The news of the arrival of such generous strangers, brought the king's son on board. As soon as he came, Mr. Baker began movingly to explain the case to him; making great lamentation, and giving him to understand by signs, that they were quite undone, had lost their ships, and were almost famished for want of food: at the same time offering all the goods they had in the boat, provided he would take them under his protection, and relieve them in such great distress. The negro chief, moved by the tears which fell plentifully from the eyes of all, refused the present, and bade them be comforted. He went on shore, to know his father's pleasure, and presently returning, invited them to land. This was a joyful hearing to them. He had no sooner spoke the word than they fell to the oar in haste, to get to shore, where, 500 negros waited to receive them: but coming near the coast, the sea ran so high, that the boat overset. The negros immediately plunged into the water, to save them, and brought them all safe to shore. They also preserved the boat and whatever was in her, some swimming after the oars, others diving for goods that were sunk; after which they hauled it to land, and brought every individual thing that belonged to the English; not daring to detain the least trifle for fear of the king's son, who according to Mr. Baker's account, was a person of courage, and endowed with all natural perfections. The next kind office that they

did, was to bring them victuals, such as they used themselves; of which they ate heartily, being, as may be presumed, very hungry; the negros staring at them all the while, with astonishment. For all this appearance of humanity, the English were under no small apprehensions considering they were quite in the power of the negros; every one of whom went armed with his dart. They lay upon the ground all that night with them, but never once closed their eyes, through fear that they should be killed in their sleep. However, they received no hurt from them; and for two days fared very well. But these people finding no ships came as they expected, to fetch them away; the English distributed a large quantity of wares among them, in return for their hospitality. The negros soon grew weary of their new guests; and after lessening their allowance every day, at length left them to shift for themselves. In this distress they were constrained to range about the woods, in search of berries and roots, which they dug up with their fingers, for want of other instruments. Hunger had quite worn off the delicacy of their palates. They made no distinction any longer in victuals; any thing that was eatable, now was a dainty to them. Necessity likewise, soon reconciled them to going naked: for their cloaths, grown rotten with the sweat, fell off their backs by degrees; so that at length, each of them had scarcely a rag left to cover him before. They were not only forced to seek for their food, but to provide wood and utensils to dress it. They made a pot of clay baked in the sun, in which they boiled their roots; the berries they roasted; and on these varieties they fed every evening. At night they went to rest on the bare ground, making a great fire round them, to keep off wild beasts. Thus they became, in every respect, the reverse of what they were before; in short, with this intire change of their way of living, joined to the heat and unhealthiness of the climate, they began to fall sick apace, and for want of proper nourishment, died so fast, that in a short time the nine were reduced to three. This, to the deceased, was a release from their misery: but what was an ease to them, rendered the state of those few who survived, more forlorn and helpless than before. At length, when they had given over all hopes of relief, a French ship arriving on the coast, took them in, and carried them back to France, which being then at war with England, they were detained prisoners, and from thence Mr. Baker wrote an account of the voyage in verse:

A VOYAGE TO GUINEA IN 1564, BY CAPTAIN DAVID CARLET.

THE ships employed in this voyage, were the *Minion*, one of the queen's ships, David Carlet, captain; the *John Baptist*, of London; and the *Merlin*, belonging to Mr. Gonson.—The chief adventurers were Sir William Gerard, Sir William Chester, Sir Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castelin. These all met on the 11th of July, 1564, at Sir William Gerard's, to consult measures for setting forward the voyage. At this meeting they came to several resolutions; as first, That Francis Ashbie should be sent to Deptford, to Mr. Gonson for his letters to Peter Pet, to set about rigging the *Minion*, at the charges of the queen, after which he was to repair to Gillingham, with money to defray the adventurers charges there. Secondly, That each of the five partners should call upon their partners to advance towards new rigging and victualling, twenty-nine pounds, ten shillings and six-pence, out of every hundred. Thirdly, That each of the five partners should immediately deposit fifty-pounds towards the

said occasions. Fourthly, In case Mr. Gonson gave his consent, that the *Merlin* should be brought round from Bristol to Southampton, that a letter should be obtained under his hand, before order was given for the same.

Mr. Hawkins, with the *Jesus of Lubeck*, and three other ships, left Plymouth on the 18th of October, 1564, and that same day, being ten leagues from the port, met with the *Minion*, of which David Carlet was captain, and her consort, the *John Baptist*; having saluted each other with their guns, according to custom, the *Minion* went in quest of the *Merlin*, which lagged behind; and left the *John Baptist* to keep the *Jesus* company; but in a storm, which happened the 21st, she was separated. On the 25th, Mr. Hawkins put into Ferrol, in Galicia, whither, on the 26th, the *Minion* arrived also, whose crew were much dejected, on account of the disaster which had happened to the *Merlin*; for, two days after they met with her, through the carelessness

of the gunner, the powder took fire and blew up the poop, with three men in it; presently after which, she sunk, and the crew must have been lost, but that the brigantine having been luckily at the stern, took them in; many of them being grievously wounded by the explosion. On the 30th, both fleets departed in company. On the 6th of November, coming in sight of Teneriffe, the Minion being three or four leagues a-head of the Jesus, went on to that island, and so parted company with Mr. Hawkins; who shaping his course by Cape Verde and Sierra Leona, afterwards struck off for the West Indies, and arrived at the town of Burboroata, on the coast of Tierra Firme. Here he heard news of the ill success of this

Guinea voyage; for on the 29th of April, there came into the road, a French ship, called the Green Dragon of New Haven, one Bon Temps, captain, who informed him, that he had met with the Minion on the coast of Guinea, and that both had been driven off by the Portuguese galleys; that at the Minion's first arrival, Captain Carlet, and a merchant, with a dozen mariners, were betrayed by the negros to the Portuguese, with whom they remained prisoners; and that the ships had lost so many men, through want of fresh water, and other accidents, that it was a great doubt whether those last would be able to bring them home.

1566.

A VOYAGE TO THE ISLANDS OF CAPE VERD BY CAPTAIN GEORGE FENNER, IN 1566.

THREE ships were employed in this voyage, the Castle of Comfort, George Fenner, general, and William Bats, master; the May-flower, Captain Edward Fenner, vice-admiral, and William Curtis, master; and the George, a small bark, John Heiwood, captain, and John Smith of Southampton, master; besides a pinnace. On the 10th of December, 1566, they left Plymouth; on the 12th, they were thwart of Ushant; and on the 15th, in the morning, had sight of Cape Finisterre. The same night, they lost company of their admiral; therefore they sailed along the coast of Portugal, hoping that he had been before them. On the 18th, they met with a French ship, who bringing no tidings of their admiral, they followed their course to the Canary islands. On the 25th, in the morning, they fell in with Porto Santo; and within three hours had sight of Madeira, six leagues distant. The same day, they hoisted out the boat, and brought on board them Mr. Edward Fenner, captain of the May-flower, (who was then with the master, Robert Curtis, and others, in the George) and feasted them with such as they had. On the 28th, they fell in with the island Teneriffe, twenty-seven leagues from the former; and cast anchor on the east side, in forty fathom water, a base shot from shore, within a little bay, where there were three or four small houses, about a league distant from the little town called Santa Cruz. From their ships they could see the Grand Canary, six or seven leagues distant. On the 29th, the May-flower, not being able to get into the road for the wind, bore in with Santa Cruz, thinking to cast anchor in the road against the town; but before she came within reach of their ordnance, they shot at her four pieces, which causing her to retire, she came at last to anchor near the George, about one in the afternoon. The captain wrote a letter directed to the head officer of Santa Cruz, to know the reason of his being shot at. The letter was given to Curtis, and Walker Wren, who, with six men in the boat, rowed as near the shore as they durst, the sea there running extremely high. The people standing by the water-side, about thirty in number, with such armour as they had, Wren called to them in Spanish, to let them know that they had a letter for Santa Cruz, and wanted to have it conveyed thither. One of the Spaniards desired them to land, saying they should be welcome: but doubting the worst, Wren answered, that they would stay till they had an answer to their letter. On this, one of the Spaniards stripping, leapt into the water, and swam to the boat: he was received in, and after saluting them, demanded what their request was? they made answer,

that by misfortune they had lost the company of their admiral, and being bound to this island to traffic for wines and other things, were desirous to stay there till he arrived. The Spaniard promised to carry the letter without delay; and Wren having sewed it up in a bladder, delivered it him, giving four rials of Spanish money for his trouble. After he had returned to shore, and talked to the people, some of them threw up their hats, and others pulled them off, saluting the English, still inviting them to land: but having returned their courtesy, they rowed back again to the ship. On the 30th, the governor's brother of Santa Cruz, came on board the May-flower, with six or seven Spaniards; who concluded with the captain, that the English might land and traffic. They were all well entertained; and at their departure, the captain ordered four pieces of ordnance to be shot off, and bestowed upon them two cheeses, with other things. The Spaniard promised the captain, that he should have sufficient pledges next day; which not being performed, they grew suspicious and most of them went not on shore.

The captain however, sent Nicholas Day and John Sumpter, on shore, on the 21st of January, who were well entertained, with as many of the company as went. "In Teneriffe, says our author, is a marvellous high hill, called the Peak, which a-far off is more like a cloud than any thing else, it is round, and something small at top. It has not been known, that ever any man was at the top: and although it stands in twenty-eight degrees, where it was as hot in January, as it is in England at Midsummer, yet is the summit seldom without snow, both winter and summer. About two leagues from the said Santa Cruz, is a city called Anagona." On the 3d, they removed towards the western parts of the island, twelve or fourteen leagues from Santa Cruz, and on the 5th, cast anchor in a bay, over-against the house of one Petro de Soufes; where being informed, that the admiral had been there seven days before, and was gone to Gomera, they set sail soon after to seek him. On the 6th, they found the admiral at anchor in the road before the town of Gomera, there also they met with Edward Cook, in a large ship; and a ship of the copper-smiths of London; which the Portuguese had treacherously surprised in the bay of Santa Cruz, on the coast of Barbary, and was all spoiled. The general and merchants, bought in this town, for their provisions, fourteen pipes of wine, at the rate of fifteen ducats a pipe; which had been offered them in Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, for eight, nine, and ten ducats. On the 9th, they departed from this road to another bay,

about

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about three leagues off, and there took in fresh water. The 10th they set sail towards Cape Blake, on the coast of Guinea. On the 12th, they fell into a bay to the east of Cape Pargos, 35 leagues from the other; but having no knowledge of that coast, they went for Cape Blake; and at the fall of the land they founded, and had 16 fathoms water two leagues from the shore. The land is very low, and a white sand upon the fall of the coast. — On the 17th, shaping their course south by east, and south from Cape Blake, they fell into a bay about 16 leagues to the east of Cape Verde, and six from shore; the land being full of hummocks with high trees on them, seemed like a great number of ships under sail: they stood towards the land, till they were within three leagues of the shore; and then sounding, found 28 fathoms water black ooze. This day, they saw many shoals of fish, swimming even with the surface of the water. Passing along the coast, they observed two small round hills, (yet the highest they saw all day) seeming to be a league from the other, which is the cape; and between them abundance of trees.

On the 29th they came to anchor at the cape, half a mile from land, in a road close by the side of two hills, in 10 fathoms water, where ships may ride in five or six; for the ground clean, and the wind was always off shore. As soon as they were all at anchor, the general and captains, with the masters, went on board the *George*, and having dined, concluded to land; and by the advice of Mr. Bats, both captain and merchants, and many of the company; went without arms, though against their wills; for he said that although the people were black, and naked, yet they were civil. There went on shore the admiral's skiff, and the *May-flower's* boat, and in them about 20 persons, as the general, his brother Thomas Valentine, John Worme, and Francis Leigh, merchants, John Howard, Thomas Bats, Nicholas Day, John Thompson, and others. At their landing, there were above 100 negros, without their bows and arrows, walking to and fro, as could be perceived from the ships. The captains and merchants talked with them; and according to the custom of the country, they demanded pledges of each other. The negros were content to deliver three of their men for five Englishmen, who were John Howard, William Bats, Nicholas Day, John Thompson, and John Curtis. These were delivered them. They then began to talk of business. The English gave them to understand, that they had brought woollen cloth, linen cloth, iron, cheese, and other things. The negros, in their turn, let them know, that they had civet, musk, gold and pepper, which pleased the captain and merchants very well; who at the negros request, directly sent on board one of the boats for part of their merchandise to shew them. In the mean time the five pledges walked on the shore with the negros, and the commander with the rest, staid in the other boat by the sea-side, having the three negros with them. The boat being returned, brought iron, and other merchandise, with bread, wine, and cheese, which they gave the negros. Then two of the pledges feigning themselves sick, desired to go on shore, promising to send two others in their stead, Captain Howard perceiving his men had let the negros come on shore, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst, began to draw towards the boat; two or three of the negros followed him; and when he came to the boat, would have stopped him. He made signs that he would fetch them more drink and bread; notwithstanding which, one of them caught him by the breeches, to pull him back; but he springing from him, leaped into the boat. As soon as he was in, one of the negros on shore, began to blow a pipe; whereupon the third negro pledge, who was sitting on the boat's side, and Mr. Worme's sword by him, suddenly drew it out of the scabbard, and leaping into the sea, swam to shore. Soon after this, the negros laid hands on the English that were on shore, and violently tore the cloaths off the backs of Day,

Bats, and Thompson, leaving them naked; they also shot so thick into the boat, that they could hardly set hand to the oars to row from the shore. Many of them were hurt with their poisoned arrows. The person is incurable, if the arrow enters the skin, and draws blood, unless it is immediately sucked out, or the wounded part be cut away; for otherwise he dies in four days. Within three hours after the hurt, wheresoever it be, it strikes to the heart, taking away the appetite, and causing violent vomitings, the party loathing both meat and drink. The negros, after they had used the pledges so roughly, led them away to a town, about a mile from the water-side. Next day the skiff was sent on shore with eight persons, one of whom was the aforesaid John Thompson, and the interpreter, a Frenchman, (for one of the negros spoke good French:) they carried with them two harquebusses, and two targets. — The cause of sending them was, to learn what ransom they demanded for Bats and Day, whom they detained. The negro being made acquainted with what they came about, 40 or 50 of them went and fetched them from among the trees. Being come within a stone's throw of the sea-side, William Bats broke from them, (for they were not bound) and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat; but happened to fall just as he had entered the water, either by being out of breath, or his foot slipping in the sand, which was soft, the negros came up before he could recover himself, and seizing him, hauled him so, that the rest thought they would have torn him in pieces. Having torn the cloaths off his back again, some of them hurried him and his brother in affliction away to their town: the rest shot at those who came to ransom them with their poisoned arrows, and hurt one Andrews in the small of his leg, whose life the surgeon had much ado to save. Notwithstanding all this, the admiral sent once more to them, offering any thing they desired for the ransom of the Englishmen, but they would not deliver them; returning this answer, That three weeks before their arrival, an English ship came into that road, and carried off three negros; so that till such time as they were brought again, they would not restore their men, even though they should give their three ships to release them. — On the 21st, a French ship of 80 tons arrived in the road, to traffic at the cape; the English told them of their detaining their two men, and perceiving they were in great favour with the negros, intreated them to negotiate their ransom, the admiral promising to pay him 100*l.* in case he procured their release, and brought them off; and having thus committed the matter to his care, departed. Of the men who were hurt by the negros arrows, four died; and one to save his life, had his arm cut off; Andrews continued lame, not able to help himself; and only two recovered of their wounds.

They left Cape Verde on the 26th, and on the 28th fell in with *Bona Vista*, 86 leagues distant; the same day they came to an anchor about a league with the westernmost point, and found in the sounding, fair sand in 10 fathoms water; but ships may approach the shore, till within five or six fathoms; for the ground is clean. As soon as they were at anchor, the general sent his pinnace to land, and found five or six small houses, but the people were fled to the mountains. Next day he sent again, and met with two Portuguese, who willingly went on board with his men. He made them welcome, although they were but poor; and having given each a pair of shoes, ordered them to be set ashore again. The 30th, they came to a bay in a small island, about a league distant, lying in 16 degrees, and took plenty of divers sorts of fish.

The next day the admiral, with some of his men, went on shore to the houses, where he found 12 Portuguese. In all the island there were not above 30 persons, who were banished men, some for more years, some for less; and amongst them, there was one simple man, who was their captain. They live upon

goats flesh, cocks, hens, and fresh water: other victuals they had none, excepting fish, which they esteemed not; neither have they any boats to catch them. They reported that this island was given by the king of Portugal to one of his gentlemen, who had let it out to rent at 100 ducats a year, which sum was raised out of skins only; for if they may be credited, 40,000 of these skins have been sent from hence to Portugal in one year. These people made the English very welcome, and entertained them to the best of their power. They gave them the flesh of as many goats as they would have, taking much pains to catch and bring them from the mountains on their asses.

On the 3d of February they departed, and the same day fell in with the island of Mayo, which is fourteen leagues from the former. In the middle between both there is a rock to be seen. They anchored on the north-west side of the isle in a fine bay, where there was eight fathoms water, and white sand: but on the 4th departed, and came to St. Jago, about five leagues distant, east and by south. Being arrived within the westernmost point, they saw a fine road, and a small town by the water-side, with a fort, or plat-form by it. There they proposed to come to anchor, and the merchants to sell some goods: but before they came within shot, two cannons were discharged at them, on which they turned off; and sailing along the shore two or three leagues, cast anchor in a small bay, in 14 fathoms, and good ground. On the shore, there were two or three little houses. Within an hour after they observed a number of horse and foot on the land, right against them, riding and running to and fro.

A great company of both sexes appearing the next day on the shore, the admiral sent to know if they were willing to traffic with them. They sent word that they would be glad to speak to him, promising, that if he came to trade as a merchant, he should be welcome, and be supplied with whatever he should in reason demand.—With this answer he and the whole company being very well pleased, he therefore ordered his boats to be made ready; but for fear of treachery, caused them to be armed, putting a double baze in the head of his pinnace, and two single bazes in the head of the skiff. The boats of the Mayflower, and the George, were put in the same posture of defence.

Thus the commander went in his skiff towards the shore, where there were 60 horsemen or more, and 200 foot, all armed, ready to receive them. But being alarmed at their number, he sent one with a flag of truce, to know their pleasure. They sent back word, with many fair promises and oaths, that their intentions were sincere, and that they meant like gentlemen and merchants to traffic with him; adding, that their captain was coming to speak with him, and therefore desired that the English would land. On the return of the messenger with this answer, the general caused his pinnace to row forward; and as he drew near the shore, the Portuguese came in a great company in the most soothing manner, stretching out their arms, and bowing themselves with their bonnets off, earnestly desiring the admiral and merchants to land; which yet he would not consent to, without sufficient pledges. At length, they agreed to send two such as he should approve of, promising at the same time, to let them have fresh water, victuals, money, or negros for wares, if they were such as they liked; desiring that a bill of parcels might be sent them, with the names and quantities of the several commodities. The admiral promised it should be done; and being gone a little from the shore, caused his bazes, and harquerbusses, to be shot off; the ships, in like manner, discharged five or six pieces of great ordnance. Most of the Portuguese departed, expecting such as were to watch and receive the note, which was sent about four in the afternoon.

Three leagues to the westward, behind a point, was a town close to the sea-side, where, with all speed, they made ready four caravals, and two brigantines,

which were like galleys, furnishing them both with men and ordnance, as many as they could carry; and as soon as it was night, came rowing close under the shore towards the ships, so that the land being high, and the weather something hazy, the English could not see them till they were just against the Mayflower. By this time it was one or two in the morning, and the Mayflower riding nearer them than the other two, by a bafe shot, they made a sure account either to have taken or burnt her. In the meantime, those on the watch, (little suspecting any treachery, after so many fair promises) made such a noise, singing and playing, that there being but a small gale of wind, they might be heard from the shore; they were so taken up with their mirth, that they did not observe the motions of their pretended friends; neither had they one piece of cannon primed, or any one thing in readiness. They were within gun-shot of the English before they were perceived, when one of the men happened to see a light, looked out, and espied the four ships: he suddenly cried out, Galleys! galleys! at which cry they were all amazed. At the same time the Portuguese shot off their ordnance, their harquebusses, and then lighting their cartridges of wild-fire, came on with great shouts, answered by those on the shore, still approaching nearer and nearer to the Mayflower, which getting ready one gun, shot at, and put them to the stand. Soon after the enemy charged again, and gave them another broad side, during which the English had got 3 pieces ready, and let them off a second time. Notwithstanding this, the Portuguese advanced, and at length approached so near, as to be within arrow's shot. Whereupon they having a gale of wind from shore, hoisted their fore-sail, and cutting their cable at the hawse, went towards the admiral; yet the Portuguese continued following and shooting at them, and sometimes at the admiral: but the admiral sent them one shot, which made them retire, and at length they went away. Although the Portuguese came on them by surprise, and poured in all their bullets at once, neither man nor boy was hurt; but what damage was done to the enemy, the English could not tell.

They now thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediately set sail towards Fuego, 12 leagues from thence, and came to anchor on the 11th against a white chapel, within a league of the most western end of the island, and half a league off a little town. In this island was a very high hill, which burnt continually, and the inhabitants reported, that about three years before, the whole country had like to have been burnt, with the abundance of fire that issued out. About a league to the west of the chapel, was a good spring of fresh water, with which they were supplied. They have no wheat here; but there grows a seed they call Mill (or Millet) which makes good bread, and pease like those of Guinea. They have likewise plenty of most kinds of beasts, and goats. Their merchandise is cotton, which grows there. The inhabitants are Portuguese, who are forbidden to traffic with the English or French, for victuals or any other thing, except they are compelled to it. There lies off this island another called Brava, which is not more than two leagues over. Here is store of goats, and many trees, but not above three or four persons dwelling in it. Shaping their course on the 25th of February, towards the islands of Azores, on the 23d of March, they had sight of Flores, and Corvo, about two leagues to the north-west of it, where they came to anchor on the 27th, opposite a village of about 12 indifferent houses; but in the night being disturbed by a gale of wind, which caused them to drag their anchors, they hoisted sail, and went to Flores, where they saw surprising streams of water descending from the high cliffs, occasioned by the great and sudden fall of rain.

On the 29th, they came again to Corvo, and cast anchor; but a storm (which continued seven or eight hours together) obliged them to slip a cable and anchor, thinking to have recovered them again,

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when the wind was allayed; but the Portuguese had either taken or spoiled them. Both together were worth above forty pounds. On the 18th of April, they took in water at Flores: here their cable being fretted with a rock, broke, and with it they lost another anchor. Then they set sail to Fayal, about which lies three other islands, called Pico, Saint George, and Graciosa, which they had sight of on the 28th. And on the 29th, they cast anchor on the south-west side of Fayal, in a fine bay, with twenty two fathoms water, against a little town, where they had both fresh water and victuals. In this island there grows green wood; which, according to the inhabitants, is far better than the wood either of St. Michael or Tercera.

They came to Tercera on the 8th of May, where they met with a Portuguese ship, and being destitute of a cable and anchor, the general caused them to keep her company, to see if she could conveniently spare them any. The next morning, they perceived bearing with them a great ship and two caravals, all well appointed, which as they judged, were of the king of Portugal's fleet; on which the English prepared themselves for their defence. The ship was one of the king's, having about 400 tons burden, with 300 men, being well appointed with brass cannon, some of them so big, that their shot was as large as a man's head. As soon as they were within shot of the admiral, they brandished their swords, and shot at her; and while the men prepared for their defence, the great ship discharged a whole broad-side at her, and the four largest guns that lay in her stern; whereby some of the crew were hurt; the rest requiting them as well as they could with their shot. After this, two other caravals, and two pin-naces full of men, came from shore, and delivered them on board the great ship; with which, and the caraval, the admiral fought three times the first day. When it grew dark, they left off shooting; yet still kept up with her all night; during which interval, the sailors were employed to mend the ropes, and strengthen their bulwarks, resolving rather to die than be taken by them. On the 10th, in the morning, there were come to aid the Portuguese, four great caravals more, (which made seven in all) three of them were, at least, of 100 tons burden each, well appointed, and full of men. They all bore down upon the admiral, and one of the great caravals came to lay her aboard, having prepared their nettings, and every thing else for that purpose, advancing on her larboard, and the caraval on her starboard. The captain and master perceiving their design, ordered the gunners to charge the guns with cross-bars, chain and hail-shot. As soon as the ship and caraval were right in her sides; they poured in their shot as fast as they could, thinking to have laid her soon aboard; whereon she gave them such a welcome with both her sides at once,

that they were glad to fall a-stern, and pause upon it the space of two or three hours, the wind being very small. Then came up the other five, and having all shot at her, fell a-stern likewise, and went to consult with the rest. In the mean time, the small bark, George, coming up, conferred a good while with the admiral; then perceiving the Portuguese vessels advance, dropped astern of her, intending to come up again; but falling to leeward, it was so long before she could fill her sails again, for want of wind, that both the ship and caravals were come up to the admiral. However, the bark falling in among them, played her part very well, and though five of the caravals followed her, she defended herself against them all, while the great ship and other caravals, attacked the admiral, and fought her all that day with their ordnance. That night the May-flower coming up, (which she could not do before for want of wind) the captain told them what damage had been done him; and desired, if they could spare half a dozen fresh men, to hoist out their boat, and send them to him; but they said they could not, and so bore away again. Next morning, when the enemy saw the English ships still departed, they came up to the admiral once more, and began a furious fight, with much shouting and noise, thinking either to board or sink her; the English sailors, (although their number was but small) that the enemy should not think them afraid, made as much shouting as they could, and waved to them to come and board them if they durst. That they would not venture to do, seeing them so courageous, and having fought the admiral's ship all that day, were at last obliged to quit her. The May-flower came the next morning, and brought six men to the admiral, taking back some that were wounded in return.

Proceeding now for England, they came in sight of the Lizard on the 2d of June; and on the 3d, they saw a Portuguese vessel, which they ordered to send a boat on board them; and demanded what was their lading? To which, they answered, sugar and cotton. Then the English captain shewing them five negros, asked whether they would buy them, which they appearing very desirous to do, agreed to give forty small chests for them. Five of these had been delivered, when the Englishman perceived a large ship and a small one bearing down upon him, desired them to take their sugar back, that he might prepare for his defence. But the trading vessel earnestly intreating the admiral not to leave her, the latter agreed, and lowered her topsails to wait for her. At length however, the supposed enemy sheered off; and the Englishmen, pursuing their course, saw the Start Point on the 5th of June, and came to anchor under the Isle of Wight, from whence they afterwards proceeded to Southampton, and thus completed their voyage without farther molestation.

VOYAGES TO BENIN BEYOND GUINEA, IN 1588, AND 1590, BY JAMES WELSH.

THESE voyages were set forth by Messrs. Bird and Newton, merchants of London, with a ship called the Richard of Arundel, burthen 100 tons, and a pinnace. On the 12th of October, weighing anchor from Ratcliff, they went to Blackwall; and next day sailed from thence: but by reason of contrary winds and bad weather, it was the 25th, before they reached Plymouth; where they were unluckily weather-bound till the 14th of December, when putting to sea, about midnight they were athwart of the Lizard.

On the 2d of January, they had sight of the land near Rio del Oro; and there had twenty-two degrees forty-seven minutes latitude. On the 3d, they had sight of Cape De las Barbas, bearing south-east, five leagues off; on the 4th, in the morning, Crofiers; and on the 7th, off Cape Verd; where Welsh found the latitude, fourteen degrees and forty-three minutes, being four leagues from the shore. On the 17th, Cape de Mont, bore from them north-north-east, they founded, and had fifty fathoms black ooze; and

at two o'clock, it lay north-north-west, eight leagues off. Cape Mensurado bore off them east by south, and went north-east with the coast. Here the current sets east-south-east along the shore. At midnight they sounded, and had twenty-six fathoms black ooze. On the 18th, in the morning, they were near a land much like Cape Verd, nine leagues (as the author judged) from Cape Mensurado. It is a hill saddle-backed; and there are four or five one after another; seven leagues more to the southward, they saw a row of saddle-backed hills, and from Mensurado run many mountains.

They were in the height of Riodel Sefos, on the 19th, and next day, Cape des Baizas was north and by west, they being four leagues off shore. In the afternoon, there came a boat with three negros, from a place as (as they said) called Tabanoo; and towards evening, they were opposite an island, with a great many small islands or rocks, to the southward. The current came from the south; they sounded, and had thirty-five fathoms. On the 21st, they saw a flat hill, bearing north-north-east, being four leagues from shore; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, spoke with a Frenchman, riding by a place called Crua. This Frenchman carried a letter from them to Mr. Newton, (one of the adventurers). And as they lay at hull, while the letter was writing, the current set them to the southward; a good space along the shore, south-south-east. On the 25th, they were in the height of the bay, that is to the west of Cape Tres Puntas; the current setting east-north-east. On the 28th, they lay six glasses a hull, staying for the pinnace. The last of January, at seven in the morning, they were up with the middle part of the Cape, three leagues distant. At eight, the pinnace came to anchor, and they found the current set to the eastward. At six at night, the uttermost land bore east by south, five leagues, they shaping their course south-west, and south-west-by-south. On the 1st of February, they were opposite a very round foreland, which they took for the eastermost part of the Cape; within the fore-land was a great bay, and in that an island. On the 2d, they were up with the castle of Mina, and when the third glass of their look-out was spent, spied under their larboard quarter, a boat with certain negros, and one Portuguese in it. The master would have had him come on board, but he would not. Upon the high rocks over the castle, they perceived two watch-houses, (so they seemed to them) which appeared very white; they steered east-north-east. On the 4th, in the morning, they were opposite a great high hill, (and up in the land, there were more high, ragged hills) but little short, as they reckoned, of Monte Rodondo, and twenty leagues south-eastward from the Mina. At eleven, the master saw two hills within land, seven leagues from the former; and to the seaward a bay, at the east end whereof, was another hill; the land from the hills lying very low. Their course was east-north-east, and east by north, twenty-two leagues; and then east along the shore. On the 6th, they were short of Villa Longa, and met with a Portuguese caraval. Next day, which was fair and temperate, they rode before Villa Longa. On the 8th, at noon, they set sail again, and ten leagues from thence anchored, staying all that night in ten fathoms water. On the 9th, they proceeded along the shore, which was bordered with very thick woods; and in the afternoon, were near a river, to the eastward of which, a little way off was a great high tree, seemingly without leaves; at night they anchored, the weather being fair and temperate. The 10th, they went east, and east-by-south, fourteen leagues along the shore; which was covered with very thick woods. Towards night, they anchored in

seven fathoms; the weather fair. On the 11th, they sailed east by south, and three leagues from shore, had but five fathoms water. All the wood upon the land was as even as if it had been cut with gardener's sheers. Running two leagues, they discovered a high tuft of trees upon the brow of a land, which shewed like a porpoise's head; and when they came at it, found it was but part of the land. A league farther; they saw a very low head-land full of trees; and great way from the shore, meeting with very shallow water; they went more to sea to avoid the sands; and then they anchored in the mouth of the River Java; in five fathoms water. On the 12th, they sent the pinnace and the boat to land with the merchants, who returned not till next morning. The shallowest part of this river, is towards the west where there is but four fathoms and a half; and it is very broad. Here the current setting westward; and the eastermost land is higher than the westermost. On the 13th, they set sail, and by south-south-east along the shore, where the trees are wonderfully even. Having run eighteen leagues, they had sight of a great river, and anchored in three fathoms and a half, the current running westward. This was the river of Benin, and two leagues from shore it is very shallow. On the 15th, they sent the boat and pinnace into the river with the merchants; and because they rode in shallow water, went south-south-east till they came into five fathoms. By this time the boat returned from the harbour, and went on board the pinnace. The land to the westward was high browed, while that to the eastward was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees, like stacks of corn. Here they rode from the 14th of February, till the 14th of April, with the wind at south-west. On the 16th of February, the boat and pinnace came to them again out of the river, and told them, that there was but ten feet water upon the bar. All that night was hazy, and yet reasonably temperate. On the 17th, at close of day, the wind at south-west still, the merchants put their goods on board the pinnace. There came a great current out of the river, and set to the westward. Next day they went with their goods into the river. The weather was close and hazy, with thunder, rain, and lightning. The 24th, in the morning, close and temperate; in the afternoon, the boat came out of the river from the merchants. On the 4th of March, a close sultry hot morning, the current went to the westward, and much troubled water came out of the river. On the 16th, the pinnace came on board with Anthony Ingram in her, and brought ninety-four bags of pepper, and twenty-eight elephants teeth; but the master of her, and all the company were sick. This was a temperate day, and the wind at South-west, and continued so for three days. On the 19th, the pinnace went into the river again, and carried the purser and surgeon. On the 25th, they sent the boat into the river. On the 30th, the pinnace came from Benin, and brought 159 ceros or sacks of pepper, and elephants teeth, with the sorrowful news, that Thomas Heinsted was dead, and their captain also. They set sail homewards on the 13th of April, in the morning, with the wind at south-west, and stood west-and-by-north.—But it proved calm all that night; and the current ran south-east. On the 14th, being seven leagues from shore, the river of Benin was north-east. There was little wind all day; and towards night it was calm.*

The 17th was a fair temperate day, the wind variable; and they found the latitude four degrees 20 minutes. The 25th, was a day altogether like the former; and here they had three degrees and 29 min. of latitude. The 8th of May, they had sight of the shore, which was part of Cape de Monte, but they did not think they had been so far: this was occasioned

* That in all the time of their staying, in the mouth of the river Benin, and all the coast thereabout; it was fair temperate weather, when the wind was at south-west; and when at

north-east, and northerly, it rained, with lightning and thunder, and was very intemperate.

1590 fioned by the current. In this place Mr. Towerfon was in like manner deceived. On the 9th they had fight of Cape de Monte. The 17th, was a dark hazy day; and in the night, the author saw the North Star for the first time. The 26th was a temperate day, with little wind, and they were in 12 degrees 13 min. of latitude. The 13th they met with a great sea out of the north-west. The 6th of June they found it as temperate as if they had been in England, and yet they were within the height of the sun: for it was declined 23 degrees and 26 minutes to the northward, and they had 15 degrees of latitude. The 28th they had the same sort of weather, and met with a counter sea from the south.

On the 12th of July, in 30 degrees of latitude, they met with a great quantity of weeds, which stuck together like clusters of grapes, and this continued till the 17th, when they were in 32 degrees 46 minutes, and then saw no more. The 25th at six in the morning, they had sight of the Isle of Pike, bearing north by east, 15 leagues off. The 27th they spoke with the post of London; and they told them good news of England. The 29th they had sight of the island of Corvo, and next day saw the island of Flores. The 27th of August, in 41 degrees of lat. they saw nine sail of ships, and were followed by three of them till noon, who then gave over the chase. The 30th they had sight of Cape Finisterre.

On the 8th of September at night, they arrived at Plymouth Sound, and rode in Causon Bay all night. The 9th they put into Cat-water, and there staid till the 28th of September, by reason of sickness and want of men. The 29th they set sail from Plymouth, and came to London the 2d of October, 1589.

The commodities that were carried in this voyage were, both linen and woollen; iron-work of sundry sorts; Manillos, or bracelets of copper, glass beads,

and coral. The merchandise that they brought home were, pepper, and elephants teeth, oil of palm, cloth made both of cotton, and the bark of palm-trees, very curiously woven. Their money is pretty white shells,* for gold and silver the English saw none. Cotton grows in great plenty here. Their bread is made of a kind of roots, they call it Inemia; it is pleasant to the taste, and light of digestion: the root is as big as a man's arm. The Englishmen on fast days, had rather eat the root with oil and vinegar, than good stock-fish. There are palm-trees in great plenty, and the wine that comes from them considerable: it is white and very pleasant; and so cheap, that they could buy two gallons for 20 shells. They have store of soap, which smells like beaten violets. They make pretty mats, and baskets, which are very fine, also ivory spoons, curiously wrought with figures of birds and beasts. The lightning and thunder on this coast is prodigious. The people are very gentle and loving: both men and women go naked till they are married, and then they are covered from the middle to the knees.

The English could buy earthen pots, the quantity of two gallons, full of honey and honey-combs, for 100 shells. They could also bring great store of oranges, and plantains, which is the fruit of a tree much like a cucumber, but very pleasant to the palate.

The author informs us that he had the art of preserving fresh water; and that when he came to Plymouth, the experiment was made with little cost on the same he brought home, (which had served the ship for six months,) by the principal persons in that town, who were much surpris'd at it, and acknowledged, there was not sweeter water in any spring about the place.

THE SECOND VOYAGE TO BENIN, IN 1590.

ON the 3d of September the fleet set sail from Ratcliff, and the 18th they came to Plymouth Sound. The 22d they put to sea again, and at midnight were off the Lizard. On the 24th they had sight of Cape Verde; and on the 25th they met a great hollow sea out of the north. The 5th of November they met with three currents, from the west and north-west, within an hour one of another. This was in the latitude of six degrees, 42 minutes.

On the 15th of December they were opposite a rock two leagues distant, somewhat like the New-stone in England: it is not above a mile from shore. Here they had 27 fathoms water. A mile farther they saw another rock, and between them both, broken ground, where they had but 20 fathoms, and black sand; they could plainly discern that the rock went along the shore, but from the land to the seaward. About five leagues to the south they saw a great bay. The latitude was four degrees and 27 minutes. The 26th they met with a French ship of Honfleur, which had robbed their pinnace; they sent a letter by her; and this night they saw another spot in the sun. At his going down towards evening, they were opposite a river, and right over the river, was a high tuft of trees. The 17th, being the change of the moon, they anchored in the mouth of the river, and found the land to be Cape de Palmilas. Between them and the cape there was a great ledge of rocks, one league and a half from shore, and they bore to the west of the cape. They saw also an island off the foreland point. Night approaching, they could perceive no more of the land, but only that it tended inwardly like a bay, where there runs a stream as if it

were in the river of Thames. The 19th, a fair temperate day, and the wind south, they went east, and the land a-stern of them bore west, appearing low by the water-side, like islands. This was the east of Cape de Palmilas, the coast tending in with a great sound. They went east all night, and in the morning were but three or four leagues from shore. The 20th they were opposite a river called Rio de los Barbos. On the 21st they went east along shore; and three or four leagues to the west of Cape de tres Puntos, Mr. Welsh found the bay to be set down deeper than it is by four leagues. At four o'clock the land began to shew high, and the first part of it full of palm-trees. The 24th, still going by the shore, which was very low and full of trees, at 12 o'clock they anchored opposite the Rio de Boilas. Here they sent the boat on shore with the merchants, but they durst not put into the river, because of a great sea that continually broke at the entrance upon the bar. The 29th at noon they were opposite Arda, and there they took a caraval; but the negros fled on the land. Going on board, they found nothing in her but a little oil of palm-trees, and a few roots. Next morning the captain and merchants went to meet some Portuguese about a caraval they had taken, who came in a boat to speak with them, about ransoming the caraval, offering for her certain bullocks and elephants teeth. They gave them one of each sort, and said they would bring them the rest the next day. The first of January the captain went ashore to speak with

* These are called Cowries.

the Portuguese; but finding they dissembled, he came on board again, and presently unrigged the caraval, and set her on fire before the town. Then proceeding along the shore, they saw a date-tree, by the water-side, the like of which is not on all that coast. They ran on ground a little on one place; then getting to Villa Longa, anchored there. The 3d they were as far shot as Rio de Lagos, where the merchants went on shore, and upon the bar found three fathoms flat, but went not in, because it was late. There is to the eastward of this river a date-tree, higher than all the date-trees thereabouts. Thus they went along the coast, which was full of trees and high woods, anchoring every night.

On the 6th in the morning it was very foggy, so that they could not see land; but at three in the afternoon it clearing up, they found themselves opposite the river of Jaya, where, meeting with the shallow water, they ran out to sea, as they did the voyage before, and came to anchor in five fathoms. Next day they set sail again, and towards noon came before the river of Benin, in five fathoms water. The 10th, at two in the afternoon, the captain went on shore with the shallop. Every morning this week it was foggy till 10 o'clock; and hitherto the weather was as temperate as the summer in England. This day they went into the road, (the west point of which bore east north-east of them) and anchored in four fathoms water. The 21st being a fair temperate day, M. Hassald went to the town of Goto to hear news of the captain. On the 23d the caraval arrived, bringing with her 63 elephants teeth, and three bullocks. The 28th was fair and temperate; but towards night there fell much rain, lightning and thunder. This day the boat came aboard from Goto. The 24th of February, the wind at south-east, they took 298 sacks of pepper, and four elephants teeth. The 26th they got the rest of their goods into the caraval, and M. Hassald went with her to Goto. The 5th of March she came back and brought 21 sacks of pepper, and four elephants teeth. The 9th of April she came on board with water; and this day they lost their shallop. The 17th was a hazy rainy day. In

the afternoon they saw three great spouts of rain, two on the larboard side, and one right a-head, but they came not near them. This day they took in the last of their water: and the 26th they victualled the caraval to go with them to sea. The 27th they set sail homeward, with the wind south-west; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the river of Benin was north-east eight leagues from them.

On the 13th of August they fell in with the fleet under the Lord Thomas Howard, admiral, and Sir Richard Grenville, vice-admiral, which was lying at Hull, in waiting for Spanish ships, 30 leagues to the south-west of the island of Flores. They were detained till the 15th at night, and then had leave to depart, with a fly-boat laden with sugar, that came from Sant Thome, and were taken by the queen's ships; the lord admiral giving Mr. Walsb great charge not to leave her till she was harboured in England. The 23d, the north-east part of the island of Corvo, bore east and by south, six leagues off. The 17th of September they met a ship off Plymouth, that came from the West Indies, but she could tell them no news. The next day they had sight of another sail. This day also Mr. Wood, one of their company died. The 23d they spoke with the Dragon, of my lord of Cumberland, which Ivie was master of. The 6th of October they had sight of Scilly, and were forced by rain and wind to put into St. Mary's Sound, where they staid four days. Departing the 11th, they had three fathoms upon the bar at high water; then steering south-east, through Crowland; they shortly after had sight of the Land's End, and at ten o'clock were opposite the Lizard. — The 30th they put into Dartmouth, where they staid till the 12th of December, when setting sail with the wind at west, on the 18th they anchored at Limehouse, where they landed 589 sacks of pepper, 150 elephant's teeth, and 32 barrels of the oil of palm-trees. The commodities that were carried out this voyage were, broad-cloths, kerseys, linen, iron unwrought, bracelets of copper, coral, hawks bells, horse-tails, hats, and such like commodities.

THE VOYAGE OF THOMAS STEPHENS TO GOA.

THE first and most remarkable of the voyages of the English to the coast of Guinea, we have found it most proper to arrange together. We shall here notice those which were undertaken to the East Indies, or with a view to participate in that trade, or to interrupt the progress of foreigners in those parts. Both before and after the period we are speaking of, several voyages had been made to the Azores islands with various success, but not of sufficient consequence to be here particularly and separately noticed. The voyage we are about to present the reader, was performed by one Thomas Stephens* who, though he was only passenger in the Portuguese fleet to Goa, the account which he gave of the navigation seems to have been such as contributed to influence his countrymen in their endeavours to trade in the Indian seas, and if possible to get some footing in those remoter regions.

Our adventurer, with whose views in undertaking this voyage we are not made thoroughly acquainted, informs us that he left Italy, and arrived at Lisbon at

the end of March, eight days before the departure of the Portuguese fleet, consisting of five ships, which left the port on the 4th of April, 1579; and on the 10th of the same month, the ship wherein he embarked, being alone, was attacked near Madeira by a large English vessel, which, however, after having exchanged some few shot, bore away and left the Portuguese, though they saw her again at the Canaries where they arrived on the 13th. When they passed the Line, they were much incommoded by squalls and calms, and here our voyager made some nautical remarks, most of which have however been better illustrated by succeeding voyagers, and with which we shall not therefore trouble the reader. We shall only observe that he made the following observation on the signs of land to be observed in approaching the African coast.

“ At 30 leagues distant from the coast, and about 200 miles, as they computed, from any island, an incredible number of fowls of various kinds, followed the ship, some of which were so large [a sort of eagle] that their wings, when extended, stretched above seven spans, and they could not have wanted subsistence, as they were all very fat. These fowls were denominated by the Portuguese according to their different forms and qualities. In all calm places near the

* The account is contained in a letter written by Mr. Stephens to his father. He appears to have been a Jesuit, and was bred at New College, Oxford.

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the Æquinoctial Line they saw sharks about five feet long, that followed the vessel in order to catch any thing that might chance to fall over-board. They also saw numbers of flying fish, and their enemies the albigores.

Instead of doubling the Cape of Good Hope without coming in sight of land, they having a favourable gale, came so near the shore, that by the winds shifting, they were in danger of being wrecked off Cape des Aquilas, which is beyond the other Cape. After they had lain in dreadful condition, losing their anchors, and in danger of falling a prey to the roaring waves, to savage beasts, or yet more savage men, at length, the winds arising, delivered them from this danger; and they proceeded on their voyage to India, in the course of which, though more than 150 were sick, yet not above twenty-seven died; and Mr. Stephens enjoyed his health all the way. About the eleventh degree of latitude, they were followed for many days by some thousands of fish, which furnished

a good supply of provisions for them, which however, was not a sign of land. But at length they took two hawks, which they supposed to be a sign that they drew near India; however they were then near Socatora. Here strong winds springing up from the north-east, and north-north-east, they were deceived by currents, and continued ten days, without coming in sight of land, the first signs of which, were from fowls, which they knew to belong to India; afterwards they saw palms, sedges and leaves swimming upon the water; and on the 24th day of the month, they arrived at Goa, where they were received with the greatest cordiality. The account of this voyage is not so remarkable (as we have hinted) for any thing, as for its being the first given of any Englishman of this navigation, for which cause we have given it a place in this collection, and here given it in order, immediately preceding the English voyages to the East Indies.

A VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES IN THE YEAR 1591, BEING THE FIRST VOYAGE PERFORMED BY THE ENGLISH TO THOSE PARTS.

THE account of this voyage was taken from the description of Mr. Edmund Barker, lieutenant to Captain Lancaster.* The fleet sent out, consisted of three large ships, the *Penelope*, admiral, commanded by George Raymond; the *Merchant Royal*, vice-admiral, Abraham Cendel, captain; and the *Edward Bon-adventure*, rear-admiral, in which was James Lancaster.

On the 10th of April, they left Plymouth, and came to the Canaries the 25th; and departed on the 29th. On the second of May, they were in the heights of Cape Blanco; the 5th, passed the Tropic of Cancer; and on the 8th, they were in the altitude of Cape Verde. They had a fair wind at north-east till the 13th, when being within eight degrees of the equator, they met with a contrary gale, which obliged them to lie off and on in the sea, till the 6th of June, and then they passed the line. Before that, they took a Portuguese caraval, bound from Lisbon to Brasil, wherein they found sixty tuns of wine, 1200 jars of oil, and 100 of olives; besides some barrels of capers, three fats of pease, and divers other necessaries, which proved better to them than gold. Many of the men fell sick, and two died before they passed the line, it being extremely unhealthy between 8 deg. north-latitude, and the equator, at that time of the year; for they had nothing but tornados, with such thunder and lightning, that they could not keep their men dry three hours together, to which, and their eating salt victuals, with want of cloaths to shift them, they owed their sickness.

After passing the line, they had still the wind at east-south-east, which carried them along the coast of Brasil, at 100 leagues distance, till they came into twenty six degrees of south latitude, where the wind changed to the north. On the 28th of July, they had sight of the Cape; and till the 31st, lay off and on, with the wind contrary, in hopes to have doubled it; intending to have gone seventy leagues farther to Agoada de St. Blas, before they put into any harbour; but the men in all the ships being weak, and requiring some place to refresh, they steered to the northward of the Cape along the shore fifteen

leagues, and came to Agoada de Saldanna; a good bay, with an island lying to seaward of it, where they cast anchor on the 1st of August, and then landed the men: to whom there came certain savages, very black and brutish, but soon retired. For the first fifteen or twenty days, they could find no provisions but cranes and geese, which they shot, nor was there any fish but muscles and other shell-fish, which they gathered on the rocks. Then the admiral went with his pinnace to the island, where he found abundance of penguins and seals, of which he took plenty.

At length they seized a negro, and compelled him to march into the country with them; making signs that they wanted some cattle; but at this time, not coming to the sight of any natives, they let him go again, with some trifles, by way of present. However, within eight days, he with thirty or forty other negros, brought them about forty bullocks, and as many sheep, of which they bought a few, and eight days after, twenty-four of each sort. There are divers sorts of wild beasts, as the antelope, whereof Mr. Lancaster killed one, as big as a young colt, the red and fallow deer, with others unknown to us; and great numbers of overgrown monkeys.

Now it was thought good rather to proceed with two ships well manned, than with three, wanting sufficient hands; and as there were but 198 men in all; 101 were put into the admiral, and 97 into the *Edward*; and 50 (whereof many were pretty well recovered) left in the *Merchant Royal*, which, for many reasons, was sent home. The disease that consumed the men, was the scurvy. The soldiers who had not been used to sea, held out best; but the sailors dropped away. Six days after the departure of the *Merchant Royal*, the admiral left the bay of Saldanna, and quickly doubled the Cape of Good Hope; but being come to Cape Corientes, on the 14th of September, there arose a great storm, with violent gusts of wind, wherein they lost the admiral's company, and could never hear of him after, though they long sought, and staid for him at the Island of Comoro, the place appointed for rendezvous. Four days after, about ten in the morning, there fell a terrible clap of thunder

* This voyage was begun under the direction of Captain Raymond, whose ship was separated from the rest off the Coast

of Africa; and we hear nothing of the conclusion of his voyage.

thunder, which killed four men; (their necks being wrung asunder) and of ninety-four, there was not one untouched; some being struck blind, others being bruised in their legs and arms, some again in their breasts, so that they voided blood for two days after, others were drawn out at length, as though they had been racked; but all recovered. The main-mast was also sadly torn from the head to the deck, and some of the spikes that went ten inches deep into the timber, were melted with the extreme heat. Thence they sailed north-east, and fell in with the island of St. Lawrence: which one of the men luckily espied late in the evening, by moon light, without knowing what to make of it; but calling others to inform him, they perceived the sea breaking upon the shoals; whereupon, in very good time they tacked about, and escaped the danger. Passing on, they happened to overshoot Mozambic, and fell in with a place called Quintangone, two leagues to the northward, where they took two or three barks of Moors, which they called pangaias, laden with millio, hens, and ducks, with one Portuguese boy on board, going for the provision of Mozambic; a few days after, they came to an island 100 leagues to the north-east of Mozambic, called Comoro, which they found exceeding full of Moors, of tawny colour and good stature, but carefully to be watched, being very treacherous. Being in want of water they sent the boat with sixteen men well armed, whom the people suffered very quietly to land; and many of them came on board the ship with their king, dressed in a gown of crimson sattin, pinked after the Moorish fashion, down to the knees. The English entertained him in the best manner, and had some conference with him about the state of the place, and merchandizes; the Portuguese boy lately taken, serving for their interpreter. After this, they sent twice for water, and had it very quietly; they were now sufficiently furnished. However, William Mace, of Ratcliff, the master, pretending that it would be long before they should find any other good watering place, would needs go on shore himself with thirty men, much against the captain's will. But as half of them were washing over against the ship, the Moors took that opportunity, while they were divided, and killed most of them, in sight of those on board, who were not able, for want of a boat, to give them succour. From hence they shaped their course for Zanzibar on the 17th of November, where shortly after, they arrived, and made a new boat with such boards as they had in the ship. They rode there till the middle of February, in which time they saw many pangaias, or boats, which are fastened with pins, and sewed together with palmito cords, caulked with the husks of cocoa-shells beaten. At length a Portuguese pangaia coming out of the harbour of Zanzibar, where they have a small factory, sent a converted Moor, in a canoe, with a letter, desiring to know who they were, and what they wanted. The answer was, they were Englishmen, come from Don Antonio about business to his friends in the Indies. On which they went away, and returned no more: soon after they manned out their boat, and took a pangaia of the Moors, with one of their priests, called in their language, Sherif, whom they used very courteously. This the king took very kindly, and for his ransom, furnished them with two months victuals, all which time they retained the priest with them. These Moors informed them of the fallacy and spiteful dealings of the Portuguese; who, that the English might know nothing of the affairs and trade of the country, advised them if they loved their safety, not to go near the ship, representing the crew as men-eaters. During their stay here, they set upon a Portuguese pangaia, (armed with ten musquets) in their boat, but it being so small, that the men were not able to stir in it, they could not compass their design. In this harbour a ship of 500 tons may ride with safety; here is also good watering, with plenty of provisions, as oxen, hens, and fish,

besides variety of foreign fruits. Here again they had another clap of thunder, and their fore-mast was much shaken; but they finished, and repaired it with timber from the shore, where there is abundance of trees, some forty foot high, which was supposed to be cedar. Six days before their departure from hence, the cape merchant of the Portuguese factory, sent a letter to Captain Lancaster, by a negro, his man and a Moor in a canoe, requesting a jar of wine, another of oil, and two or three pounds of gun-powder. The captain sent him his demands by the Moor, but took the negro along with him, because he had been in the East Indies, and knew something of the country. He informed them of a small bark of thirty tons, called by the Moors a junk, which came from Goa thither, with pepper for the factory.

They set forward on the 15th of February, for Cape Comori, intending there to have lain off and on for such ships as should have passed from Zeilan, St. Thomas, Bengal, Pegus, Malacca, the Maluccos, the Coast of China, and the Isle of Japan; which vessels are exceeding rich; but being deceived by the currents that set into the Red-sea, along the Coast of Melinda; and the wind shortening upon them to the north-east, and easterly, they were driven farther to the northward, within eighty leagues of the Isle of Zecotora. However, here they always found abundance of dolphins, bonitos, and flying fishes. Now the ship being so much driven out of her course, and the time so far spent, they determined to sail either for the Red-sea, or the said island; but the wind very luckily came about to the north-west, and carried them directly towards Cape Comori. Before they doubled it, they purposed to touch at one of the islands of Mamale, in twelve degrees north, which yielded provisions; but missed it, partly through the obstinacy of the master: for the day before they fell in with some of the islands, the wind coming about to the south-west, they changed their course. The wind increasing southerly, they feared they should not have been able to double the Cape, which would have greatly hazarded their casting away on the Coast of India: for the winter season, and western monsoons which continue on that coast till August, were already come in. Nevertheless, the wind changing more westerly in May, 1592, they happily doubled the Cape, without sight of the land. Hence they directed their course for the islands of Nicobar, (which lie north and south with the western part of Sumatra, in seven degrees north latitude) and having a very good wind, arrived there in six days, although the weather was foul, with violent rain, and gusts: but by the master's fault, in not duly observing the south star, they fell, the 1st of June to the southward of them, within sight of the islands of Gomes Polo; and kept on the north-east side of them, two or three days becalmed, plying off and on the Coast of Sumatra, but two leagues distant, expecting to have a pilot from thence; now the winter coming on, with much contagious weather, they sailed for the islands of Pula Pinami, where they arrived the beginning of June, and came to anchor between them, in a very good harbour, in six degrees thirty minutes north, about five leagues from the Coast of Malacca. Here they determined to winter, and landed their men, being very sick, of whom twenty-six died, and among the rest, John Hall, their master, and Rainold Golding, a merchant of very good sense; they had lost their surgeon before, so that when they left the island, there were but thirty-three men and a boy left, of whom not above twenty-two were fit for labour, and of them, not past a third part sailors. Their refreshing, in this uninhabited place, was very small, being only oysters and great wilks growing on rocks, with some few fish, which they took with their hooks. However these islands are full of trees of white wood, above 100 foot high, and so strait, that they are fit for masts.

The winter being passed, and their ship fitted for putting to sea, towards the end of August they departed

1566.

parted to seek some place of refreshment; and crossing over to the coast of Malacca, next day they came to anchor in a bay of six fathoms water, two leagues from shore. Here captain Lancaster, his lieutenant, and some others landed, and perceived fresh tracks of barefooted people, with a fire burning; but saw no living creature, except a certain kind of sea fowl, called Ox Birds, which are very tame, and like a snipe in colour, but not in beak. Having killed eight dozen with hail-shot, they returned towards night on board. Next day a canoe, with about 16 naked Indians, drew near them, but would not come aboard; however, the English going afterwards on shore, they came and conversed with them in a friendly manner, and promised them victuals. They saw three ships the day following of 60 or 70 tons each, one of which they made to strike with their very boat, and understanding it was of the town of Martabam, (which is the chief haven for the great city of Pegu) and that the goods belonged to some Portuguese Jesuits, and a biscuit-baker of the same nation, they took it, but did not force the other two, because they were the property of the merchants of Pegu. All three were freighted with pepper, which they landed at Pera, a place 30 leagues to the south. The night following, all the men except twelve, whom they had taken into their ship, being most of them Peguins, fled in their boat, leaving their ship and goods, which were put on board the *Edward*. After this they took another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and dismissed her without touching any thing.—Their sick men being somewhat refreshed, and strengthened with such relief as they found in the prize, after a stay of 10 days, in the beginning of September they sailed into the streights, and came to Pulo Sambilam, 45 leagues northward of the city of Malacca, to which islands the Portuguese ships must always come, that are bound from either Goa, or St. Thomas, for the Maluccos, China, and Japan. When they had been five days plying to and fro, upon a Sunday, they saw a sail, which proved to be a Portuguese ship of 250 tons, laden with rice for Malacca, that came from Nagapatam, a port of India, over against Ceylon. Having taken her, Lancaster ordered their captain and master on board his own ship, and sent his lieutenant and seven more to keep the prize, which rode in 30 fathoms water; there being good anchorage in that channel, three or four leagues from shore. They thought also to have taken a Portuguese ship of St. Thomas, of 400 tons, that came and anchored by the prize in the night, but the *Edward* was so foul that she escaped. After taking out of the prize what they thought fit, they turned her a-drift, with all her crew, except a pilot and four Moors. The 6th of October they met with a Malacca ship of 700 tons that came from Goa, which yielded after her main-yard was shot through. The captain, master, and pilot, being commanded to come on board, only the captain, with one soldier came. After some conversation, he proposed to go and fetch the rest, under pretence that they would not come unless he went for them; but as soon as he reached the ship in the evening, he made to shore with all the people, to the number of 300 men, women and children, in two great boats. They found on board 25 pieces of brass cannon, 300 butts of Canary and palm-wine, with many other commodities; but they found none of the treasure which is usually brought by the galleons in royals of plate. Because the sailors pillaged this rich ship in a disorderly manner, and would not remove the wines into the *Edward*, the captain, after taking out the choicest goods, set her adrift. For fear of the forces of Malacca, they departed thence to a bay in the kingdom of Junfalaom, between Malacca and Pegu, eight degrees to the northward, to seek for a pilot to trim their ship. Here they sent the soldier who was left behind by the captain of the galleon, and spoke the Malayan tongue, to deal for pitch, of which he procured two or three quintals. They likewise sent commodities to barter with the king for am-

bergrease, and the horns of the rhinoceros, and highly esteemed by the Moors in those parts, as a sovereign remedy against poison. They got but two or three of those horns, which are of a brown grey colour, and a quantity of ambergrease, whereof the trade only belongs to the king, who at last went about to seize the Portuguese and their merchandise, which the man perceiving, they told him there was gilt armour, shirts of mail, and halberts (things they greatly desired) on board the ships, for which, the king let him return. They then left the coast, and passing by Sumatra, went to the islands of Nicabar, inhabited by Moors, with whom they trafficked. On the 21st of November they departed for the island of Zeilan, and arrived on the south side on the 3d of December, in six fathoms water; but the ground being rocky and foul, they lost their anchor. Then they ran along the south-west shore, to a place called Punta del Galle, intending to wait for the Bengala and Pegu fleets: the first of seven or eight ships, and the 2d of two or three, which with the Portuguese ships of Tanaseri, (a great bay in the kingdom of Siam, to the southward of Martabam) were to come that way within 14 days, with commodities for the Caraks, that commonly depart from Cochin for Portugal by the middle of January.

Having left their anchor in foul ground before Punta Galla, they lay all that night adrift, because the two they left were unstocked, and in hold, which the sailors made a handle of to return home. The captain at that time lying dangerously sick, in the morning, it was resolved to ply up to the northward, and keep too-and-again out of the current, which otherwise would have carried the ship to the southward out of the reach of land. Having, with this view, hoisted the fore-sail, and prepared to set the rest, the men declared they would take their direct course for England, and the captain was forced to give way.

On the 8th of December they set sail for the Cape of Buona Speranza, passing by the islands of Malvida, and leaving that of St. Lawrence, in 26 degrees, to the northward. Betwixt this island and the coast of Africa, they found great store of bonitos, and albacores, which are a larger kind of fish, of which Captain Lancaster, being now recovered, caught, with an hook, as many in two or three hours, as would serve 40 persons a whole day. They took as many daily for five or six weeks, which was no small refreshment for them. In February, 1593, they fell in with Baia de Agoa, 100 leagues to the north-east of the Cape of Good Hope, but finding the winds contrary, they spent a month or five weeks before they could double it. After which, in March following, they sailed for St. Helena, and arrived the 3d of April, where they stayed, to their great comfort, 19 days. Lieutenant Barker going on shore here, with four or five Peguins, or men of Pegu, and the surgeon, in a house by the chapel, found John Segar, of Bury, in Suffolk, who having been dangerously ill, was left there eight months before, by Abraham Kendall, in the Royal Merchant to recover his health. He seemed as fresh-coloured as could be expected; but whether through fright, apprehending them at first to be enemies, or through excess of joy, when he understood they were his old comforts, he became light-headed; and taking no rest for eight days, died for want of sleep. Here two of the men, whereof one was troubled with the scurvy, and the other had been nine months sick of the flux, soon recovered.

The captain departing from hence wished to go to Brasil, but the sailors absolutely refused; therefore they directed their course for England, till they came to eight degrees of the line; spending six weeks in the way, with many calm and contrary winds at north-east and west, which loss of time, and expence of their provisions, (of which they had but a small complement) made them think of altering their course; and some of the men beginning to mutiny, threatened to break up the chests of others for victuals: for every

man had his share in his own custody, that they might be sure what they had to trust to; and husband it the better. The captain, desirous to prevent this mischief, having been informed by one of the company, who had been at the Isle of Trinidad, that there they should be sure to meet with provisions; directed his course to that island; but not being acquainted with the currents, was carried the beginning of June into the gulph of Paria. Here they were eight days, and often in three fathoms water; finding the current continually setting in, and no way out, till they got to the western side, under the main-land, where they found no current at all, and the water deeper; and so keeping by the shore, the wind, which blew from land every night, at length helped them out to the northward. Being clear within four or five days after, they fell in with the island of Mona, where they rode 18 days, in which time the Indians gave them some refreshment; and a French ship of Caen, in Normandy, likewise arriving, they bought of M. de Barboterre, the captain, two pipes of wine, bread, and other victuals. After this they fitted out their ship, and stopped a great leak, which sprung in the gulph of Paria, being ready to depart, there arose a storm from the north which drove them from anchor, and forced them to the southward of Santo Domingo. This night they were in danger of shipwreck on an island called Savone, which is invironed with flats, lying four or five miles off; getting clear of them, they directed their course westward along Santo Domingo; and doubling Cape Tiberon, passed through the old channel, between that island and Cuba, for the cape of Florida. Here they met again the Caen ship, whose captain could spare them no more victuals, but only hides which he had trafficked for upon those islands. Being clear off the channel of Bahama, they steered for the banks of Newfoundland. In this course they ran to the height of 36 degrees, and as far to the east, as the isle of Burmuda; where, the 27th of September, finding the wind very variable, (contrary to their expectations and all men's writings) they lay by a day or two; but a dangerous storm arising, and being in danger of perishing, they judged it best to turn back again to Dominica, and the adjacent islands to seek relief; but before they could get thither, the wind failed them, so that they were obliged to shape their course westwardly to the Nueblas, or Cloudy Islands, near St. Juan de Porto Rico, where they found land

crabs, fresh water, and tortoises, which go on shore; mostly about the full moon. Having refreshed here 18 days, and taken in a little provision, they resolved to return to Mona; only five men, who could not be prevailed on to go, staid behind; and got home afterwards in an English ship. They arrived the 15th of November, 1593 at Mona, where the captain, with his lieutenant, and 16 others, went to the houses of the old Indian, and his three sons, hoping to get victuals; all theirs being spent. They were three days seeking provisions for relief of those on board; but the wind being northerly, and the sea running high, so that the boat could not get on shore to fetch it off; they resolved to wait till next day. In the mean time, about 12 at night, the carpenter cutting the cable, the ship drove away with only five men and a boy in her. In this distress they separated in companies, that place not being sufficient to support them all. The captain and six others lived on stalks or purselane boiled, and now and then got a pompion in the old Indian's garden, who, at this time, fled from them to the mountains. It was 29 days before they descried a French ship of Dieppe, called the Louisa; which, on their making a fire, bore in with the land, and anchored at the western end of the island. The Indian and his sons on this, came down to Captain Lancaster, and went with him to the ship, and the next day 11 more were carried on board, and used courteously. The same day another ship of Dieppe arrived, and staid till night, expecting the other seven men; but although guns were fired off to call them, they came not. Hereupon the ship departing, arrived at the north side of St. Domingo, where the Englishmen remained till April following, 1594, and spent two months in traffic with the inhabitants, by permission, for hides, and other merchandise.* At this place Captain Laneaster and his lieutenant went on board another ship of Dieppe, John la Noe captain; leaving the rest of their company to follow. On Sunday the 17th of April, 1594, they shaped their course homeward, and passing through the Caijeos (near the windward passage) the 19th of May arrived safe at Dieppe, where having staid two days to refresh, they crossed over to Rye, and landed on Friday the 24th of the same month, 1594, after an absence of three years, six weeks, and two days, from their native country.

A VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES, IN 1598, BY CAPTAIN JOHN DAVIS.

THIS voyage was written by Davis himself, and seems to have been sent by him from Middleborough in Zeland, in a letter to Robert earl of Essex, which letter, dated the first of August, 1600, is prefixed to the relation. From this we learn that the author had been employed by his lordship, for discovering the eastern parts of the world; whence he took occasion to tell the earl, that his journal contained only such things as fell within his own observations, but that when he should be honoured with an opportunity, he would give him an account of what he had learned on board, relating to the king of Portugal's places of trade and strength, as well as to the commerce of the eastern nations among themselves: that

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with regard to the Portuguese possessions, he would begin at Sofala, which is their first footing beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and so proceed to Mozambique, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Coulam, Onor, Mangalor, Cochinchin, Columbo, Negapatam, Porto Grande in Bengala, and Malacca, the city of Macao, in the province of Canton in China; and Molucas, and Amboyna.

The fleet set out on the 25th of March, 1598, from Flushing, with two ships, the Lion and the Lioness; the former of 400 tons, and 123 persons on board; the latter of 250 tons and 100 persons. The owners were Mushrom, Clark, and Monef, of Middleborough; and their chief commander was Cornelius

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* By a ship of Newhaven, which touched there, they had intelligence of their seven men, who were left behind at Mona, which was, That two of them broke their necks in venturing to take fowls upon the cliffs; three others were slain by the Span-

iards who came from St. Domingo, on information given by those who went in the Edward; and the other two this Newhaven man had with him in his ship, having escaped their hands.

1600

lius Houteman, who had a commission from Grave Maurice. They anchored in Torbay, with very rough winds, on the 22d, from whence they sailed, on the 17th of April, 1599; and on the 20th, had sight of Porto Santo. On the 23d, they fell in with the Island of Palma; and on the 30th, came to the Isles of Cape Verde. On the 1st of May, they anchored at St. Nicholas, one of those islands in sixteen degrees, sixteen minutes north latitude, where they watered the 7th, and setting sail, on the 9th, fell in with St. Jago. On the 9th of June, they made the Coast of Brasil, in seven degrees south latitude. And not being able, for the unsteady winds and bad weather, to double the Cape St. Augustine, shaped their course for the little Island Fernanda Loronha, in four degrees, where they arrived the 15th, and anchored on the north-side of it, in eighteen fathoms. The island is very fruitful, and here is good water, also beef, goats, hogs, hens, melons, Guinea corn, plenty of sea fowl and fish. There were on the island but twelve negros, eight men and four women, who had been left by the Portuguese to till the ground: no ships having been there for three years before. On the 26th of August, they left this island with a north-east wind; and the last of the month, doubled the Cape of St. Augustine. On the 10th of September, they passed the danger they most apprehended, the shoals of Abrolhes, which lie off the Coast of Brasil, far into the sea, in twenty-one degrees south. On the 11th of November, they anchored in the Bay of Saldanna, in thirty-four degrees south, and here found three good rivers. They traded with the natives at very easy rates, having had fat sheep and oxen for old nails, and pieces of iron, not the value of a penny. The oxen were buffaloes, which have a great lump of flesh (like the bunch upon the camels back) between the shoulders; and the sheep have no wool, but long shaggy hair, and large tails (all intire fat) which weigh twelve or fourteen pounds. The natives are of an olive complexion, darker than the Brasilians; their hair black and curled, like the negros of Angola, but not circumcised; their faces painted with several colours, and all naked, except a short cloak of skins, and sandals upon their feet. "They are a strong, active people, (says the author) and very swift runners. Their words are, for the most part, articulate, and in speaking they cluck with the tongue, like a hen; which clucking and the word coming both together, found very oddly. Their weapons are only darts; they are subject to the great king of Monomotapa. The Flemmings having done them some injury, they absented themselves for three days; and having in the mean time, alarmed the country by great fires from the mountains. On the 19th, they came again, bringing much cattle along with them. But while the Dutch were bartering with them, they made a sudden and furious assault upon the sailors, killing thirteen, and although their hand-darts could do no hurt at four pikes length, yet the rest throwing away their weapons, took to their heels, the barbarians pursuing them. Their captain (who did not think fit to venture himself in the skirmish) sent them a parcel of weapons from the ships, swords, targets, pikes, and musquets; but the Flemmings, though like giants for size, durst not venture out of their tents, and though Captain Davis, with his friend Mr. Tomkins, offered to repulse the enemy, if they would assist him, yet the greater part refused. The same night they went all on board. The country thereabouts is a very good soil, and a pleasant air, it abounds with useful plants, as mint, plantanes, ribwort, trefoil, scabioes, &c. Departing on the 27th, they, on the last of this month, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 6th of December, the Cape des Aquillas, which is the most southern point of all Africa: it lies in the thirty-fifth degree of south latitude. On the 16th of January, 1599, they fell in with Madagascar, short of Cape Romano; but not being able to double it; all the rest of this month

they steered for the Bay of St. Augustine, on the south-west part of the island, where, on the 3d of February, they anchored, many people appearing on the shore, but on their landing, they fled. The reason of this was, that the Dutch captain in a former voyage, had done much injury to the natives, one of whom he took, bound to a post, and shot to death. Yet after seven days waiting, and means had been used to mollify them, they brought some milk and one cow, which the Dutch bought, and then took their final leave of them. These people have strong and well made bodies, and go naked, their skins is coal black, their speech sweet and pleasing: their weapons are half-pikes, headed with iron, which they keep very bright.

"The country seems very fruitful, and produces great store of tamarind-trees, and a sort of beans, (that grow upon high trees) the pods of which, are two feet long, and proportionably large, and make a very good food; cameleons are numerous here. The English especially, suffered great misery in this bay, from whence they all went on board, the 8th of March, extremely hungry, and without any meat. On the 14th, they departed, naming it Hungry Bay, and shaped their course to the north-side of the island. On the 29th of March, 1600, they came up with the islands Comoro, which are five in number, lying between twelve and thirteen degrees, south latitude: and on the 13th of May, anchored at one of them called Mayotta, close by a town, where they met with people who seemed to be glad of their coming, and brought provisions. The captain being invited on shore, went, and the king met him, with three drums beating before him; and a fine retinue, all richly dressed in long silk embroidered garments, after the Turkish mode. They were received very kindly by his majesty, who gave him a letter of recommendation to the queen of Ansuma (or Joanna) whither they afterwards went, and were well received.

"On the 28th, they departed, passing through the islands of Mascarennas, by the shoals de Almirante; and on the 23d of June, fell in with the Maldivia Islands, which are low, close by the water, and so covered over with cocoas, that nothing but green trees appear. Being at anchor here, many Indian boats passed by, but none would come to them, which caused the captain to give orders for the taking one of them. On the 24th, the ships boats brought in one of them, which was covered with mats, like a close barge, and had in her a gentleman and his wife. He was dressed in very fine white linen, after the Turkish manner, had rich stone rings on, and his behaviour was affable, his aspect modest, and his speech graceful, as bespoke him a man of quality. The captain went into his boat to see his wife, whom he unwillingly shewed him; she sat with silent modesty, not speaking a word; he also opened her casket, wherein were some jewels and ambergrease. What was taken from them, Davis knew not, but in going away that gentleman behaved with a princely spirit. He was of a middle stature, was black, and had smooth hair."

These islands are reported to be some thousands in number. Their plenty of cocoas brings them a good trade, since they make bread, wine, and oil, ropes, sails, and cables, of the several parts of that fruit. On the 27th, there came on board an old man, who spoke a little Portuguese; when setting sail, he was their pilot through the true channel, called Maldivia, which, by good luck they hit upon, lying in four degrees fifteen minutes, north latitude, there the compass had seventeen degrees west, variation. Vast numbers of ships from all parts of India, pass through this channel, which is very dangerous to miss. On the 3d of June, they fell in with the Coast of India, in eight degrees forty minutes; north, near Cochin; and coasting this shore, doubled Cape Comorin, from whence they steered their course for Sumatra. They saw the Coast of Sumatra on the 13th, in five degrees forty minutes, north latitude;

They arrive at Achin.

latitude; and on the 21st, anchored in the bay of Achin, in twelve fathoms. Here they found some barks of Arabia and Pegu, that came for pepper, and Don Alphonso Vincent, a Portuguese, with three or four barks from Malacca, who came (as they found afterwards) to frustrate their trade. Soon after the king sent officers to measure their ships, and take the number of the men and ordnance. With them the captain sent two of his people, who carried a looking glass, a drinking glass, and a bracelet of coral, as a present for the king; and he sent them back, clothed after the manner of the country, in white calico, with tidings of peace, and plenty of spice.

On the 23d, at midnight, the king sent for the captain, and a nobleman as hostage. His majesty, besides a civil entertainment, made him a promise of a free trade; and gave him as a mark of his particular favour, the cruse of honour. This is a sort of weapon like a dagger, it has no cross, nor hilt, but the haft and handle are of a metal of a fine lustre, valued more than gold, and richly set with rubies. It is death for any man to wear it, unless given by the king. And he that has this favour, has an unlimited power to take victuals without paying for them, and command all others as his slaves. At his return, he brought a boat load of pepper along with him, and reported incredible things of his own good reception, and the great trade he had procured; but told the Englishmen, the king often asked if he was not of that nation; which he denied, uttering many words against the English, and saying he would give a thousand pounds that there had been none on board. On the 27th, the merchants went on shore with their wares, having a house prepared by the king's appointment. Some time after, the captain being at court again, the king discovered the treacherous design of the Portuguese to him; but promised to stand his friend, and gave him a purse of gold. Then he was asked again, if he was an Englishman or not, and having answered that he was of Flanders, the king replied, it was a country that he had never heard of, but that the fame of England had reached his ears some time before. And when he heard that there were some Englishmen in the ship, (though to their disparagement, it was said, that they had their education in Flanders) yet to their further mortification, he told him, that he must see some of the men of that country. As for the business of trade, it was then agreed, that the captain should assist him in his wars against the king of Jor, (or Jahor) and, in consideration of that service, should have a full lading of pepper. The king afterwards expressed some resentment, that none of the English had yet been brought to wait on him, (for neither Davis nor Tomkins were suffered to go on shore) and reproached the captain, as if he intended to quit the service he had covenanted to perform. Upon this Captain Davis was presently sent for; and on the 22d, waited on the king, with whom he staid four or five hours feasting. When he had been there about an hour, he stood up; and the Shah Bandar, first taking off his hat, put a roll of white linen round his head, and a sash of the same, embroidered with gold, that went twice about his waist, and hung half down his under vest of white, and over that, one of red. Then the king made him eat, and drank to him in aqua-vitæ. He was served all in gold and china, and ate on the ground, without either table or cloth. The greatest part of his discourse, was about England, the queen and her nobles, and he greatly admired them for their wars with the king of Spain, whom he had imagined to be the absolute monarch of all Europe. Captain Davis was sent for by the prince, on the 23d, and rode to court on an elephant, excessive eating and drinking, was their entertainment. This day he met with a considerable China merchant, who spoke Spanish, of whom he learned some things of moment. There were many Chinese traders here, who had their particular town; so had the Portuguese, the Guzarat Arabs, and those of

Bengal and Pegu. The captain disliking that he should keep company so much with the Chinese, ordered him on board. On September the 1st, they had orders to take in soldiers and ordnance, and to prepare for the battery of the city of Jor, and to colour the design that was going on, the better, the great galleys were brought out of the river, and the sea all about them was covered with praws, and boats loaded with armed men; some of the chief came on board them, as Carcoun, the secretary, and Abdalla, the chief Shah Bandar, with a good company of soldiers, appointed with all sorts of weapons; who pretended only a good carouse with the good liquors they had brought. The crew suspecting another sort of entertainment, prepared accordingly, making fast all the gratings, and prepared their weapons, in spite of the captain, who seemed under no apprehension of danger. The Achinese, whose design was to cut their throats, the more easily to effect it, mixed all the meat and drink they brought on board, with a sort of seed, which grows in the country, a little of which, makes a man as it were senseless; so that things appear to him quite otherwise than they really are, but if taken in a large quantity, is a deadly poison. During the banquet, the Shah Bandar, and the secretary sent for Mr. Davis, and spoke to one of their attendants, but what he knew not. Soon after the drug began to operate upon them, so that they quite lost the due management of themselves, and began to gape and stare upon one another. The captain was a prisoner, and knew nothing of it. And now they had brought them into the condition they desired, upon a signal given from the other ship, (where the secretary had gone to play the same game) they fell upon them, killed the captain and several others. Davis and Tomkins seeing this, with a Frenchman, defended the poop, which was all that was left of the ship; the enemy having got possession of the cabin, and of the guns, by creeping in at the port holes. The master of the ship and others leaped into the sea till all was over, and then came in again. At length the Achinese began to fly, for the sailors from the tops, annoyed them much) which when Davis and Tomkins saw; they leaped from the poop to pursue them. They were met by a Turk coming out of the cabin, who wounded Tomkins grievously, but as both lay struggling on the ground, Davis ran him into the body with a small sword, and the skipper dispatched him, by thrusting a half-pike down his throat. By this time the secretary and his party had got possession of the other ship, and murdered the principal persons belonging to it: but those of Davis's vessel having cut her cable, made towards them, and by means of their guns, soon obliged the Indians to fly, and recovered the ship, the galley not daring to assist them. The sea was covered with Indians heads, for they swam away by hundreds; among the rest, the Shah Bandar, and one of the king's near kinsmen were killed, and the secretary wounded. The news of this overthrow, so inflamed the tyrannical prince, who was then by the sea-side, that he cut off the heads of all the Flemmings on shore, eight only excepted, whom he reserved for slaves. Their loss amounted to sixty-eight men in all, including those that were under confinement, besides the two pinnaces and a boat. While they staid at Achin, they had got 140 tons of pepper on board their ships: but upon the rupture, all the money and merchandise on shore, as well as the men, were lost; by which means, many young adventurers were quite ruined, and Captain Davis himself, did not come off much better.

"The soil of this island (Sumatra) is very rich and fertile; it produces variety of excellent fruits, and very good timber for shipping, but no sort of grain, only rice, of which they make their bread. Here are mines of gold and copper; precious balms and gums, rubies, sapphires, and garnets, with much indigo, and many other valuable commodities; particularly, pepper grows here in such plenty, that they are able

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Treachery of the Achinese.

1600 to lade 20 ships every year, and might many more; if they were industrious. It grows like hops, from a planted root, which, by degrees, winds itself up about a pole, till it becomes a great bushy tree. The pepper hangs in clusters three inches long, and one about, each cluster having forty or more corns in it; besides these mineral and vegetable productions, it affords plenty of serviceable animals, as horses, oxen, goats, wild hogs, elephants, and buffaloes, which last they use in ploughing their ground. To these advantages may be added a very wholesome and temperate air in most places, with sweet dews and fruitful showers that never fail to cool and refresh the ground.

The island of Sumatra is divided into four kingdoms, Achin, Pider, Manancabo, and Aru. The three last are tributary to the first; but Aru holds with the king of Jor, and refuses subjection. Captain Davis heard of no more than five principal cities in this isle. Achin, Pider, Pasem, Daia, and Manancabo. Achin, the capital city of the whole island, stands in a wood, and is so much covered with trees, that not a house is to be seen till one is just upon it. It is a very large scattered place, and the houses stand almost like the trees, without any order or uniformity: they are raised upon posts, eight or nine feet from the ground, and have walls and coverings of mats. Here is a vast concourse of people, and the three market-places yield every day the prospect of so many fairs. The haven that leads to it is very small, being but six foot at the bar, and it has one of the worst, and most ill-contrived forts made of stone, being round, without covering, battlements, or flankers, and low-walled like a pound; but there is a very pleasant road before this fort, in which (the wind still blowing from shore) a ship may ride a little way off in 18 fathoms water, and close by in six and four fathoms.

"The king of Achin was called Aladin, and was said to be 100 years old. He was a healthy man, but exceeding corpulent. He was originally a fisherman (of which this place had very many, for they live mostly upon fish;) but discovered so much valour and conduct in ordering the former king's galleys in time of war, that his sovereign made him admiral of his sea forces, and gave him to wife one of his nearest kinswomen. The king had an only daughter married to him of Jor, by whom he had a son, who was sent to Achin to be under his grand-father. The old king dying suddenly, the fisherman, who was then chief commander both by land and sea, took the protection of the child, in which the nobility and gentry opposing him, he put to death more than a thousand of them, and made new lords of the meaner forts. This done, he murdered the child, and then proclaimed himself king in right of his wife. On this a war arose between him and the king of Jor, which still continued. These twenty years he had by force held the kingdom, and then seemed to be secure. His palace stands half a mile from the city upon the river Ore, and any one must pass three courts of guards in order to get at him; it is built as other houses are, but much higher. He sitteth where he can see, and unseen by all that come to see any of his guards. The walls and coverings consist of mats. It is hanged sometimes with cloth of gold, sometimes with velvet, and sometimes with damask. He sits upon the ground cross-legged, and so must all in his presence. He wears four crosses, two before, and two behind, rich with diamonds and rubies; and had a sword lying on his lap. He was attended by at least, 40 women, some with fans to cool him, others with cloths to wipe off the sweat; some gave him aqua-vitæ, others water; the rest sung pleasant songs. He did nothing but eat and drink from morning to night, and sit with his women; and delighted much in cock-fighting; and as was the king, so were his subjects, for their pleasure led all the same way.

"If the king puts any of his subjects to death, they are torn to pieces by elephants, or impaled. There are many fettered prisoners that go about the

town, besides what may be in the goals. His women are his chiefest counsellors. He had three wives and many concubines, which were very closely kept. He had great store of brass ordnance, which they used without carriages, firing them as they lay upon the ground. They were the greatest the English ever saw; and the metal was reported to be mixed with gold. The strength of his land forces lies in his elephants:

"In religion they are a sort of Mahometans. They bring up their children in learning, and have many schools. They had an archbishop and spiritual dignities. There was one in Achin whom they greatly honoured as a prophet, and said he had the gift of the Spirit. He was distinguished from the rest in apparel, and much carested by the king.

"In the place of sepulture for the kings, every grave had a piece of gold at the head, and another at the foot, weighing a thousand pounds each, and all richly adorned with precious stones. The English had a great curiosity to see the king's sepulchres, because of the great wealth reported to be therein, but could not. The people were addicted to commerce, and generally very expert in business with respect to mechanical arts. They had goldsmiths, gun-founders, ship-rights, taylors, weavers, hatters, pot-makers, and distillers of aqua-vitæ, which is made of rice, (for they must drink no wine) cutlers and smiths. As to their burials, every generation or family have their particular places in the fields to inter their dead. They lay their heads towards Mecca, having a free-stone at each end of the grave, with the feet curiously wrought, thereby signifying the worthiness of the person.

"Here was a great resort of merchants from China, Bengal, Pegu, Java, Coromandel, Guzarat, Arabia, and Rumos in the Red Sea, and the place from whence Solmon sent his ships to Ophir for gold; which is now called Achin, as by tradition they affirm; and these of Rumos from Solmon's time to this day, have followed the same trade.

"They have divers sorts of coin, as caspes, mas, cowpan, perdaw, and tayell. The English only saw two sorts of gold, named mas, the bigness of a penny, and as common as pence in England, the other of lead, called caxas, much like the little token used by the vintners of London. A thousand six hundred caspes make one mas: four hundred cashes a cowpan; four cowpans one mas; five masses four shillings sterling; four masses make a pardaw; four pardaws a tayell: so that a mas is nine-pence and three fifths of a penny.

"They sell their pepper by the bahar, which is equal to 360 of our pounds. This costs three pounds four shillings. They call their pound a Cast, which is 21 of our ounces. Their ounces are bigger than ours, by so much as 16 is more than 10. The weight which they sell precious stones by, is called Mas, ten and three fourths whereof make an ounce.

"Once every year the king, attended with all his noblemen, in great pomp, goes to the church to see if the Messiah be come, which happened at the time of our being here. There were 40 elephants in his train, covered with silk, velvet, and cloth of gold; with divers noblemen riding upon each; but there was one, whose furniture far exceeding the rest, having a little golden castle upon his back, which was led for the Messiah to ride in. The king was carried also in a little castle. Some had two targets of gold, others great half-moons of gold, with streamers, banners, ensigns, trumpets, and various other instruments of music. The procession moved in a very solemn manner, and made a very handsome appearance. At length, coming to the church, they looked in, and not finding the Messiah, used some ceremonies; after which, the king descending from his elephant, rode home upon that prepared for the Messiah; and so ended the day with feasting and diversions."

On the first of September, the same day they had the encounter with the Achinese, they departed, and anchored

chored before the city Pider, expecting to hear of the pinnace they had sent thither before for rice, but did not return. On the 2d eleven galleys arriving with Portuguese (as they thought) to take their ships, they sunk one and defeated the rest. The same day there came to them one La Fort, (the son of a French merchant in Seething Lane, London) who was one of the eight prisoners. He was sent by the king to ask them if they were not ashamed to be such beasts as to get drunk, and then in their liquor to murder his people, whom he had sent to them in kindness? and to demand their best ship for satisfaction, in which case he promised to release the men. "Do this, said he to La Fort, and I will make you a great man;" but the Flemings wanted satisfaction of the king.—Being distressed for water, they went to the islands called Pulo Botun, upon the coast of Queda, in 16 degrees 50 minutes, where they took in provisions.—There were on board three letters sealed up, and subscribed A. B. C. which, upon the death of the Baafs were to be opened. By A. one Thomas Quymans, was appointed to be their chief, who was slain at Achin. Then B. was opened, whereby La Fort (who escaped) was appointed chief, and was received as such. The letter C. was not opened.

They set sail again for Achin, on the last day of the month, in hopes, by some means, to recover their men. October the 16th they came in sight of that city, and the 12th entered the bay, where they found 10 galleys set out against them. Bearing up to one of them, they gave her many shots, but in a calm under the land, she escaped; as for the rest, they durst not come near them. On the 18th, they steered their course for the city of Tanassar, a place of great trade; and the 25th anchored among the islands in the bay, in 11 degrees 20 minutes, north. Here the winds proved so contrary, that they could not get up the city, which stands 20 leagues within the bay. Being in very great distress for want of victuals, they sailed for the islands of Nicobar, in eight degrees north, where they arrived the 12th of November, and were supplied with plenty of hens, oranges, lemons, and other fruit, and some ambergris which they had in exchange for linen cloth, and table napkins. These isles are pleasant and fruitful, the land low, and has a good road for ships. The people are very poor, living wholly upon fruits and fish, without ever manuring the ground; and therefore have no rice, which the ships being in great want of, the ships shaped their course for the isle of Ceylon. The 6th of December they took a ship of Negapatam, (a city on the coast of Coromandel) laden with rice, and bound for Achin.

There were on board 60 persons from several parts. By them they learned, that at Mategaloa, and Trin-quanamale, cities in Ceylon of great trade, they might load their ship with cinamon, pepper and cloves,

and that there was great store of precious stones and pearls in that island, as well as all kind of victuals very cheap, and that the king is mortal enemy to the Portuguese. Upon this, they did their utmost to get thither, but could not for the contrary winds. The Indians then told them, that if they would stay till January, they would meet with more than one hundred ships sailing close by that shore, laden with spice, linen and China commodities, besides precious stones and other rubies. To stay there as a man of war; their governor would not agree; therefore the 28th they shaped their course homewards, having beaten sixteen days upon this coast.—They discharged their prize the 18th, after taking the rice, for which their chief paid them to their satisfaction; but the unruly sailors plundered her of money and merchandise; 12 of the Indians of several places were detained on board, who informed Captain Davis among others, after he could a little understand them, that there was great store of precious stones in the ship; hid under the timber. How true it was the captain could not say, for the Flemings would not suffer either him or Tomkins to go on board the prize, for reasons best known to themselves. The 5th of March, 1600, their food was poisoned, before it was served to them: but one of the crew tasting by chance, or greediness, (for it was fresh fish) was presently infected, which gave the alarm. The dose was sufficiently strong; for the surgeon took almost a spoonful of poison out of one fish; but this the captain observes was not the first time.—The 10th they fell in with the Cape of Good Hope, where they had a great storm, and the 26th doubled the same. The 13th of April they anchored at the isle of St. Helena, in 16 degrees south. Here they found good water, figs, and fish in plenty, with goats, but hard to come at. The 15th at sun-set, a caraval anchored within a large musquet shot to windward of them. She was utterly unprovided, not having one piece mounted: they fought with her all night, and gave her above 200 shot. For eight hours she stood the firing without making the least resistance; but by midnight she had got out six pieces, which were played upon them so well; that their ship was often shot through, and two of their men slain. On which, the 16th in the morning, they departed for the isle of Ascension, in eight degrees south, where they hoped to meet with relief, many of their men being sick, and arrived there the 23d.—This isle hath neither wood, water, nor any green thing upon it, but is a fruitless green rock, of five leagues broad. The 24th they sailed for Fernando Loronha, where they knew they should find relief, having staid at this isle 10 weeks outward-bound. The 6th of May they arrived there, and continued six days to water and refresh themselves. On the 13th, they shaped their course for England, and arrived at Middleborough on the 29th of July.

1600

VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH TO THE EAST INDIES, IN SHIPS EQUIPPED BY THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS.

THE merchants of London, in the year 1600, having joined together, and made a stock of 72,000l. to be employed in ships and merchandises, for the discovery of trade in the East Indies, they bought and fitted four large ships; the Dragon, of 600 tons, and 202 men, Captain James Lancaster admiral; the Hector, of 300 tons, and 108 men, Captain John Middleton, vice admiral; the Ascension, of 260 tons, and 32 men, in which was William Brand, chief governor; and the Susannah, of

280 tons, 84 men, Captain Hayward: there were likewise in each ship three merchants, who were to succeed each other in case of death. To these, the Gueft, a ship of 130 tons, was added, as a victual-ler. This fleet was furnished with men, victuals, and ammunition, for 20 months, and carried in Merchandise and Spanish money, to the value of 27,000l. All the rest of their stock was laid out in the purchase and equipment of the ships, in providing them with necessaries, and in advancing or lending money to the mariners

1601.

mariners and sailors. Queen Elizabeth having been applied to by the owners, gave them a letter of recommendation, to divers princes of India, offering to enter into a league of peace and amity with them; and granted the admiral a commission of martial law.

These ships departed from Woolwich, on the 13th of February, 1600; but staid so long in the Thames and Downs for want of wind, that it was Easter before they arrived at Dartmouth; where they spent five or six days in taking in their bread and other provisions. From thence they sailed on the 18th of April, 1601, and put into Torbay; where the admiral sent on board all the ships instructions for keeping company at sea, and appointed the places of rendezvous, in case of separation by storms or other accidents. These places were the calms of Canaria, the bay of Saldanna, (in case they could not double the Cape of Good Hope) Cape St. Roman in Madagascar, the Island Cirne, (or Diego Rodrigues) and last, Sumatra, the first of trade.

Having passed the Canaries, they lay from the 20th of May, till the 21st of June, for the most part becalmed, and with contrary winds at south, so that with much ado, they got into two degrees north. Here spying a ship, they chased and took her, she belonged to the Portuguese, and came from Lisbon in company with two caracks, and three galleons, bound for the East Indies, which ships she had lost at sea. The galleons were sent to guard the coast, and prevent other nations from trading there. The English took out of her 146 pipes of wine, and 176 jars of oil, besides twelve barrels thereof, and fifty-five hogshheads of meal. This provision, which was a great help to them in the whole voyage, the admiral distributed impartially among the ships, to every one his portion.

On the last of June, the wind being at south-east, about midnight, they passed the line, and lost sight of the north-star, thus holding on their course south-south-west, with a south-east wind, they doubled the Cape St. Augustine at about twenty-six leagues distance. On the 20th of July, they were got into nineteen degrees forty minutes south, the wind enlarging daily to the eastward. Here they unloaded *Guesty*, which carried the victuals that the four ships could not receive in England; after which, they took her masts, sails, and yards, and broke down her higher buildings for fire-wood, and so left her floating in the sea. On the 24th of July, they passed the tropic of Capricorn, the wind being north-east-by-north, holding their course east-south-east. And now by reason of their long continuance under the line, (occasioned by their setting out of England six or seven weeks too late, to make a quick voyage) many of their men fell sick. Therefore, on the 29th of July, being in twenty-eight degrees and a half, the admiral wrote a direction to the governor of each ship, to repair either to Saldanna or St. Helena, for refreshing. They came into thirty-degrees south, on the 1st of August, where they met with the south-west wind, to the great comfort of the men; for by this time many of them were fallen sick of the scurvy; so that all the ships, except the admiral's, were so thin of men, that they had scarce enough to handle the sails. This wind lasted till within 250 leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, and then changed to the east. Thus it held fifteen or sixteen days, to the great affliction of the men; for now the few who were well before, began also to fall sick; whence the want of hands were so great in some of the ships, that the merchants took their turns at the helm, and went aloft to take in the top-sails, as the common sailors did. But at length a fair wind coming about again, on the 9th of September, they reached Saldanna; where the admiral advancing foremost, came to anchor, and then sent his boats to help the rest of the ships, which were in such a weak condition, that they were hardly able to let fall an anchor.

The admiral went on board them, carrying a

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sufficient number of men with him, and hoisted out their boats for them, which they were not able to do for themselves. The reason why his crew were in better health than those in the other ships, was owing to the juice of lemons, of which the admiral had brought some bottles to sea with him, which he gave to each as long as it lasted, three spoonfuls every morning fasting; not suffering them to eat after it till noon. (This remedy will have a better effect, if the party keep to a short diet, and wholly refrain from salt meat; which salt meat, and being long at sea, is the only cause of this disease.) By these means the admiral cured many of his men, and preserved the rest, so that although his ship contained double the number of the rest, yet he neither had so many sick, nor lost so many men as they did. They were greatly helped by this care of the admiral, who likewise went soon on land to seek refreshments for them, where meeting with some of the country people, he gave them divers trifles, as knives, pieces of old iron, and the like, making signs to bring him sheep and oxen; for he spoke to them in the cattle's language, which was never changed at the confusion of Babel, and which language they understood without any interpreter.

After he had dismissed the people, very well contented with their presents, and kind usage, order was given, that certain of every ship's company should bring their sails on land, to make tents for their sick men, also to raise works for their defence against any attempt of the natives, in case they should take disgust. The admiral prescribed also an order for traffic with the people; which was, that whenever they came down with the cattle, only five or six men appointed for that purpose, should go to deal with them; that the rest (which were never to be under thirty musquets and pikes) should not come near the market by two hundred yards at least, and should always stand drawn up in a rank, with their musquets on their rests, to be ready against all accidents. This order was most strictly observed and kept, so that no man durst go to speak with any of the natives, without special leave.

The third day after their arrival, the people brought down beef and mutton, which they bought for pieces of old iron hoops; as two pieces of eight inches each for an ox, and one piece of the same length for a sheep, with which they seemed to be well contented. In ten or twelve days they had of them 1000 sheep; and forty-two oxen, and might have been supplied with many more, if they had wanted them. But within twelve days, they ceased to bring them any more cattle; after this, the people often came to visit them, and when the English made them signs to bring them more sheep, they pointed to those that had been bought, which the admiral caused to be kept grazing upon the hills about their tents. For this reason, as the English judged, the natives thought they would have settled there, and therefore brought them no more. During their stay here, their refreshment was so good, that all the men recovered their health and strength, except four or five. These added to those they lost before their arrival, amounted to 105 men; and yet it was judged, the remainder were stronger when they left this bay, than at their departure from England; the men were so well inured to the southern climates.

On the 24th of October, the admiral caused all the tents to be taken down, and the men to repair on board the ships. Being there supplied with wood and fresh water, on the 29th, they put to sea, passing out of the bay by a small island, that lies in the mouth thereof; which is exceeding full of penguins, so that ships might refresh there, if there was no other place for the purpose. Over the bay of Saldanna, there stands a very high hill, flat like a table, and is called the table; such another distinct mark to know an harbour by, is not to be found in all that coast; for it is easily discerned seventeen or eighteen leagues at sea.

Sunday

Sunday morning, the 1st of November, they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having a fresh gale at west-north-west. On the 26th, they fell in with the head-land of St. Lawrence, somewhat to the east of Cape Sebastian; and being within five miles of the shore, founded, and found twenty-five fathoms. The variation of the compass was little more or less than sixteen degrees; for in an east and west course, the knowledge of the variation helps much, especially in this voyage. From the 26th of November, till the 15th of December, they plied to eastward, as near as they could lie; always striving to get to the island of Cerne, which in some charts is called Diego Rodrigues: but after coming to the island of St. Lawrence, they still found the wind at east, and east-south-east, and east-north-east, so that they could not fetch it; and to strive long, in hopes of change of winds, might have been of bad consequence, since the men began again to fall sick of the scurvy. However, the captain of the vice-admiral, advised the admiral to put into the bay of Antongile, in order to remove that disease with oranges and lemons; the same was approved of by him, and council called for that purpose. On the 17th, they had sight of the southernmost part of St. Mary; and next day having anchored between that island and St. Lawrence, they sent their boats to land at the former, where they had great store of the above-mentioned fruit. But while they rode here, there arose so great a storm, that three of their ships were driven from their anchors. It continued sixteen hours, after which, the ships returned and weighed anchor again.

“ This island of St. Mary (says the author) is a high land, and full of woods. The people are black, the men very handsome and tall; they have curled hair, only before on their foreheads they stroke it up, as the women do in England, so that it stands some three inches upright; they go quite naked, only covering their private parts; are easy to converse with, yet seem to be very valiant, their food is rice, and some fish, yet the voyagers could get but a small quantity of the former, for the time of their store was far spent, and harvest was at hand. There are two or three watering places on the north part of the island, but none of them very commodious; yet, with some trouble, there is water enough to be had. Besides the rice and fruits above mentioned, nothing was to be had, except a small quantity of goats milk; they saw only one cow, and that the people drove away, as soon as they perceived the English to land. Seeing therefore, that there was so little refreshment to be had, and the place so dangerous to ride in, the admiral gave order to sail immediately to the bay of Antongile; the time of year being spent the easterly winds came against them, and the men sick. On the 23d of December, they left St. Mary's, and on the 25th, entering the bay of Antongile, came to anchor in eight fathoms water, between a small bay and the main, in a very good and safe road.

The day after, landing in the main island, the people soon repaired to them, and by signs informed them of the five Dutch ships, and that they had bought the most part of their provision; however they entered into barter with the English for rice and hens, oranges, lemons, and plantanes, but they held them all at a high rate, and brought but a small quantity. This market was near a great river, into which they went in their boats; those appointed to be buyers landed, the rest remained in the boats fifteen or twenty yards off; where the natives could not come at them, always ready with their weapons in their hands, to take in those that were on shore, if occasion were. They trifled away some days before they could bring the people to deal; for all those of the south and east parts, are very subtle in buying and selling, so that unless you hold a strict hand with them, you will hardly bring them to trade at all; for they will shift you continually to give a little more; and if you comply, none will sell under that price: so that care must be

taken not to give more to one than another. The admiral seeing this, commanded a measure to be made of almost a quart, and settled how many glass beads should be given for every measure. The like order was sent down with respect to oranges, lemons, and plantanes; the number to be given for every bead, was fixed, nor were they to deal on other terms. The merchants, after a little holding off, consented, and their dealing was frank, without any dispute. — They bought here fifteen tons and a quantity of rice; forty or fifty bushels of their peas and beans; great store of oranges, lemons, and plantanes; and eight beeves, with many hens. While they rode in this bay, they put together a pinnace of 18 tons, brought out of England in pieces; and cutting down trees, (which grew there in abundance) sawed them into boards, and sheathed her. She was of use to go before the ships, at their arrival in India.”

In this bay, there died out of the admiral's ship, the master, mate, the chaplain, and the surgeon, with ten common men; out of the Vice-admiral, the master and two others; and out of the Ascension, by a very great mischance, were slain, the captain and the boatswain's mate; for when they were carrying the master's mate out of the Dragon, on shore to be buried, the captain of the Ascension took his boat to attend the ceremony: and as it is the custom at sea, to discharge some pieces of ordnance at the interment of any officer, the gunner shot off three guns, and the balls being in them, one struck the Ascension's boat, and killed the captain and boatswain's mate: so that these two, who went to see the burial of another, were both buried themselves. The distemper which the rest died of, was the flux, which, (in the author's opinion) was occasioned by the water they drank: for it being winter, when it rained very much, the country was overflowed; so that the water was not wholesome, as it seldom is in those hot climates, during the rains. This disease is often caught by going open and cold at the stomach; which the men would often do when they were hot. The ships left this bay on the 6th of March, and the 16th, fell in with an island called Roque-Piz, in ten degrees, thirty minutes south. Hither the admiral sent his boat to look for a road, but she found (for the most part) deep water, where the ships could not safely ride. In coasting this island, it appeared very fair and pleasant, very full of fowls, and cocoa-nut trees, and there came a fragrant smell from the shore, as if it had been a garden full of flowers; and as the boats went near the shore, they saw abundance of fish, and the fowls came flying about them so close, that with their oars they killed many, which were the fattest and the best they had tasted all the voyage; besides so very numerous, as to have served many more ships than they had with them. On the 30th of March, 1602, being in six degrees south, they went over a ledge of rocks; looking overboard, and seeing them under the ship, above five fathoms deep, they were much amazed, the accident was so sudden and unexpected: but soon after they tacked about they found eight fathoms; and so held on their course east. One of the men from the top saw an island to the south-east, five or six leagues off, being but low land. This they judged to be Candu, although by estimation, they were not gone so far to the eastward: thirteen or fourteen leagues beyond this, they fell upon another flat of rocks. Then casting about to the southward, and sailing twelve leagues farther, they found other rocks; so that examining divers ways, they discovered flats of rocks round about them, with twenty or thirty, and in some places forty or fifty fathoms water in the midst of them. Here they were for two days and a half in exceeding danger, and could find no way to extricate themselves. But at last they resolved to sail northward, and in six degrees forty-three minutes, found six fathoms water. The pinnace always went before them sounding, with orders to make signs what depth she had, that they might follow her. Being delivered out

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out of this difficulty, they held on their course with variable winds, till the 9th of May, about three in the afternoon, they had sight of the islands of Nicobar, and bearing in, anchored on the north side of the channel; but the wind changing to the south-west, they were forced to leave their anchors, and remove over to the south side, under a small island that lies near the shore. Here they met with very little refreshment, except fresh water, and some cocoa-nuts, yet the people came on board in long canoes, each of which would hold 20 men, and brought gums to sell instead of amber, whereby several were deceived.—They brought also hens and cocoa-nuts to sell, but held them so very dear, that few were bought: they stayed here 10 days, placing their ordnance, and trimming their ship, that they might be in readiness on their arrival at their first port, which was not far off.

“The 20th of April they set sail for Sumatra, but were hindered by the currents and the wind, which blew hard at south south-west. Thus beating up and down, the ships sprung two leaks, which forced them to go to the island of Sombrero, 10 or twelve leagues northward of Nicobar. Here, (says our author) we in the admiral's ship lost an anchor, the ground being so foul, (incumbered with abundance of counterfeited coral, and rocks) that they cut their cable. The people of these islands go naked, having only the privities wrapped up in a piece of linen, which comes about their middle like a girdle, and so between their legs. They are all of a tawny complexion, and paint their faces with divers colours. They are well made, but very fearful; for none of them would go on board the ships, nor even the boats. The admiral reported, that he had seen some of their priests, or sacrificers, who wore garments, but fitted as close to their bodies, as if they had been sewed up in them: upon their heads was a pair of horns turned backwards, which, as well as their faces, were painted green, black and yellow; and behind them a tail, hanging down, much in the same manner, that the devil is painted in England. Demanding why they went in that attire, answer was made him, that in such form the devil appeared to them in their sacrifices, and therefore the priests his servants were so apparelled.”

“This island is full of trees which, for their height, bulk, and straightness, will serve the largest ships for masts. Leaving Sombrero on the 2d of June, they had sight of Sumatra, and the 6th anchored in the road of Achin, about two miles from the city; where they found 16 or 18 sail of different nations, some of Bengal, others of Calicut, called Malabars, Guzarats, Pegus, and Patans. There came to them two Dutch Merchants who had been left to learn the language and manners of the country. These told them they should be very welcome to the king, who was desirous to entertain strangers; and that the queen of England was renowned in those parts, on account of the great victories which she had obtained against the king of Spain. The same day the admiral sent Captain Middleton, with four or five gentlemen to attend him, to wait on the king, and inform him, that he was sent from the admiral of those ships, who had a message and a letter from the most famous queen of England, to the most worthy king of Achin and Sumatra. He was also desired to ask whether it was his royal majesty's pleasure to give the messenger audience, to deliver his message and letter, with a safe conduct for himself and his people, according to the known laws of nations. The captain was very kindly entertained by the king, who gladly granted his request, and asked him many questions; after which he caused a feast to be made for him, and at his departure gave him a robe and Calico turban, wrought with gold, which was a mark of special favour here. As to the admiral, his will was, that he should stay one day on board his ships to rest himself after the fatigues of the seas, and the next to land to receive his audience, that he might venture with as great security as if he were in the kingdom of the queen his mistress;

but that if he doubted his royal word, pledges should be sent him, to his full satisfaction. The 3d day the admiral went on shore, accompanied with about 30 attendants. At his landing, the Dutch merchants met him, and conducted him to their house, as it was appointed; for he would take no house of his own, till he had spoken with the king. Soon after, a nobleman coming, saluted the admiral very politely, and having declared that he came from his majesty, demanded the queen's letter. This the admiral refused to comply with, saying, it was the privilege of ambassadors, in those parts from whence he came, to deliver their letters to the princes themselves, and not to any who represented their persons. On this the nobleman desired to see the superscription, which he read and copied; he wrote also the queen's name, and looked very earnestly upon the seal; after which he with great courtesy, took his leave, to make report of what was passed.

“Soon after the king sent six great elephants, with many trumpets, drums and streamers, also a considerable number of people to accompany the admiral to court, so that the press was exceeding great. The biggest of the elephants was about 13 or 14 feet high, and had a small castle like a coach upon his back, covered with crimson velvet. In the middle of it was a great gold bason, covered with a piece of silk, exceeding richly wrought, under which the queen's letter was put. The admiral was mounted upon another of the elephants. Some of his attendants rode, others went on foot; but when he came to the court-gate, there a nobleman stopped him, till he went to know the king's farther pleasure; but soon returning, desired the admiral to enter. When he came into the king's presence, he made his reverence, after the manner of the country, declaring that he was sent from the most mighty queen of England, to congratulate his highness, and enter into a treaty with him of peace and amity. As he was going on with his discourse, the king interrupted him, saying, —I am sure you are weary with the long journey you have taken. I would have you sit down and rest yourself; you are very welcome, and shall have whatsoever you can in reason demand, for your mistress's sake: for she is worthy of all kindness and sincere dealing, being a princess of noble disposition; for so much fame speaks of her.—The admiral perceiving the king's mind, presented him the queen's letter, which he readily received, and delivered the same to a nobleman standing by him. Then the admiral made a tender of the present, which was a bason of silver, with a fountain in the middle, weighing 205 ounces; a great cup of silver; a rich looking-glass; a head-piece, with a plume of feathers; a rich embroidered belt to hang a sword in, and a fan of feathers. All these were received by a nobleman of the court; only the king himself took the fan into his own hand, and caused one of his women to fan him with it, as the thing, which among those of the presents pleased him most. The admiral then having again seated himself on the ground, as the manner is, a very great banquet was served up. All the dishes were either of pure gold, or another metal in great estimation among them, called Tambayk, being a mixture of gold and brass. During this entertainment, the king, as he sat aloft in the gallery, about a fathom from the ground, drank often to the admiral in arrack. This liquor is made of rice, and is as strong as any of our aqua-vitæ: a little suffices to make one sleep. The admiral perceiving the strength of it, after the first draught, with the king's leave, drank either water alone, or mixed with it.—The feast being ended, the king sent for his damsels to come and dance, and his women to come and play on music to them: these women were richly dressed, and adorned with bracelets and jewels. This is reckoned an extraordinary favour, for they are not usually seen of any, but such as the king would greatly honour. The king gave the admiral a fine white robe of callico, richly wrought with gold, and a very

a very fine girdle of Turkey work, and two crises, or daggers, all which a nobleman put on in the king's presence. In this manner he was dismissed, with many great courtesies, and one sent along with him to make choice of a house in the city, where the admiral should think most convenient; but at this time he declined the favour, and rather chose to go on board his ship, leaving the king to consider of the queen's letter. The next time the admiral went to court, he had a long conference with the king, concerning the same, with which the king seemed to be very well satisfied, saying, That if the contents came from the heart, he had good cause to think well of it; that for the league her majesty was desirous to make with him, he was very willing to concur. Lastly, that as to the demands relating to trade, he had given two of his nobles orders to confer with him about it, and promised that what her majesty had requested, would be granted. With this satisfactory answer, after another feast, the admiral departed; and next day sent to the nobleman the king had named to him, to know their time for the conference. One of them was the chief bishop of the realm, a man well deserving of the great esteem which both the king and people had for him, for he was very wise and temperate. The other was one of the antient nobility, a person of much gravity, but not so fit for transacting business as the bishop. The parties having met at the time appointed, matters were talked over between them. The conference was held in Arabic, which both the bishop and nobleman understood very well. On this occasion a Jew, brought from England, who spoke that language perfectly, was of great service to the admiral. This latter having made several demands, concerning the freedoms for the merchants; the bishop asked him what reasons he had to offer that might induce the king to grant them; on which the admiral alledged the following: the queen's affection and friendship; her worthiness, in protecting others against the king of Spain, the common enemy in those parts, and her noble mind in refusing the offer of those countries.

He added, that she did not suffer any prince to exceed her in kindness; that her forces had gained many victories over the Spaniards, and hindered the attempts of the Portuguese against those parts;—that the Grand Signor had already entered into a league with her majesty on honourable conditions. The admiral next laid down reasons, drawn from the advantages arising from commerce. He alledged that the king could not but be sensible of the prosperity which trade brought upon all countries, and the increase that occurred to the revenues of the several princes, by the custom of commodities; that sovereigns grew renowned and formidable, in proportion to the wealth of their subjects, which augmented by commerce; that the more kindly strangers were entertained, the more trade flourished; and consequently the prince became more rich. That with regard to Achin in particular, the port lay well for the trade of Bengal, Java, the Moluccas, and China; which countries, having vent for their merchandise, would not fail to resort thither with them; that by this means, as the king's power would improve, the trade of the Portuguese, and their great strength in the Indies would gradually diminish: and that in case his majesty should want any artificers, he might have them out of England, only satisfying them for their voyage, and allowing them liberty to return when they thought fit; that any other necessary which his country afforded, should be at the king's service, presuming that his majesty would not demand any thing that the queen could not with pleasure consent to, or

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that should be contrary either to her honour, the laws, or her leagues with Christian princes. The admiral demanded farther, that his majesty should cause immediate proclamation to be made, that none of his people should abuse any of the English, but that they might carry on their trade peaceably: and this last request was so effectually granted, that although his subjects were strictly prohibited to walk by night, yet the English might go both night and day without interruption; only if any of them were found abroad at unlawful hours, the justice brought them home to the admiral's house, and there delivered them."

The conference being ended, the bishop desired the admiral to let him have a memorandum in writing of his reasons, and the privileges he demanded in the queen's name, for the merchants, in order to shew to the king; telling him, that within three days he should have his majesty's answer. After this, some discourse passed, relating to the affairs of Christendom, and then with much congratulation they broke up for that time. Having taken care to send his demands, (which were partly drawn up before hand) to the noblemen; the next time he went to court, as he sat before the king, looking at cock-fighting, (which was one of the chief diversions of that monarch) he sent his interpreter with his obedience to his majesty, desiring him to be mindful of the business about which he had conferred with his nobleman. Hereupon the king called the admiral, and told him, that he was careful of his dispatches, and would willingly enter into treaty with her majesty, saying, that on his part it should inviolably be kept; that as for the demands and articles he had set down in writing, they should all be drawn up fair by one of his secretaries, and authorized by himself. Accordingly, within five or six days they were delivered to the admiral by the king's own hand, accompanied with many kind and gracious expressions.

This league of peace and amity being settled, the merchants went continually to provide pepper for loading their ships, but there came in but small quantities, on account of the last year's sterility. Therefore understanding by some of the natives, that at a port called Priaman, about 150 leagues from thence, in the south part of the island; they might load one of their smaller ships, they sent the Susan thither, appointing Mr. Henry Middleton captain and chief merchant in her. They were also much grieved that Captain John Davis, their principal pilot, had told the merchants before their coming from London, that pepper was to be had here for four Spanish rials of eight, the hundred; whereas it cost them almost twenty. The admiral, on this account, was perplexed how to load the ships, so as to save his own credit, preserve the esteem of the merchants who employed him, and keep up the reputation of his country, considering how disgraceful it would appear in the neighbouring nations if they should return empty from the Indies. Besides, the Portuguese ambassador watched every step they took, although he was no way acceptable to the king. Soon after this, there came to their house to sell hens, an Indian belonging to the Portuguese captain, who came with a cargo of rice, from the port of Bengal. As this captain lay in the ambassador's house, the admiral mistrusted the Indian came only as a spy; however, he ordered that he should be well used, and that they should always buy his hens, giving him a handsome price. At last, the admiral took occasion to talk with him, asking whence he came, and what country he was of; and in the course of the conversation, understood that he served a Portuguese, and then proposed that he should let him know the motions of the Portuguese ambassador, promising

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* The last time of his being at court, having leave to settle a factory, and build a fort at the entrance of the harbour, under pretence of securing the merchants goods, because the city was subject to fire. The king perceiving his design, gave him this answer: "Hath your master (says he) a daughter to give my

son, that he is so careful of my country? He need not be at the charge of building a fort; for I have a fit house within land, about two leagues from this city, which I will spare him for the use of his factory, where they may dwell without fear either of enemies or fire; for I will protect them."

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promising to give him his liberty for that service. The Indian went away very well pleased, as was visible by his countenance, and the quickness of his pace. And by his means, whatever the ambassador did all the day, they were sure to hear it either that night, or next morning, and the man carried the matter so warily, that neither any of the ambassador's house, nor of the English themselves, knew what he came about; for he had all the necessary qualifications of a spy, being suspicious, crafty, cautious, and subtle, never trusting any to hear what discourse he had with the admiral, but delivered his mind to him alone, and that in so careless a manner, as if he had answered the admiral's questions innocently, and without design; for he stood in fear of the English, lest they should betray the secret of his coming to sell hens, which served to colour his coming to their house.

Next day the admiral was sent for to go to court, where the king discoursed with him, about an embassy the monarch of Siam had sent him, about the conquest of Malacca, and what forces he would assist him with by sea, if he undertook that service; for the king of Sumatra was able to fit out a great number of galleys, provided he had four or five months warning before hand. This proposal the admiral seconded with many reasons, and took occasion to mention how insolently the Spanish ambassador carried himself; and that his coming was only as a spy, to discover the strength of his kingdom. "I know well, (said the king) for they are enemies of mine, as I have been to them; but how came you to know so much?" The admiral answered, that the ambassador had planted spies about him, to observe all his actions, and pry into his designs; among other things, that he had got a draught of his ships, with intent to send it to Malacca, and procure force from thence, to set upon them unawares. The king smiled to hear the admiral talk at this rate, and said, "You need not fear any danger from that quarter; for all the strength they have at Malacca, is not able to do thee any harm," the admiral answered, I do not fear their strength as to what they can do to me; but it may prevent my attempts against them; for if they should have notice of the time I mean to go to sea, they will be sure to keep within their ports; so that I shall not be able to come at them. "Is it so?" said the king, "Yes, (said the admiral) and therefore I would intreat your majesty, to detain two of the ambassador's servants, who, within three days, sets out for Malacca, taking their way not directly from hence, but by another port of yours, where they are to hire a bark for the purpose, because they may be sure not to be intercepted; and if your majesty arrests them there, you may be privy to some of their plots and designs." "Well, said the king, let me know of their departure from hence, and then you shall see what I will do for you." The admiral took his leave very well pleased; and having learned the secret from the hen-merchant, apprised the king of it. The time being come that the ambassador's two servants were to depart with the draughts, and their master's letters, they went to a port about twenty-five leagues from Achin, where, having agreed for their passage, they embarked; but as they were going over the bar, a mile from the city, a frigate went after them, and caused their bark to lower their sails, that the Justice might see their lading; as soon as he got on board, perceiving the two Portuguese, he asked them whence they came, and whither they were going? They answered, they came from Achin, and belonged to the Portuguese ambassador. "But, said the Justice, you have robbed your master, and run away like thieves with his goods, therefore I will send you back to him, to answer for yourselves." In the haste of searching them, they lost their draughts and letters; their trunks were also broke open; and they sent bound to Achin, to be delivered to the ambassador, in case they belonged to him. The admiral had some intelligence of what had passed, and the next time he went to the court, the king called to him, and said; "Now, what say

you? Are you contented?" the admiral made him obedience, and gave him hearty thanks for his clemency, and kindness towards him. After some other discourse, the admiral departed; meanwhile, the Indian came daily to sell his hens; and, as the admiral suspected, and he himself afterwards confessed, not without his master's consent. By this time the summer was past, and September come, the season in which the admiral meant to go to sea, in order to supply his necessities. And now fell out the greatest cross of all to his designs. The ambassador himself had obtained his dispatch from the king to be gone; which the admiral being apprised of, went to court, and coming where the king was seated to view the sports that were made for his diversion, he sent his interpreter to desire the honour of an audience. The king immediately called for him, and demanded his errand. "It has pleased your highness, said the admiral, to do me many favours, and therefore I am emboldened to request one kindness more at your majesty's hand." "What is that, said the king smiling, are there more Portuguese going to Malacca to hinder your measure? yes, said the admiral, the ambassador himself, (as I am informed) hath your majesty's dispatch to be gone at his pleasure; and is determined to depart within five days. "And what would you have me do, said the king?" "Only to detain him ten days, replied the admiral, till I am gone with my ships." "Well said the king, and laughed, you must bring me a fair Portuguese maiden when you return, and then I shall be pleased." With this answer, the admiral took his leave, and made all the haste he could to be gone; leaving the merchants under the king's protection till he returned, with directions, in the mean time to levy what pepper they could, to help out the Ascension, which was more than three quarters laden: yet he would not leave her behind him, riding in the port, but took her with him; for he rode but in an open place. Three ships being ready, a captain of a Dutch ship, who was in the road, desired he might bear the admiral company, and take part in this adventure. His ship was about 200 tons; but he had as little money to buy commodities as the English: and therefore was glad of a help, accepting of an eighth of what should be taken, which was offered him. The admiral having taken his leave of the king, and presented to him Messrs. Starkey and Styles, two of the chief merchants, left behind to provide pepper during the cruise, his majesty graciously took them into his protection; after which, on the 11th of September, the ships set sail towards the Straights of Malacca.

But now we must relate in what manner the king dealt with the ambassador of Portugal, he being very eager to be gone. After their departure, he every day urged to have his dispatch granted: but still upon one occasion or another, his passport was delayed. At length, (twenty-four days after the admiral's putting to sea) the king said to him, "I wonder you are so hasty to be gone, seeing the English ambassador is at sea with his ship? he is stronger than you; and if he should meet you, may do you a mischief." "I value him not, replied the ambassador, for my frigate is so nimble with sail and oars, that if I have but her length before him, I will defy all his force." "Well, (said the king) I am the more willing you should depart, since I see you confident of your safety: whereupon he had his dispatch to be gone. This delay proved very serviceable to the English: for if the ambassador had left Achin earlier, all ships would have had advice of them, by frigates sent from Malacca; but as the intelligence was stopped, they lay within twenty-five leagues of that city itself, without the matter being known.

On the 3d of October, lying off and on in the Straights of Malacca, the Hector saw a sail, and calling to the rest of the ships, they all descried her. It being towards night, direction was given to spread a mile and a half from each other, that she might not

The ambassador detained.

not pass them in the dark. The ship fell with the Hector, which hailed her, and shot off two or three pieces of ordnance. This giving the rest of the ships notice, they all drew about her, and began the attack with their great shot, which she returned. But when the admiral's ship came up, he fired six guns together out of his prow; and then her main-yard fell down. After that, there was no more firing on either side; the admiral being fearful of sinking her by a shot between wind and water. At break of day, the captain with some of the rest entering their boat, Captain Middleton in the Hector, which was next her, called them to him, and then brought them on board the admiral, to whom they surrendered their ship and goods. After this, he caused all the chief men in their prize, to be distributed on board his ships, and placed on board her four of his own men; who suffered none else to enter the vessel, for fear of pillaging: because they were to answer for whatever should be missing, out of their wages and shares; for the ship was unladen solely by its own boatswain and mariners, without any assistance from the English; only they received their goods into their boats, and carried them on board such ships, as the admiral appointed. By this order, rifling and pillaging was wholly prevented, which otherwise, could hardly have been avoided. In five or six days, they unloaded 950 packs of calico, and other merchandises, she had in her likewise much rice and other goods, of which however the English made small account. After this, a storm arising, they set all her men on board; and then left her riding at anchor. This ship came from a place called St. Thomas, in the bay of Bengal, and was bound for Malacca. When they intercepted her, above 600 persons, men, women and children, were on board; her burthen being 900 tons. The admiral would never go on board her, that he might give no suspicion, either to the mariners present, or the merchants at London, of dishonest dealing, to serve his own interest. The admiral was very glad of this lucky circumstance which supplied all his occasions, and enabled him to load as many more ships, if he had them; so that now he was at a loss, not for money, but for a place to leave the rest of the goods in safety, till the return of the ships from England. On the 21st of October, the admiral returned for Achin. By the way, a great water-spout fell not far from the admiral, and put them in great fear.

They cast anchor in the port of Achin, on the 24th of October, where the admiral went on shore, and found all the merchants in health; who greatly commended the entertainment they had received in his absence from the king: therefore the admiral by way of gratification, chose out such things from among the prize-goods, as he thought might be most to the king's liking, and presented them at his first going to court. The king receiving the present, welcomed the admiral, and seemed very joyful for the good success he had against the Portuguese: but jestingly said, he had forgot the most important business he had requested at his hands, which was the fair Portuguese maiden. The admiral made answer, that he met with none deserving of the honour to be so presented. The king smiled, and said, "If there be any thing in my kingdom, that may please you, I would be glad to gratify your good will." After this the admiral commanded the merchants to put on board the Ascension, all such pepper, cinnamon and cloves, as they had bought in his absence; which was scarcely the ship's full lading: but at that time there was no more to be had, nor that year to be hoped for. He desired them likewise to repair with their things on board, being resolved to go for Bantam in Java Major; where he understood he should meet with both a good sale for his commodities, and plenty of pepper, at a much more reasonable price than at Achin. The admiral, before his departure, went to court, to notify it, and had a long conference with the king; who delivered him a letter for

the queen, written in Arabic. They left Achin the 9th of November; being three ships, the Dragon, the Hector, and the Ascension. They kept company two days; and then the admiral dispatched his letters for England, by the Ascension: she steering her course towards the Cape of Good Hope, and they along Sumatra, for Bantam, to see if they could meet with the Susan, which had orders to lade at Priaman. In their way, they fell among some Islands in the night, wondering when the day approached, how they got thither without seeing them. They were near the shore and all low; the sea also full of flats and rocks; so that they were in great danger before they could get clear. Keeping their course, they passed the line the third time; and came to Priaman on the 26th of November. Here the Susan had provided towards their lading, about 600 bahars of pepper; and sixty-six of cloves. Their pepper indeed cost them less than at Achin; but none grows about this port, on the contrary, all is brought from a place eight or ten leagues off in the country. This place, (Priaman) produces no other commodities; only there was good store of gold dust, and small grains; which they wash out of the sands of the rivers; after the great floods, that fall from the mountains, from whence it is brought. It is a good place for refreshing, and quite healthful; the air being very good, though it lies within fifteen minutes of the line. Having taken in provisions, the admiral ordered the captain of Susan, to hasten her lading with pepper, and so to depart for England. After which, on the 4th of December, he shaped his course towards Bantam. On the 15th, they entered the Straights of Sunda, and came to anchor under an island, three leagues from that city, called Pulo Panfa. Next morning, they entered the road of Bantam, and shot off such a peal of ordnance, as had never been heard there before. On the 17th, the admiral sent Captain Middleton on shore, to let the king know that he was sent by the queen of England, and had both a message and a letter from her, requiring his majesty's safe conduct and warrant to land, in order to deliver the same. The king answered, that he was very glad of his coming; and sent a nobleman back with the captain to welcome the admiral, and accompany him to shore. Being arrived at court, he found the king, (who was a child of ten or eleven years of age) sitting in a round house with sixteen or eighteen noblemen about him; in some kind of state. The king welcomed him, and after some discourse about his message, delivered the queen's letter into the king's hand, with a present of plate and some other things; which the king received with a smiling countenance, and referred the admiral (for further conference) to one of his nobles, who was then protector. After talking an hour and a half upon different matters, that nobleman received the admiral and all his company, under the king's protection; inviting him to land, where he might buy and sell without any molestation, assuring him that he should be as safe as if he were in his own country, and this all the rest of the nobles confirmed.

The king, having given the admiral leave to chuse a house where-ever he thought fit, that was his next care; so within two days, the merchants brought goods on shore, and began to sell; but one of the king's nobles coming to inform the admiral, that it was the custom of the king, to furnish himself before his subjects. The admiral was contented, having been apprised, that he would give a reasonable price, and pay very well. The king being served, the merchants went forward in the sales; so that in five weeks time, they sold more goods than would pay for the lading of both the ships. They brought from thence 276 bags of pepper, each containing 62lb. which cost five rials and half an eight, besides anchorage and the king's custom. The anchorage for both ships cost, by agreement made with the Shah Bandar, or governor of the city) 1500 rials of eight; and

1603 and the custom was one rial of eight, upon every bag. They traded very peaceably, although the Javans are reckoned as errant thieves and pilferers, as any in the world. But the admiral, after he had received some insults, was authorised by the king to kill whoever he took about his house in the night; so that after four or five had thus been made examples of, they lived in tolerable peace and quietness, yet continually kept careful watch every night.

As fast as they bought their pepper, they sent it on board; so that on the 10th of February, 1603-4, Their ships were completely laden, and ready to depart. But, in the mean time, Captain Middleton of the *Hector*, fell sick on board. It was a rule observed by the admiral, from the beginning of the voyage, that while he himself was on shore, the captain of the vice-admiral kept on board, because both should not be once absent from their charge. The admiral hearing of his sickness, went to visit him, and found him weaker than he himself perceived. This, his experience in these hot countries, had taught him, and so it happened with captain Middleton, who, although he was then walking up and down, died at two o'clock the next morning. Now the admiral resolving quickly to depart, ordered a pinnace of about 40 tons, (which he had) to be laden with commodities, and putting in her 12 men, with proper merchants, sent her for the Moluccas to trade there, and settle a factory, against the return of the next shipping out of England. He also left 8 men, and three factors in Bantam, appointing the principal of them, Mr. William Starkey, to sell such commodities as were left behind, and provide lodging for the ships against their next return. Going to court to take his leave of the king, he received a letter and present for the queen, of some Bezoar stones, which were very fine: and for himself a very fine Java dagger, in much esteem there, besides a good Bezoar stone, with some other things, and then was dismissed in a very handsome manner.

"On the 20th of February, says the author, they went on board and fired their guns, and set sail for England. The 22d and 23d, they were in the straits of Sunda; and on the 26th got clear of the isles there and the land, holding their course south-west, so that the 28th, they were in eight degrees four minutes south. On Sunday the 13th of March they passed the tropic of Capricorn, their course mostly the same, with a brisk gale at south-east. On the 14th of April they were in 34 degrees, judging Madagascar to be north of them. The 28th they had a very violent storm, which forced them to take in all their sails, and continued a day and a night, with an exceeding great and raging sea; so that it seemed scarce possible for a ship to live in it. However, they weathered it, and made a shift to repair all the damages they had received; but their ship proved leaky all the voyage after. By the 2d of May they had another great storm, which continued all night, the sea beating so violently on the *Dragon's* quarter, that it shook the iron-work of her rudder, which next morning broke quite off from the stern of the ship, and sunk: this struck a fear into the hearts of all the men; the best and most experienced of them, not knowing what to do, and especially, seeing themselves in such a swelling sea, and in so stormy a place, (that the author thinks there are few worse in the world.) Now the ship drove up and down in the sea like a wreck, whichever way the wind carried her; so that sometimes she was within three or four leagues of the Cape of Good

Hope, and then was driven by a contrary wind, to almost 40 degrees southward, into the hail and snow. This was another great misfortune, the cold weather pinching them exceedingly, so that their case was very deplorable and desperate. Yet all this while the *Hector* industriously kept them company, which was a comfort to them, and sometimes the master of her, came on board the *Dragon*.—At last it was concluded to put her mizen-mast out at the stern port, to try if they could steer the ship into some place where they might make another rudder; but this device was to very little purpose, for when they had fitted it, (the sea being somewhat grown with lifting up the mast) it so much shook the stern, and put all in such danger, that they made what haste they could to get it into the ship again, and were very glad when they had brought it about. They were now sensible, that unless they could make a new rudder, and hang it, they must perish in those seas; but how to perform it was the difficulty, the ship being of 7 or 800 tons, and in so dangerous a part of the ocean; yet necessity compelling them to try means, the admiral ordered the carpenter to make one out of the mizen-mast; but this obstacle arose, that with their rudder they lost most of the irons which fastened it, yet they went forward, and one of the men dived to search what irons remained, but he found only two whole, and a broken one. However, the rudder being finished, and finding a fair day, they fastened it on, and proceeded on their way homewards; but within three or four hours after, the sea took it off again, and they had much trouble to save it, with the loss of another of their irons; so that now they had but two to hang it by, and the men grew desirous to quit the ship, and go on board the *Hector*: this the admiral opposed, saying, he despaired not to save the ship and the goods, as well as themselves, by one means or other. On that he went into the cabin, and wrote a letter for England, to send it by the *Hector*,* which he ordered to depart and leave him there, without letting one of the company know of it. The letter being delivered, the admiral expected the *Hector* would have left him in the night; but seeing the ship in the morning, he said, These men regard no commands.—She still kept two or three leagues from them; for the master, who was an honest good man, loved the admiral well, and was very loth to leave him in so great distress. Yet seeing it now was necessary they should exert themselves, the carpenter made the rudder again so firmly, that they began to be in hopes of getting at length into some port of relief. Now they had been driven up and down in these great seas, and endured many more storms than are here mentioned, sometimes for one whole month together, so that the men began to fall sick and diseased: the wind also fell so low that they could fetch no part of the coast of Africa. Knowing therefore, that they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, by the height they were in to the northward, they sailed directly to the island of St. Helena. In their passage the main-yard fell, and struck one of their men into the sea, who was drowned. This was an unlucky accident. On the 5th of June, they passed the tropic of Capricorn; and the 16th in the morning had sight of St. Helena. They bore along the shore to get the best of the road, and cast anchor in 12 fathoms water, right against a small channel, which the Portuguese had built long before. Going on shore, they found, by many writings, that the caracks had departed but eight days before. Here they found good refreshment of water, and wild

* "Right Worshipful,
"What hath passed in this voyage, and what trades I have
"settled for this company, and what other events have befallen
"us, you shall understand by the bearer hereof, to whom, (as
"occasion may happen) I must refer you. I will strive with all
"diligence to save my ship, and her goods, as you may per-
"ceive by the course I take in venturing my life, and those that
"are with me. I cannot tell where you should look for me, if

"you send out any pinnace to seek me, because I live at the de-
"votion of the winds and seas, and thus fare you well, desiring
"God to send us a merry meeting in this world, if it be his good
"will and pleasure. The passage to the East Indies in 62 deg.
"and a half, by the north-west on the American side.

"Your loving friend,

"JAMES LANCASTER."

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wild goats, but they are hard to come at, without good directions for the purpose. The course the admiral took was this; he appointed four of the best shot's-men he had to go into the middle of the island, with four men to attend on each, to carry the goats that were killed to the rendezvous; and twenty men went every day to fetch them to the ships, taking care not to make any sort of noise, that might fright the animals; and by these means the ships were plentifully supplied. While they staid there they put their ships in order, and searched their rudder, which they hoped would last them home. All the sick men recovered their health, by refreshing with goats and hog's flesh, which they had great need of; for they saw no land during three months, but were continually beating the sea.—The 5th of July they set sail from this island, steering north-west, and on the 13th passed by the island called The Ascension, in eight degrees. No ships touched there, it being quite barren, and without water, only it had good store of fish

about it, but a deep sea; and ill riding for ships. From hence they held their course in the same direction, the wind being south and south-east, till the 19th, and then passed the Line. On the 24th they were in six degrees north, and by estimation 150 leagues from the coast of Guinea; then bearing away north-west by north, till the 29th, they had sight of the island of Fuego. Here they were becalmed for five days, striving to pass to the eastward of it, but could not, for the wind changed; and came about north-east, so they stood west north-west. On the 7th of August, 1603, they were in 16 degrees, and the 12th passed the Tropic of Cancer, in 23 degrees and a half, holding their course northerly; on the 29th they passed the island of St. Mary, the wind fair. The 7th of September they began to sound, judging the Land's End of England to be forty leagues distant; and on the 11th came well and safe into the Downs.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN HENRY MIDDLETON, BEING THE SECOND EQUIPPED BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THIS voyage was performed by Captain Henry Middleton, in the Red Dragon, admiral; the Hector, Captain Sufflet, vice-admiral; the Ascension, Captain Colthurst, and the Susan, (the captain's name unknown) which was lost on her return.

Having taken leave of the company, the ships departed from Gravesend the 25th of March, 1604, and about the 20th of December following, after various accidents, arrived (the men being very weak) in Bantam road. There passed many compliments between them and the Hollanders, who saluted each other with their great guns; and the last day of the year, the admiral of the Dutch dined on board the Dragon. The following day the English admiral went on shore with a letter and a present from the king of England, to the king of Bantam, which were with great ceremony received by that young monarch, who was but 13 years of age, and governed by a protector. The 16th of December, the admiral came on board from Bantam, to proceed on his voyage for the Moluccas, ordering Mr. Sufflet to go home in the Hector. The 7th of January following, they anchored under the shore of Veranula. The people here bear a deadly hatred to the Portuguese, and therefore had sent to the Hollanders for aid, promising to become their subjects, if they expelled them. In short, the latter preparing to assault the castle of Amboyna, summoned the Portuguese in the prince of Orange's name, to deliver it that day by two o'clock, which they refused: yet in the end, after many attacks, it was surrendered to them by composition: after which, the governor of the town, by order of the Dutch, debarred the English from trading there.—The war continuing between the Ternatans and Tydorians, the first were assisted by the Dutch, the latter by the Portuguese. Soon after, the English being under the island of Tydore, discovered two galleys of Ternate, between Pulo Connally and Tydore, in full sail between them, waving with a white flag, that they might strike and stay for them. At the same time, seven galleys of Tydore came rowing between them and the shore, to assault the Ternatans. The admiral seeing the danger they were in, lay by the lee, to know what the matter was. In the foremost of those galleys was the king of Ternate, with many of his nobles, and three Dutch merchants, who being in great fear, im-

plored the admiral; for God's sake, to save them, and the other galley, wherein was several Hollanders, from the Tydorians, from whom they expected no mercy, if they were taken. On this the admiral ordered his gunner to shoot at the Tydore galleys; yet they desisted not, but boarded the latter within gun-shot of the English, and put all in her to the sword, except three who saved themselves by swimming, and were taken up by the English boats. The admiral being determined to go for Tydore, the Dutch intreated that he would not let the king of Ternate and them fall into their enemies hands, from whom he had so lately delivered them; promising, in return, vast quantities of cloves, and other commodities of Ternate and Maken; but they did not keep their promise.

On the king of Ternate's going on board the Dragon, he trembled for fear: this the admiral supposing to be the effect of cold, put a black damask laced with gold, and lined with unshorn velvet on his back, which, at his departure, he had not the manners to restore, but kept it as his own. The admiral arriving at the Portuguese town in Tydore, the governor of the fort sent one Thomas de Torres and others, with a letter, intimating that the king of Ternate; and the Hollanders, reported, that there was nothing but treason and villainy to be expected at the hands of the English; but that, for his part, he conceived a better opinion of them, believing those suggestions to be nothing but malice. What confirmed this, not long after, was, the admiral being at the king's town, sent Mr. Grave on board the Dutch admiral, who gave him but a cool reception, and charged the English with having assisted the Portuguese in the last wars against the king of Ternate and them, with ordnance and other ammunition. This the admiral refuted by the testimony of some Portuguese, who were taken prisoners by them in that action; and then being ashamed of the slander, the Dutchman affirmed, he had it from a renegado Guzarat, but did not think it to be true. To complete their ingratitude, not long after, the king of Ternate seeming to affect the English nation, the Dutch threatened him, that they would forsake him, and join with his mortal enemy the king of Tydore, if he suffered the English either to have a factory, or any trade with his subjects: affirming, that they were thieves and robbers; that he would find them to be such, and

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that the king of Holland was stronger by sea than all Europe besides; with many such opprobrious speeches against the English, and all other christian princes. To which insolent speeches the admiral replied; "That what Hollander soever had reported them, lied like a villian, and that he would make his assertion good against any one who should give out such a report: affirming, that if the queen of England had not taken pity on them, they had been utterly ruined by the king of Spain, and branded for slaves and traitors." The following are the letters sent by the kings of East India to King James of England; which are the most remarkable circumstances in this relation.

1. The King of Ternate's Letter to the King of England.

"I HAVE heard of your majesty's fame, by that great captain, Sir Francis Drake, who came in the time of my father, about thirty years ago; by which captain, my predecessor sent a ring to the queen of England, as a token of remembrance: if the aforesaid Drake had been living, he could have informed your majesty of the great love and friendship between us, he acting in behalf of the queen, my father for himself and his successors, and ever since that captain's departure, we daily expected his return, my father living many years after; and I, after his death, living in the same hope, till I was father of eleven children. In this time I have been informed, that the English were men of a bad disposition; and that they came not as peaceable merchants, but to dispossess us of our kingdom: which, by the coming of the bearer hereof, we have found to be false; a thing we greatly rejoiced at. And after many years expectation of some English forces, according to the promise of Captain Drake; here arrived certain ships, which we hoped had been English: but finding them of another nation, and being out of all hope of succour from the English, we were constrained to write to the prince of Holland, to crave aid and assistance against our ancient enemies, the Portuguese; and according to our request; he hath sent hither his force, which have expelled the Portuguese out of all the forts they held at Amboyna and Tydore. Inasmuch, as your majesty has sent me a most kind and friendly letter by your servant, Captain Henry Middleton, the same doth not a little rejoice us. And whereas Captain Henry Middleton was desirous to leave a factory here, we were very inclinable thereunto. This the captain of the Hollanders understanding, he came to challenge me with a former promise, which I had written to the prince of Holland, that if he would send me such succours, as should expel the Portuguese out of those parts, no other nation should trade there but they: so that we were compelled against our liking, to yield to the Holland captain's request for that time, for

which we crave pardon of your highness, promising, that if any of your nation repair hither in time to come, they shall be welcome; and although the chief captain of the Hollanders doth solicit us not to hold any friendship with your nation, or give ear to your highness's letters; yet, for all their suit, if you please to send here again, you shall be welcome. And in token of our friendship, (and that) which we desire of your majesty, we have sent you a small present, a bahar of cloves, our country being poor, and yielding no other commodity, which we pray your highness to receive in good part.

TERNATE."

2. The King of Tydore's Letter to the King of England.

"THIS writing of the king of Tydore to the king of England, is to let your highness understand, that the king of Holland hath sent into these parts, a fleet of ships, to join with our ancient enemy the king of Ternate, and they jointly together, have over-run and spoiled part of our country, and determined to destroy both us and our subjects. Now understanding by the bearer hereof, Captain Henry Middleton, that your highness is in friendship with the king of Spain, we desire your majesty that you would take pity on us, that we may not be destroyed by the kings of Holland and Ternate; to whom we have offered no wrong, although by forcible means, they seek to deprive us of our kingdom. And as great kings upon earth are ordained by God to succour all those who are wrongfully oppressed; so I apply unto your majesty for assistance against my enemies; not doubting but to find relief at your majesty's hands: and in case your majesty do send hither, I humbly intreat it may be Captain Henry Middleton, or his brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your kingdoms, and bless you and your councils.

TYDORE."

3. The King of Bantam's Letter to the King of England.

"A LETTER given by your friend, the king of Bantam, to the king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, desiring God to preserve your health, and to exalt you more and more, and all your council, and whereas your majesty has sent a general, Henry Middleton, he came to me in health, I did hear that your majesty was come to the crown of England, which doth greatly rejoice my heart: now England and Bantam are both one. I have also received a present from your majesty; the which I give you many thanks for. I do send your majesty two bezoar stones, the one weighing fourteen masses, the other three; and God have you in his keeping.

BANTAM."

And after receiving these letters, the ships departed for England.

THE VOYAGE OF SIR EDWARD MICHELBURNE TO BANTAM.

THIS voyage was performed with two ships, the Tyger, of 240 tons, and a pinnace called the Tyger's Whelp; Sir Edward Michelburne commanding the expedition. But though he belonged to the East India company, he did not undertake the voyage on their account as we are informed in the relation.

On the 5th of December, 1604, setting sail from Cowes in the Isle of Wight, they came on the 23d, to the Road of Aratana, in the Isle of Teneriffe: and

on the 14th of January, 1605, they were troubled with extreme heat, lightning, thunder and rain all night. They passed the line on the 16th, shaping their course south-south-west, for the Isle Lo. on n. h. with the wind at south-south-east. Three degrees southward of the line, they found amazing shoals of fish, and with their hooks, lines, and harping-irons, took so many dolphins, bonitos and other fish, that the men could not tell what to do with them. They also met with large flights of fowl, though in the

the main ocean, called peshorabouies; and alcatrazzes. They caught several of the former; which like to repair to the ships in the night, and will light upon a person's hand. The alcatrazze is a kind of hawk, that lives by fishing, and preys on the flying-fish, which sometimes are seen in such numbers together, that afar off they seem like a great flock of birds.

On the 22d, they anchored at the isle of Loronnha; in four degrees south; where going on shore, their skiff was overfet, by the violent breaking of the sea; by which accident, Mr. Richard Michelburne, a relation of the admiral's, was drowned. On the 25th, their long-boat going to fill some empty casks, had the same misfortune, and two more of the men were drowned. It was very troublesome to get wood and water here; because the landing was so dangerous, that they were forced to pull the casks on shore with ropes, and so back again when filled. The commander going on shore to see the island, on the 26th, found nothing but a wild country, inhabited only by six negros. It was formerly well stocked with goats and wild oxen; but they have been destroyed by the crews of the Portuguese vessels, which water here, in their way to the East Indies; their slaves being left to kill and dry goats against their coming: so that the English could find but few. Turtle doves, alcatrazzes, and other fowl, were plenty, which they killed with their musquets, and found to be very good meat. Here is also abundance of maiz, or Guinea wheat, and cotton-trees, with wild gourds, and water-melons.

On the 13th, in the morning, they descried the island, or rather rock, called Ascension, in eight degrees thirty minutes south: and on the 11th of April, saw land, bearing south-south-east, though they reckoned they were forty leagues distant; yet, according to the variation of the compass, they were near the land, thirty leagues before they saw it. On the 2d, they were almost close to the shore, ten or twelve leagues to the northward of the bay of Saldanna; and on the 3d, came to a little island, which Captain Davis took to be that lying five or six leagues from Saldanna. On this the commander, desirous to see it, went thither in his skiff, accompanied with no more than the master's mate, the purser, the author, and four men who rowed; but while they were on shore, a storm arose, which drove the ship out of sight for two days. Finding abundance of rabbits and seals there, they called it Coney Island.

On the 8th, they anchored in the road of Saldanna, and went on shore the next day. This country is well stored with necessaries, it abounds with oxen and sheep (which are kept in great herds and flocks, as in England) wild deer, antelopes, baboons, foxes, and hares; also with ostriches, cranes, pelicans, herons, geese, ducks, pheasants, partridges, and divers other sorts of excellent fowls. It is most pleasantly watered with wholesome springs, which descending from the tops of very high mountains, render the valleys very fruitful. Here is a kind of tree, not much unlike the bay; but of a far harder substance, that grows close by the sea-side. The natives brought them so much cattle, that they carried fresh beef and mutton to sea with them. For a piece of an old iron hoop, not worth two pence, they bought a great fat bullock, and a sheep for two or three horse-nails, or a bit of iron. The people who inhabit this fine country, are some of the most savage and beastly in the world. They go naked, wearing only a sheep-skin on their shoulders, and a little flap of skin, which does not cover their nakedness. While the ships continued here, they lived upon the guts of the cattle, which the sailors threw away; but they dressed them without cleaning or washing them of the filth; all they did was to cover them over with hot ashes, and before they were warm through, they pulled them out, and after shaking them a little in their hands, eat the guts, excrements and ashes, all together. They live generally upon raw flesh, and a certain kind of root, which

is very plenty here. By the good refreshment that they found on shore (where they continued from the 9th of April, to the 3d of May) the sailors, who had been weakened by the voyage, became as healthy and strong, as when they first put to sea. On the 7th of May, they were ten leagues south of the Cape of Good Hope; and in the night passed over the shoals of Cape des Aguillas. On the 9th, there arose a violent storm; which lasted forty-eight hours, and separated their pinnace, accompanied with rain, lightning, and thunder, and often filling the ship with water. The Portuguese called this place, the Lion of the Sea, on account of the extreme fury of these tempests, and the danger in doubling the Cape. On the 24th, being about eight leagues to the south of the Isle de Diego Ruiz, which lies in nineteen degrees forty minutes south latitude, and ninety-eight degrees thirty minutes longitude; they proposed putting in there; but the wind increasing in the night, they changed their design. About this island, they saw a great many white birds, having in their tails only two long feathers. These birds, and several others, accompanied them, with such contrary winds, and violent gusts, as often split their sails, whilst the ship boulding to and again, rather went to the leeward than advanced, the wind blowing strong at east-south-east. On the 3d of June, standing their course for the Island de Cerne, they descried the Isle de Diego Ruiz again, and made to it, designing to have waited there for a good wind: but finding it to be a dangerous place, on account of the rocks and shoals that lie about it, they durst not come to anchor, but pursued their course for India.

On the 19th, they drew near the isle of Diego Graciosa, which stands in seven degrees thirty minutes, south latitude, and in 110 degrees 40 minutes longitude, by computation. This seemed to be a very pleasant island, and of good refreshment, if there be any good anchoring place; but the wind being bad, and the tide forcing them to shore, they durst not stay to search sufficiently. This island is about ten or twelve leagues long, abounding with birds and fish, and is entirely covered with a wood of cocoa-trees.

On the 29th, they descried land, which they took to be a cluster of islands, locked in one, lying under the high land of Sumatra. Here the sea broke with such violence upon the shore, that they durst not land, though the people made fires along the coast, as they thought to invite them.—Those islands lie in two degrees north latitude. On the 25th, they came to an anchor, by a little island full of cocoa-trees, which had very few nuts upon them; some however they got, but could find no water. Three or four people appeared at a distance, who seemed to have been left there to gather cocoas, and make them ready against others should come and fetch them. On the 26th, they cast anchor within a league of a great inhabited island, called Bata, in twenty minutes south. It abounds with woods and rivers; also with fish, monkeys, and a kind of fowl, said to be that country bat. The author killed one of them that was larger than a hare, and shaped like a squirrel; Flying Squirrel only from each side there hung a large flap of skin, which in leaping from tree to tree, he would spread like a pair of wings, as if he flew with them. They are very nimble, and will often leap from bough to bough, taking hold of nothing but their tails. Here they built their shallop, and for that reason they called her the bat. On the 29th, the author walking along the shore, discovered a sail under a little island, about four leagues distance, which he was in hopes was the pinnace, mentioned before, to have been separated in a storm; but being sent next day by the commander, along with Captain Davis, to see if it was so, they found three barks at anchor, whose men made signs to come on board, and to allure them, said they had hens; some of them understood Portuguese: but the English not being well provided, answered, that they would go and fetch money, and

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and next morning return and buy. Accordingly the next morning they did return, better qualified to talk to them; but the others had not thought fit to wait for them.

On the 4th of August they stood for Priaman; and on the 9th the shallop was manned, and sent along the coast to look for the pinnace; and espying a bark, gave her chase; but when the crew perceived they could not get away, they came to an anchor, and in a boat escaped to an island. As the vessel was laden only with cocoas, oil, nuts, and the like, they lost her, imagining, the commander would not have been pleased with so poor a prize. The 10th and 11th, the shallop standing close along the main land, they espyed eight praws, ready over-against a place called Tico, which they made up to, in expectation of finding their pinnace amongst them; but although she was not there, they were in some hopes still, on being informed, that there was an English ship, at Priaman, not above six leagues off. With this intelligence they hasted on board the admiral, and acquainted him that they had not sailed a league farther before their ship came on ground, on a rock of white coral, but having a strong gale, they soon got her off again, without any hurt, and drawing near a rock off Priaman, they discovered their pinnace, whose captain and master met them half a league from the road in their skiff. At their coming on board the commander welcomed them, with a peal of his great guns, and having given each other an account of what had happened, during their absence, they came to an anchor in five fathom water, very good ground, in the road of Priaman, which stands in 42 minutes south latitude.

On the 14th the commander sent the author on shore, with a present to the governor, and others, to see what price pepper was at, to buy fresh victuals, and to know whether their men might land with safety; but the governor durst not speak to him privately, by reason of the war then carried on, which made them jealous one of the other. The occasion of these wars was this: The king of Achin having two sons, kept the elder at home, intending him for his successor, and made the younger king of Pedir, but the former being dissatisfied at this, imprisoned his father, alledging, that he was too old to govern any longer, and made war on his younger brother. The English finding little good was to be done in this place, took in fresh victuals, and departed on the 21st for Bantam. The same day they took two praws, with only a little rice, which they quitted again: the sailors seeing some leap over-board, and imagining they had all done the same, the first two men that entered were very much wounded by two Indians, who lay hidden behind their sails, and then leaped over-board, swimming swiftly away. The next day they took a fishing-boat and let it go also, without doing it any hurt, only in the attack, one of the boatmen was shot through the thigh. On the 25th they discovered a sail, and sent their shallop, long-boat, and skiff, to see what she was. As she would not strike to them, they attacked her, the fight continuing from three o'clock in the afternoon, till ten at night, when their pinnace coming up, she yielded. She was a bark of about 40 tons, bound for Priaman, and loaded with salt, rice, and China ware: they towed her along with them all night; but in the morning the commander finding they were of Bantam, where the English merchants had then a factory, he let them go, not suffering any thing to be taken from them. On the 2d of September they met with a small ship of Guzarat or Cambaya, being about 80 tons, which they took and carried into the road of Sillibar, in four degrees south, into which road many praws continually come to refresh themselves: for there is good water, wood, rice, buffaloes, flesh, goats, hens, plants, and fresh fish; but all very dear. The 28th they departed for Bantam, and the 23d of October came to an anchor in the road of Marrah, in the streight of Sunda. Here they took in fresh wa-

ter. "Here, says the author, is plenty of buffaloes, goats, cocks, hens, ducks, and other good provisions, in exchange for which the natives chuse to take calicoes, pintiadoes, and such like stuff, rather than money, and if well used, will use you well; but you must watch them; for they think every thing well got that they can steal from a stranger. On the 28th they set sail, and arrived within three leagues of Bantam, which stands in six degrees 40 minutes south, where they anchored. The English fleet, which they thought to have met with, was gone for England three weeks before; but the factors came on board, and was very glad to see them, and gave the commander an account how grossly the Dutch, who were then in the road, had abused them to the king of Bantam, representing them as thieves and reprobates, who came only to plunder them by artifice or violence, if they found an opportunity. They added however, the Dutch were so much afraid of them, that they durst not come into the road, but kept two or three leagues off. The commander moved with this report, weighed anchor, and sent the Dutch word, that he would come and ride close by their sides, giving them to understand, at the same time, that if they offered so much as to point a gun at him, or the least insult whatever, he would either sink them or sink by their sides. There were of these five ships, one of 7 or 800 tons, the rest of a far smaller burden. But of this message, (notwithstanding they came and anchored close by them) they never had any answer: on the contrary, whereas the Hollanders were used to swagger, and keep great stir on shore, before the commander's arrival, they were so quiet after, that scarcely one of them were seen on land. The 2d of November they took leave of their countrymen, and stood on their course for Patane. In their way, between the Chersonesus of Malacca, and Pedra Branca, they met with three praws, which, for fear, ran in near the shore, wherefore the commander manned his shallop with 18 men, and sent to request them, that for his money he might have a pilot to carry his ship to Pulo Timaon, five days sail from thence. But they seeing the ship and pinnace at anchor, about a mile off, not able to come nearer, bluntly refused; whereupon the shallop attacked them, and in less than half an hour took one of them; but the men, who were 73 in all, got on shore. Another, after having fought all night, yielded about day-break; she was laden with benjamin, storax, pepper, China ware, and pitch. The 3d praw got away, while the other was fighting. The commander, who came up in his skiff, a little before she struck, would not suffer any thing to be taken out of her, but two of the men for pilots, and then dismissed the rest, because they were of Java. These Javans are resolute in danger; their chief weapons are javelins, darts, daggers, and a kind of poisoned arrows, which they shoot from trunks: they are not expert in using them: most of them are Mahometans. These had been at Palimbam, and were going home.—On the 26th, they saw certain islands bearing off them north-west, which neither they nor their new pilots knew; and the wind proving contrary, they put into them for wood and water. Next day they anchored within a mile of the shore, in 16 fathoms, good ground, on the south side of the islands. Here, sending out their boats, they found some of them to be sunken islands, and nothing above the water but the trees, or roots of them.—All is a wilderness of woods, and a most uncomfortable place, having neither fruit, fowl, nor any kind of beast for victualling. Those islands they took to be the same as the Broken Islands, lying south-east from the isle of Bantam. However, in one of them they met with a pretty good watering place.

On the 2d of December, they weighed anchor and stood for Patane, as near as the winds would permit; for in these months, they found them to be very contrary, keeping still at north-north-west, or north-east. On the 12th, they observed a sail near Pulo Laor, and sending

Several vessels taken.

Sillibar road.

Marrah road.

Sunken islands

fending their pinnace after, the nearest stayed behind to have met with the other two, but in the night lost them. Next morning they descried the pinnace and shallop, about four leagues to the leeward, with the other ship, which they had taken; and seeing that they were not able to join them, the wind and current being contrary; went to them, they found her a junk of Panhange, of about 100 tons, laden with rice, pepper and tin, going to Bantam. The commander disregarding such mean luggage, took only as much rice as served for his provision, and two little brass guns, which they paid for to their content; he also kept one man for a pilot, who, seeing him use them so well was willing to go. The other two pilots, which they took before out of the praws, being very unskilful, he sent back in the pink, after rewarding them for the time they had been with him.

On the 13th sailing towards Pulo Timaon, which borders on the country of Panhange, they were troubled much with contrary winds and currents, for the sea from the beginning of November to the beginning of April runs continually southward, and from April to November back again to the northward. The wind also in the first five months is most commonly northerly; and in the other seven southerly. All the ships of China, Patane, Jor, Panhange, and some other places, to the northward, come to Bantam, in the northerly monsoon, and return again during the southerly one. By observing these seasons, ships will be sure to have wind and tide with them. Here they found such violent contrary winds and currents, that they could advance but a league in three weeks.—Panhange, is a very plentiful country, and full of people of fashion. There is also store of shipping, and victuals are very cheap. It lies between Jor and Pantane, and reacheth along the coast to cape Tingeron: which is a very high point, and the first land that the caracks of Macao, the junks of China, or praws of Cambaya, do make, when bound for Malacca, Java, Sumatra, Jumbe, Jor, Greece, or any other part to the southward.—Here, in their way to Patane, about the 27th they met with a junk full of Japans, who had been pirating along the coast of China and Cambaya. Their pilot being dead, and not knowing how to govern their ship in foul weather, she was cast away on the shoals of the great island Borneo, where they durst not go on shore: for the Japans being feared as a bold desperate people, are not suffered to land in any part of India, with weapons. Taking their shallops, after the loss of their ship, they met with this junk, which belonged to Patane, of about seventy tons, laden with rice, and having killed all the people, save an old pilot, and furnished it with such necessities and arms as they saved out of their sunken ship, shaped their course for Japan: but the badness of the junk, contrary winds, and unseasonableness of the year, forcing them to leeward was the cause of their falling in the way of the English. They were ninety men in all, a number too great for so small a vessel; and most of them in too gallant a habit for sailors: besides there was such an equality of behaviour among them, that they seemed to be upon a level: for though one among them was called captain, they shewed him but little respect. Their lading was only rice; and, for the most part spoiled with wet: for their ship was leaky both under and above water. The English riding at anchor under a small island, near that of Bantam, for two days treated them kindly: with a view to have learned the place and passage of certain ships, on the coast of China, in order to have made their voyage. But these men being hopeless, in that junk, ever to return to their own country, resolved with themselves either to gain the ship or lose their lives. As there was a friendly intercourse between the two vessels, with presents and feasting: sometimes twenty-five or twenty-six of the principal men would come on board the English ship, tho' not above six were suffered to have weapons.—The commodore intending to have the rice searched in the junk,

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ordered Captain Davis in the morning to possess himself of their weapons, and put the company before the mast; for fear, in case any thing valuable was found, they might set upon the English and kill them: but Davis being deceived by their dissembling carriage, would not seize on their weapons, though he was ordered twice to do it. At sun-set, after long search, and nothing found, save a little storax and benjamin, the Japanese, seeing a fair opportunity, at a watch word agreed on between them, resolutely fell upon the English in both ships at once. They suddenly killed and drove overboard all the English that were in their junk; and those who were on board the ship sallied out of the commander's cabin, where they were put, with such weapons as they had, or could find there. Sir Edward being on deck, leaped into the waste; where, with the boatswain, carpenter, and some few more, he kept the enemy under the half deck.

The Japanese treachery.

The first they happened to meet with was captain Davis coming out of the gun-room, whom they pulled into the cabin; and giving him six or seven wounds, thrust him out again before them.—He died as soon as he came into the waste, into which they pressed most furiously to reach them with their swords. It was near half an hour before they could be driven back into the cabin, four or five of their leaders being slain; and four more before they were subdued. They often fired the cabin, by burning the bedding and some combustibles; and would have burnt the ship, if they had not been prevented, by beating down the bulk-head and pump, with two demiculverins from under the half-deck. These guns being charged with cross-bars, bullets, and case-shot, and bent close to the bulk-head, so hurt them with boards and splinters, that there was but one left out of twenty-one, it was surprising to see how miserably their legs, arms, and bodies were torn; they were so desperate, they never once called for quarter: only one leaped over-board, who afterwards swam back to the ship, and begged mercy; being asked what was their design? He replied, it was to take the ship, and cut the throats of all that were in her. He would say no more, but at last asked to be cut in pieces. The next day, being the 28th, when they were about five miles from land, the commander ordered the Japanese to be hanged: but he broke the rope, and fell into the sea: whether he swam to land or not was unknown. They took their course to a little island to the leeward, where they anchored the 30th, staying three days to mend their boat, and take in wood and water; in this island they found a ship of Patane, whose captain being asked, whether the ships of China were come to Patane? He told them they were not, but would be there within a few days, for this reason they took him for their pilot, and purposed to wait there for the Chinese ships.

On the 12th of January 1606, one of the mates, from the top-mast, descried two ships, which came towards them; the English likewise advanced, and coming up with the largest in the night, after a short fight, boarded, and brought them to an anchor. Next day the English having taken some of their silks, both wrought and raw, paid for them more than they were worth; after which they let them depart on the 15th, without touching their silver, though they had above fifty tons on board. This was done out of kindness, but because they had hopes of meeting with the other Chinese ships, which they lay in wait for, shaping their course back again, but the wind proving quite contrary, they could not proceed; and so were forced on the 22d to put into two small islands to leeward, called by the Javans, Pulo Sumatra.—On the 24th a great storm arising, their cable broke. The 2d of February five Holland ships sailing homeward put into the same road. Captain Warwick, who was their general, having invited Sir Edward to dine with him, told him that the English merchants in Bantam, were in great danger every hour of being assaulted by the king of Java, on account

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count of the Chinese ship which he had taken, whereby that monarch had lost his custom; and therefore requested him to go no farther, but sail home with him; Sir Edward answered, that he had not as yet made his voyage, and therefore would not return. But weighing the case a little better, after the departure of the Hollanders, (which was on the 3d of February) and considering that he had but two anchors, and two cables left to trust to, he thought proper to repair his ships, and return home with the poor advantage he had made. Accordingly he set sail

for that purpose, on the 5th of February; and the 7th of April, after a great storm, had sight of the Cape of Good Hope. On the 7th, they came to St. Helena, where they watered, and found refreshment, as wine and goats, with which, and wild hogs, the island abounds, but is uninhabited. There are also great store of partridges, Turkey-cocks and Guinea-hens. They departed on the 3d of May, and on the 14th, passed the equator. On the 27th of June, they arrived at Milford Haven, in Wales, and cast anchor in Portsmouth road, on the 9th of July, 1606.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM KEELING, TO BANTAM AND BANDA.

IN this voyage were employed three ships, with 310 men; the Dragon, admiral, Captain Keeling chief commander or general; the Hector, vice-admiral, William Hawkins, captain, and the Consent, David Middleton, captain.

On the 1st of April, 1607, the Dragon and Hector were fallen as low as the Downs; after their departure from thence, they met with several disasters. They passed the line in the beginning of June: when being come into four or five degrees of south latitude, they were forced by gusts, calms, rain, sickness, and other marine inconveniencies, to return northward. But missing the isle of Fernando de Loronha, to their great surprise. On the 30th of July, the commander consulted with Taverner, the master, who was of opinion that they should be obliged to return for England. His company beginning to be much diseased, and being unable to reach Fernando de Loronha; (water being their greatest want, and a watering place so near) he called a council, and, after dinner, propounded what was fittest to be done. It was generally agreed, that they ought not to stand to the south any longer. They therefore stood for Sierra Leona. On the 4th of August, in the morning, they saw many flowers, a sign of land; and in the evening had ground from twenty-eight to sixteen fathoms, oozy, but no sight of shore. Having sent out the skiff, to ride at a small distance from the ship, in order to examine the set of the current, by the log line, she found it set south-east-by-east, two miles a watch; although she rid wind road. They steered all this morning, east, and east-by-south, and had from thirty to twenty, and ten fathoms water, but no sight of land, and the greatest depth was oozy; the least a yellow, sandy ground. About nine, they espied land, being a round spot, moderately high, bearing north-east, about eight leagues distant. They were at noon in the latitude of seven degrees fifty-six minutes, and steered all day east; sometimes one point northerly or southerly, as their water deepened or shoaled; for they had often times above ten fathoms, and at the next cast under seven fathoms, in pitty ground; and when they found shoal water, upon bearing up northerly, they instantly deepened; a sign that they bordered upon the shoals of St. Anne. The author allows, since the preceding day at noon, fourteen leagues east, and five leagues west, wind at south and south-by-west, and south-by-east. In the afternoon, they had ten, eleven and twelve fathoms water. The first land proved Ila Verde, being a very round land, and mark for those bound for the place, from the southward. About seven in the evening, they anchored in twenty fathoms water, hard sand, having steered six leagues or more, to the north-east, and north-north-east. About six the next morning, they made sail for the road; and had no less

than sixteen, fifteen, ten and nine fathoms, till they were north and south with, and half a mile from the rock, (which lies about one mile and a half off the Cape, and one mile from the nearest shore). They had seven fathoms very good shoaling, between them and the rock: and soon after they had passed it, they had twenty fathoms water, and shoaled to eighteen, sixteen, twelve and ten fathoms, all the way in the road, bordering very near the south shore; for there is sand lying off the north shore about two miles or a league, from the south shore, whereon the sea breaketh. They rode in ten fathoms, good ground, the point of Sierra Leona bearing west-by-north, and the sand-bank north-north-east.—This afternoon, perceiving men, who beckoned them on shore, the commander sent his boat, which leaving two hostages, brought four negros, who promised refreshing. The skiff sounding between the Dragon and beach, found fair shoaling, and two fathoms water, within two boats length of it. On the 7th, there came on board with the boat, negros of better appearance, having one Englishman in hostage; for two of them having made signs that the commander should send some of his men up into the country, and that they would remain as pledges, he sent Edward Buckbury, and his servant, William Cotterel, with a present, viz. one coarse shirt, three foot of a bar of iron, a few glass beads and two knives. They returned towards night, and brought the commander, from the said captain, one small ear-ring of gold at about eight or nine shillings sterling. And because it was late, the hostages would not go on shore, but lay on board all night, without requiring any security for them, the ship's boat being sent, fetched five tons of fresh water, which is both very good, and easy to come by. On the 11th, the commander went fishing towards shore, where the people brought their women to see them, but were afraid the English would carry them away. He gave them some trifles, and bought a quantity of lemons, at the rate of 200 for a penny knife: wind at east. On the 12th, he went again, but took little fish; the wind was from north-west to south, the weather rainy. Next day it rained without intermission, and they got fish enough for a meal; the commander bought an elephant's tooth of sixty-three pounds weight, for five yards of blue calico, and seven or eight pounds of iron-bar. On the 14th, it rained all day. On the 15th, he went and caught, within one hour and an half, 600 cavallas, a small but good fish. In the afternoon, with Captain Hawkins and a convenient guard, he went on shore to the village, where they bought 2 or 3000 lemons. He reckoned it a fair day, when they had three hours dry over head.

On the 20th, John Rogers returned, and brought him a present of a piece of gold, in form of an half-moon

moon, valued at about seven shillings sterling: With an account that the people were peaceable; the chief without state: the landing two leagues up; and the chief village eight miles from the landing place. On the 22d, they went on shore, where they made six or seven barricos full of lemon-water; the commander opening one of the company's firkins of knives to buy limes with. On the 7th of September, they went all on shore, to see if they could kill an elephant. They shot seven or eight bullets into one; and made him bleed exceedingly, as appeared by his track; but being near night, they were forced to return on board, without effecting their design. Although the commander often proposed to observe the latitude of the road, both on board and on shore, yet his instruments being out of order, he never did: but the master made it by his observation, eight degrees, thirty six minutes north; the point of Sierra Leona bearing nearest west, three or four miles off. He also found the variation to be one degree fifty minutes easterly.

On the 17th of December, about two in the afternoon, they saw the Table of Saldanna very plain; and standing to make it till three, the commander caused the master to steer east-south-east, and south-east-by-east, to double the Cape. At that time the whole company being sick, desired to put into Saldanna, they stood for it, and about noon got into the road, anchoring in five and a half fathoms water; the west point bearing west-north-west, the island north-north-west, and the Sugar Loaf, south-west. The westernmost Cape-land, and Penguin island, bear south-by-west, &c. There was a sand-bank south of the island, about a mile distant; and another half a league off to the south-east. Between the island and shore are seven miles distant. The Sugar Loaf and the isle bear south-by-east, and north-by-west from the west point of the bay, half a mile off is a flat. The westernmost south-land, and point of the Sugar Loaf, bearing south-south-west, and north-north-east. As soon as they anchored, the commander went on shore, finding the people very bold, but dear. There he met with these words engraved upon a rock, viz. "The 24th of July, 1607, Captain David Middleton, in the Consent." On the 21st, he landed again, and bought 102 sheep, 12 bullocks, and 2 calves, of which he allowed the Hector a share. This traffic continued several days, in which time they bought some cattle. At sun-rise, on the 21st of January, 1607, they set sail, and by six in the evening, were ten leagues west-by-south from the south point of the bay. On the 19th, the Dragon shipped a great deal of water at the helm-port, and at the hole in the gallery, about two hours after midnight which wetted some bales of cloth. Latitude thirty-five degrees twenty-two minutes, the author allows thirteen leagues south-south-east, wind east-north-east, and north-east; six leagues drift south, and three leagues north-east, wind westerly. The too great quantity of goods, made the ship labour exceedingly. On the 17th of February, they saw the land bearing east about eight leagues from them, and as it was judged, in the latitude of twenty-four degrees twenty minutes. They stood in till after six o'clock; at that time, being within four leagues of the shore, they flatted, the Hector being too near a-stern for them to stay. Then they tacked, they had no ground at eight or nine fathoms, which was no great wonder, for it was low smooth land. About noon, they were athwart of two small islands, seeming to make a good road; wherefore, not knowing their latitude, they stood off till they could observe, it being high noon. On the 18th, latitude twenty-three degrees thirty-seven minutes. Therefore they stood in again, supposing this to be the place they sought: but coming near the shore, and having sent both skiffs a-head, they found six fathoms water, for which reason, they anchored in seven and half sandy ground, about one in the afternoon, the two islands and breach bearing south-west-

erly a mile from them. There was an inlet about three leagues from them, east-by-north, which the master supposed to be St. Augustine; and intending to search the same; the commander called a council, where it was resolved to make some small stay at St. Augustine. The variation in this place was 15 deg. 30 minutes; and by another observation, the same morning, 15 degrees 26 minutes, he was obliged to observe over the land half a degree high; otherwise the variation would have resulted somewhat more: on these two observations he had great dependance: it flowed east.—On the 19th in the morning they weighed, and one of their anchors being faulty, it broke. They steered for the above-mentioned seeming harbour or bay, and found in their way from ten or twelve, to twenty fathoms, coming near the point in the height of the bay, they had no ground at 100 fathoms, till they were advanced far into the bay, when their skiffs, which were before them, found bottom. After this, they had from thirty to eight fathoms, and farther in deep water. They dropped one anchor in eighteen fathoms, and laid another in forty: for the south shore was the deepest water, the other being made shallow by the coming down of the rivers. On the 20th they had 70 fathoms water at the ship; the bottom oozy. The land bore west-by-south, and north; and to the north, lay certain shoals, with a sand-bank to the north-west, so that they were but five points of the compass open to the winds; but the road is very foul ground, and deep water; besides, there runs a strong stream down the river continually. Captain Hawkins coming on board the Dragon, the commander being indisposed himself, sent him on shore, accompanied with both the skiffs, well armed. Towards night he returned on board, without having seen any people; but the fresh track of them was very visible in a great many places. He left some beads and trifles in a boat which they found, to allure the natives. According to this account, there was little likelihood of refreshing here: but the commander's fishers, from the other side of the bay told him, they met with a great number of bones of beasts, and some with flesh on them. George Evans, of the Hector, was bitten here by an alegator. The commander ordered water to be taken in without delay: and in the mean time proposed to seek provisions. It flows here nearest east, and highest, much water. On the 21st, having espied four natives, the commander sent to present them beads, &c. whereupon they promised, by signs, to bring store of cattle next day. On the 22d, the commander perceiving several of the inhabitants, went on shore, and found a subtil people. (Their bodies were strong, and well proportioned; their privities only carefully covered with cloth made of the rhinds of trees). He bought one calf, one sheep, and one lamb; but they would part with nothing but for silver. In the afternoon, he rowed up the river, as well to look for the best watering place, as otherwise, and found the water very shallow and brackish. On the 24th, he went on shore again, seeing one man there, and bought three kine, two steers, and four calves, which cost nineteen shillings, besides a few beads. The cattle which were buffaloes, are far better flesh than those of Saldanna. These people are circumcised, as some affirm to have seen.

"On the 28th, (says the author) they departed. There lies a breach four miles from the north point of the bay, south south-east. The place is described as very inconvenient for riding, the water being deep, and the ground pitty and foul, as appear by their cable cutting. On the 12th of March, lat. 15 deg. 50 minutes, they sounded several times in the afternoon, and had no ground at 90 fathoms, and before eight, they had ground at 20, 28, 17, 16 fathoms, all within half a cable's length. Then they instantly tacked off, and had 19 and 24 fathoms; and the three last, had no bottom at forty fathoms. The ground was composed of small single stones, like beans, and the ship at this time was about five or six miles from

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from shore. This afternoon, having had a fresh gale at east by north, they got somewhat to the north.—The 13th, latitude 15 degrees 45 minutes, it having been calm from midnight till eleven this forenoon, they lost what they got the day before, and were driven south as appeared by the land. They were at noon within three leagues of shore. The 14th, latitude 15 degrees 42 minutes, so that they were advanced north, three leagues, and judgment would have allowed at least 15 leagues north north-east, so that the author concluded the current ran swift, and set more south than south-west: for this morning, though hazy, they were not far from shore, having had sight of land all along; whereas then, although it was much cleared, they could hardly see it. The 15th they were in latitude 15 degrees 40 minutes. They could not see the land, yet were but ten leagues from it. They knew not what course to take to get out of this current; for if they put off, and the current should hold, the ships might be in danger from the island of Juan de Nueva; and by keeping the shore great hazards might accrue: besides, where such a gale stems not the stream, it is indiscretion to continue.

“The Moors of this place alike affirm, that in some years, upon the coast of Mombasa, Magadoxa, Pata, Brava, &c. pieces of Ambergris are found, weighing twenty kentals, of such bulk, that men may hide behind one of them. They make yearly voyages from hence to the isle of Comora, to buy slaves, and report the people to be very treacherous; having, at different times killed 50 persons by poisoning, and therefore resolved to trade on board.—They said there were eight Dutchmen upon Pemba, who had been there three or four years, two of whom turned Moors. They reckon this monsoon of south winds to begin yearly the first of May, and the extremity thereof to continue 100 days. The most boisterous weather (which they report to be wonderful) is in June and July: for on the 10th of August it begins to be less windy, and soon after north winds come, attended with much rain, for three or four months more; at which time most aloes is made, which is only the juice of *semper virens*, put into a goat's skin, and so dried. The 3d of May the commander sent on shore to weigh aloes, and received on board 1250 pounds, which cost for the company's account 250 dollars. He bought in all 1833 pounds nett. The chief sending to borrow 500 rials of eight, which he refused to lend; but presented him with two yards of kersey, and a very handsome knife. He had, at another time, 575 pound more of aloes, which cost 115 dollars. Chaul, Dabul, and Danda Rajipuri are good and safe ports, and rich trading towns, upon the coast of India. At Szada, Ilbuki, Auzoane, Mutu, four of the isles of Comora, there is abundance of rice, and the people are good: but Jughaze, and Malale, (two more of the same islands) produce very little rice; and the people are treacherous.

“Burrom, Makella, and Cayxim, are good harbours for both monsoons on the coast of Arabia, but no places of merchandising. Xael, or Zaer, has no harbour nor road for any time, but would vend iron and lead, a Turk being Aga; and they send by land for such commodities to Cayxim, a day's journey to the westward; but there is no going thither at this time; that in both monsoons there is a continual extreme sea-gale upon the coast of Arabia, and the current generally with the wind; there is no riding at the entrance of Surat, to have any shelter from the western shore, against the western monsoons, by reason of bad anchoring ground, and chiefly by the extreme violence of the tides, which overset ships that are not aground. The road of Delisy is a very good place to ride in secure against the monsoon. But what is strange, two miles either to the east or west from thence, it continually blows so hard that no ship can abide it; neither could the author assign any reason for it, except the distance betwixt the ships of the

high mountains might cause it: for there was much low land betwixt them and the shore.

“On the 24th of June they departed. The 23d they saw an island, and about noon, two more; they left two to the north, and one to the south, which is the biggest, and in the latitude of four degrees two minutes below the Line. The north part of these islands is a very high land, full of trees. In the mid-way, between the southernmost of the three, which are ten leagues distant north and south. There is a sand-bank lying from the east end of the most northern (or middlemost) south-east, half channel over; to avoid this, they steered within two leagues of the middlemost island, by a very good passage, having the breach about three leagues to the south. It lies very dangerous for those who have no knowledge of it, to pass by night. There seemed to be a passage between the two northernmost; but it is scarce league-wide. On the 26th they were half way between Priaman and Teku, about three leagues from the shore, where it was observed, that the two hammocks of Miku, with the high land over them, bore north and by west, and south by east, half a point easterly. There lies a shoal also four miles from the coast, bearing south and north, with the said high land, standing north-east by east; from the road of Priaman, they had 45 fathom water, two leagues and a half from shore. There is an island about four leagues from the road, north-east and south-west. The three islands of Priaman, lie south south-east, and north north-west, being distant each from the other, about a mile. In the afternoon they got into Priaman road, and saluted the town with five pieces of cannon. The governor sent a goat to the commander, who returned it with a present of three yards of cloth also, one piece of blue calico, a musquet barrel, and two sword blades. He likewise bestowed on the messenger, (who spoke Portuguese) a piece of blue calico. There came another of Achin, with whom he held a long conversation in Arabic: and from his report, conceived great hopes of a beneficial trade. On the 29th the commander went on shore by times, shooting off seven pieces of ordnance: he went immediately to the governor's house, who presented him with a buffalo, and appointed him to settle the price of pepper, with sundry chief men. These commissioners were about 60 in number, and he had many disputes with them about weighing the pepper; he desiring, that it might be done upon the island, and they insisting that it should be weighed in the town. They demanded 50 dollars the bahar, which much displeased him; for the Achinese advised, to offer but 16; but this was his craft, for being a merchant, his aim was to have engrossed much pepper, before the commander should have bought any; and then would have made him pay his own price for it. After much debate, the rate was agreed at 22 dollars and a half the bahar, besides six per cent. custom. He likewise, at length consented to pay two other customs, or rather exactions, the one 160 dollars, the other, not much less. Writings were drawn between him and them. The night before, a man who spoke Portuguese, lay on board the Dragon; and in behalf of the late governor's wife, (by him intitled queen) desired the commander's aid in taking the town, offering him one half of it. But being acquainted with the finess of Moors, and the thing not agreeable to his commission, he refused to intermeddle; and in the morning sent him on shore. He sold cloth to the chief, for 159 masses of gold.—The town and lands of Priaman yield not, yearly, above 500 bahars of pepper; but adding the produce of the neighbouring districts, as Bassaman, Teku, Berus, and the mountains near the town, the whole amounted to 2500 bahars, which quantity will load two ships, and may be bought at a very reasonable price, if a factory has the means to buy all the year: but their harvest is only in August and September, and the grain is fetched away by the ships of Achin and Java only, the Gu-

zarats not being permitted to trade there by the king of Achin's express command; so that a vessel that touches at Surat, and having bought a parcel of blue calicoes, white calicoes, blue striped and chequered stuffs, and some small and fine pintadoes, shall leave a factory, may lay the best foundation for profit, one year against the next. The author, says, he cannot see how ships can call at Cambaya, and come to Priaman time enough in one year; besides the king of Achin's letter must be procured, for their safer proceedings in those parts.

On the 18th of September, in the morning, they departed, and next day at noon, were ten leagues west north-west, from the point to the south of Priaman, having steered to the eastward of Illa de Frisfeza. Before day, on the 20th, they saw an island a-head, and steered east south-east, to get clear of it. They now went to the eastward of it four leagues; the islands of Sumatra being seven leagues from them. The 21st, 26 leagues, being allowed south-east by south, they were within six or seven leagues of Sumatra; and west from them, about four leagues, was another great island. On the 2d of October in the morning, they saw land, which they took for the Salt Island, but it proved a round hummock upon Sumatra. They made scarcely any way, yet at noon, were in five degrees 55 minutes south. The 3d they had sight of Salt Isle, bearing north-east by north, four or five leagues distant. It lies in the latitude of six degrees, six minutes. When they saw it, they were within four leagues or less of the south land, which bore east south-east, the wind all night fresh at west, and north-west. The south land consists of four isles; the western part of it lies with the Salt Island, or roundest and highest island in the strait of Sunda, south-west by south, &c. The nearest of the south islands being the westernmost, is six leagues distant from the Salt Island. The Salt Island lies half-sea over; and the distance betwixt Sumatra, and this southernmost land is 12 or fourteen leagues. This evening they had the Salt Island four leagues north of them. On the 14th in the morning they were within five or six leagues of the point, (including Bantam whole bay) east north-east from them. There were before they came to that point, two rocks full of trees, bearing north and south, four miles distant, between which two they steered. The southernmost lies very near Java, and the northernmost half way or more, between the point of Bantam and another low ragged island, which, with the other two to the northward of it, bear with the northernmost rock. West south-west, and east south-east, between which islands they did not know of any passage. They got into the road of Bantam where they found six Dutch ships, two were almost laden with cloves, and two more were to be laden with pepper. The commander found 13 English people alive, of whom two were merchants, and received a letter from Captain David Middleton. On the 6th, they paid the two Chinese their wages, and released them. The 20th he called his merchants together, and having formerly resolved to return with the Dragon to England, upon special considerations, he now consulted about employing the pinnace, not yet finished; and it was resolved to send her with Brown and Sidnal, for Banda; that John Herne, John Saris, and Richard Savage, should remain at Bantam; and that so soon as the pinnace should return from Banda, John Saris should go in her to Sequedana, in Borneo. The 15th of November he sent for Jaques Dermite, and discovered to them a design of the Javans to kill them, whereof he had received very particular information.

"On the 22d, the ambassador of Siam came to visit the commander, and dined with him. He affirmed, that one might sell 1000 pieces of red cloth, there in two days, and great quantities yearly; for they cloathed their elephants and horses with it; that gold is plenty there, and good, being worth three times the weight of silver; there are there precious

stones in abundance, and cheap; and that his master would account it a great happiness to have commerce with so great a king as his majesty of England, with whom, as he understood, the king of Holland was not to be compared.

The commander took leave of the king, the governor, the admiral, the old Shah Bandar, also of Tangong, and of the Dutch, on the 25th, designing to stay no longer. The 2d of December at night, the merchants came on board, bringing a letter from the king of Bantam, to King James, and two picols of Canton, as a present to him. The 12th they discovered a sail, before they got out of the straits, which proved to be the Hector. Her captain staid behind at Surat. By her they understood, that the Portuguese had taken 18 English ships, among which were several of the factor's, and goods to the value of 9000 dollars. The 14th they got into the Bantam road again, being forced to a longer voyage or loss of reputation. On the 16th there came a small Flemish vessel from Amsterdam, with news of peace between Spain, France, and the Netherlands, and that the end of his coming was, to order the Dutch to desist from their design against Molucca. The commander appointed Messrs. Molineux and Peckham, to return for England, and took the rest with him for the Moluccas. The 17th he removed into the Hector, and the masters exchanged ships. The 21st he dispatched Mr. Towerson, pressing his departure with all speed. The 23d, the Dragon set sail from Bantam.

On the first of January, about one in the morning they weighed, and with a brisk gale off the shore, got about the east point, east north-east, from whence they rode three leagues; thence to another point south-east by east, three leagues. Between the second point lies a shoal, having little water for a great length; to avoid which it is best to steer half way between Java, and the isles of Tonda, which are five leagues distant. To the eastward of the second point, lies the island of Tarara, so close to the shore, that it is not distinguishable at a distance. From the 2d to the 3d point, bearing east south-east, there are four leagues, and a mile and a half off that point, north by west, lies the isle Lakkee, betwixt which and the point, there is by report, but one fathom and three quarters of water. They rode at night in six fathoms, having the isle a league off to the east. The 4th they weighed, and steered within half a league of Lakkee, having seven or eight fathoms water. The island Lakkee, with the west point, including Jaccatra, bears south-east, four leagues distant. There is a dangerous sand off the west point of Jaccatra, so that it is best to borrow off the said island, which lies opposite to that point. The 8th the commander went and anchored far out before Jaccatra, the king having sent the Shah Bandar to desire powder and match; he presented him 30 pounds of the former, and a roll of the latter. He bought of them for 45 dollars, a Portuguese boy, (given to the king by the Dutch) who would by no means forsake Christianity. The points as they rode, bore north-west, and east by north, four leagues distant. The town and the highest of the easternmost hills, south by east, and the west hill south by west. Since they left Bantam, they saw 30 or 40 islands. The 10th in the afternoon, they departed; and on the 12th, having sailed 30 leagues east by south. They were at noon, two leagues south-west by south an island; south and north, with which there is a shoal, three leagues from Java, called Los tres Hermanos, (or the Three Brothers:) the isle lies 10 leagues from Java, but not so far easterly, as is projected in the charts, and bears with the highest hill they see upon Java, north by west. The 21st in the forenoon, they saw the land of Celebes: the 27th, in the morning, they were north and south with a land lying 12 leagues, east south-east, from the east side of Cambaya: coming nearer the western part, it proved two islands, lying east north-east, &c. The great island lay east by north, five leagues off, making

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three or four head-lands. There lies a round island eight leagues south, from the said head-lands. From the eastern point to another, north-east, half north, there are three leagues, and to a fourth, north-east by north, three leagues. Eight leagues south-east by east, from the third point, lies a shoal six leagues long, as it beareth. The 28th, from the said point north-east, eight leagues, lies the island Ticabessa, (whereof they had sight;) and to the north-east by north, 14 leagues, is the east or north-east point or Buton. At night, a caraval, with 40 or 50 men came on board, sent from the king of Buton, among whom were the king's uncle and son, who knew Sidnall and Spalding.

“ On the 4th of February in the morning, about eight o'clock, they saw Burro, the east point of which was north-east by east, seven leagues off, and the west point north-by-west, nine leagues off. The author for the space of a few hours ran 12 leagues, north-east, wind westerly. The 5th, a consultation being held, it was thought best to go for Banda, the winds not serving for the Moluccas. From the eastern point of Burro, to another, there are four leagues, east and west. The Isle Bloy lies south and north from the easternmost end of Burro, four or five leagues. From Burro they saw Amboyna, which lies east by north, 12 leagues distant, and is 10 leagues long, east, to the eastward of which lie other isles, east and west, of good quantity. On the 28th, they got into the road or harbour of Banda, where the people and Dutch came to welcome the commander. There is a small flat island, that lies to the north of Pulorin's east end. Puloway, and the entrance of the harbour, bore west, northerly, three leagues distant. The two points of the south, bear north, one quarter east, &c. half a mile distant. Those that are bound in, must keep on the north side, close under the highest hill. They rode in six fathoms and a half water; the entrance of the sound being west south-west, one mile off them. Nera one mile north, and the low point of the round hill, one mile west. The Hope having been driven to the east, came piloted in next morning. The 9th, the commander went on shore, and delivered his majesty's letter to Nera, together with a present, being the best gilt cup with a cover, the best head-piece and gorget, and one of Mr. Buckes's musquets, which cost 25 dollars: it was received with the most state that had been known; but they took till next day to consider about the proposals for settling a factory. The Dutch saluted at Captain Keeling's landing, and again at his going on board; he boarded with them. The 11th, he agreed for building their house. The 21st he went to Urtatan, to confer with the people, where he promised to be at Lantor the Sunday following. The 25th in the afternoon, he was called upon, and went to Lantor, where he delivered the king's letter; the small gilt cup with a cover, the fine gilt target, one musquet and a barrel, which they received with respect. Nekhada China (as the Dutch spy) came on board in the night, to advise the commander how to manage. Where the Dutch have a factory, let no man look for better measure; large gifts being more regarded than fair dealing.

On the 13th, those of Lantor demanded for Serepinang, 140 rials of eight, and Captain Keeling required leave to sell his cloth the best he could, by settling a price. The priest was sent from the government to demand payment of what they called Rooba, before the English traded, which the commander refused, except upon condition that the whole country would bind themselves to lade him with mace and nutmegs, within four months, at 100 dollars the catti. The priest taking time to consider of it, the other answered that since he perceived they protracted the affair, waiting till the arrival of the Dutch, (which was now become doubtful, the monsoon being almost spent, and the east winds beginning already to blow) he would not give more than 90 rials; on which the priest took his leave, who under a very fair

outside concealed abundance of guile. The 16th, there arrived three Dutch vessels, which, without anchoring, fired thirty, sixteen, and nine pieces of cannon. Two of these ships came from Ternate, having lost Paul Van Carden, their admiral, with 74 men, taken by the Spaniards. The Dutch offered 5000 dollars for him; but restoring the fort of Machian, which he had formerly taken from them.”

At length, the English came to an agreement with the Dutch, with regard to the present dispute, and on the 23d, the commander made a secret agreement with the chief of Puloway, to send a factory thither; and were forced to lend them 300 rials; and gave as ^{Factory at} Puloway. serapinang, 100 rials, with four Malayan pintadoes. Next day, the Dutch hearing of the agreement, fought to prevent him. The 29th there arrived in the road six great ships, and two small pinnaces. The commander saluted them with nine pieces of cannon, and they answered with three. The first of April, 1609, he received by the Hope, from Puloway, 225 cattis and three quarters of mace, and 1307 cattis and a half of nutmegs, which mace (so bought) he marked with B. for distinction; the 4th, going on board to cure one of his eyes, which by the heat of the nutmegs, watching, &c. was very sore, he left the house and goods in the care of Augustine Spalding. There arrived from the Moluccas, two small Dutchmen. And now the wind every morning, blew hard easterly. The 9th, the Dutch admiral, Williamson Varhoef, went on shore to Urtatan; the fleet shot 40 pieces of ordnance: his ship but five. He delivered a letter from Count Maurice, without a present, which, when the people demanded, answer was made, (as the author was told) that they had one on board: but it was not yet resolved what it should be. The 10th, the Sha bandar, at the common request, sent for the letter, which being in Portuguese, he perused, and found it only an instrument, binding the prince and state to ratify such agreements as their admirals and councils should make with other powers. It was written on paper, sealed underneath, and left open for all.

They began to bring their nutmegs on board, on the 11th, being constrained thereto by the Dutch, whose intentions was to go on shore within a day or two, so that the English could neither select the best, nor let them be long enough in sweat. On the 12th, at night, after the first watch, the states sent four men to desire the commanders company instantly on shore; but he excused going till next morning, and then went betimes. The Shah Bandar of Nera, coming to visit him on his landing, after much talk he proposed (as he had often done before) the formal surrender of Banda, to the use of the king of England, before the Dutch landed, or began their fort. They seemed to like the proposal well, promising to consider, and give an answer the same day; but did not perform.

On the 15th, the Dutch, with twenty boats ^{They invade} landed 1200 men; the natives fled. On the 18th, ^{Banda,} the commander went on shore, and sending for some Dutch of note, complained of many wrongs he had received since their arrival, and demanded redress; adding, that although the English were not strong enough to right themselves, yet their king would not suffer his subjects to be injured by their means, without obtaining effectual satisfaction: the English commander at the same time told them, that notwithstanding their behaviour, he could not help acquainting them, that the natives intended to poison their water; and had for that reason, warned him not to drink of it. They thanked him, and having been with their admiral, requested the commander from him to have patience, with regard to the affair of rice, till he had consulted on the matter. On the 20th, the commander went on shore to fetch the rice, in part of Daton Puti's debt to the company, but the Dutch had dishonestly taken it, notwithstanding the admiral promised that he should have it. —

Then

Then he thought to have supplied himself among the Javans: but they durst not, although he offered more than the Dutch paid, alledging, that the Dutch had charged them not to sell him any. At his return home, finding the person whom the admiral had formerly sent to him, he desired him to tell that commander, that he looked upon the taking of his rice, as a great wrong; and that if he were a gentleman, he would not suffer low people to abuse him; as he walked among them. The person answered, that he was a weaver; on this the commander reproved him, being an Englishman in their service. The commander took his prau, and went to Labatacca, where he found such little business, that it appearing not worth while to keep there, he sent his skiff to bring them and their goods away. He went to Cambay on the 22d, where the Dutch did the English much wrong, even in their own yard; when having several times complained without redress, the commander concluded that it was by order from the chief. On the 24th, the Dutch began their fort. Next day one of their pinnaces, which came from Puloway, could tell him no news of Brown there. On this he manned his skiff and went thither: but found little spice. However, the people desired him to stay at Ayre Puti, promising to load his ship, and offered to make it death to any one who should sell one catti of spice to the Dutch. The commander shewing a diffidence, they having once before deceived him, they offered to enter into articles, and confirm them by oaths. Upon this he proposed their bringing the goods on board, which they refused, fearing the Dutch. He then offered to send one Englishman in each prau, and to run the risque if the Dutch took it. But they would not hazard their people. On the 6th, in the morning, having taken into his boat four suckles of mace, and many nutmegs, with three chiefs, in order to confer what to do. By the way, they declared, that if he would not deal with them, their spice should rot upon the trees; and they would all die, before they would trade with the Dutch. "But (says the author) they are wicked and faithless Moors; neither know I what to do; for if I go to the Moluccas, I must lose 2000 dollars owing here; and trade there is uncertain. On the other hand, staying two months longer here, will prevent going to the Moluccas." However, at last he agreed with them. On the 29th, the chief being convened, after many protestations of sincerity, they engaged by writing, to deal with him only, for all their spice at Puloway, and at Ayre Puti, and not to sell or part with any to the Dutch. The Dutch offered 12000 dollars, to make peace with the inhabitants, and drive the English from thence, which they refused, and often earnestly desired the commander not to take it ill, that they permitted the Dutch to land and sell their cloth, which they did upon a particular consideration no way material to him. On the 4th of May, the commander went to Puloway, where he found the Dutch offered cloth at one third less than the English. He also met with 1000 cattis of nutmegs, and 200 cattis of mace, which they of Pulorin had sold the English, without letting the Dutch have one catti of either. On the 8th, the Dutch there sent to request the conveyance of a letter and a sick man on board their ships, which the commander promised: but his nutmegs being ready to load, Nakhada Goa, came from the chief to intreat him not to carry their man or letter; but stay also himself on shore, which he refused, and prepared to set forward; of which being informed, they sent him word again by the same person, that if he went, they would seize whatsoever he left behind, and consider the English as enemies; upon which he stopped. On the 9th, the people sent, and desired him to go on board in four days. As he was going to bed, there came a command that they should not stir out of doors upon pain of death. Soon after, he heard that the Dutch were upon their knees to the people, on this, going out armed, he found them overcome

with fear; and demanding the cause of coming on board so late? They answered, that one of them was shot in the leg, as he slept in their house, which caused them to seek the commander for help, and that they were intercepted by the way. He went home with them; and leaving three English with two of them in their house, brought two home with him. On the 10th, in the morning, he caused the goods of the Dutch (at their earnest request) to be brought to his house; at which the natives seemed offended. It was determined in council to kill the Dutch; but Nakhada Goa preserved their lives. They were commanded by the natives not to stir out of doors, upon pain of death: their goods and money were registered. The same evening, many praus filled with men, went from hence, and on the 12th, at night, one of them returned with news that they had slain the Dutch admiral and all his principal followers. Next day the commander had much trouble to keep the Dutch from being slain by those of Campon Awrat, whose Shah Bandar had been slain by the Dutch. Two Dutch pinnaces arrived on the 14th, the islanders were in great hopes they would have landed; but the commander ordered his men to forbid them, and with much intreaty and danger, saved those who were on shore, from being slain by the people of Campon Awrat, who came armed for that purpose. About noon he sent away his skiff with letters from the Dutch on the island to those on ship-board; and at night took great pains to preserve the former, by keeping a careful watch. Next day the skiff returned with answers to the Dutch letters. On the 16th, the states consulted, and resolved, that with the commander the Dutch should be safe, but would not permit them to go on board their ships. He went on board, and brought more letters to the Dutch; and, at the harbour's mouth, was hailed by five Dutch shallops and other boats. On the 20th, in the evening, Simon Hoen, their vice-admiral, came on board the Hector, and gave the commander many thanks for the kindness shewed to the Dutch at Puloway. At his going away, seven guns were fired. — On the 25th, he manned his prau, and went to Labatacca; where they desired some persons to buy their spice, which he promised them. The Dutch having pulled down his house, gave him, by way of satisfaction for it, about 150 dollars, besides forty of the boards. When he was going to bed, Van Bergel, and Samuel King, came from the vice-admiral to let him know, that they had concluded to allow him a quiet trade at Labatacca, except at such times as they should come to surprise the same. They likewise desired him not to take offence, if their boats search his, to see if they assisted their enemies. This he took very ill, and to prevent such inconveniences, proposed to trade only at Puloway and Pulorin, provided they would pay him what debts Nera and Cumber owed him, amounting to 12 or 1300 dollars: they promised to give an answer the next day; and in the morning, Van Bergel brought him word, that he might trade at Labatacca. On the 31st, having gone there to forward business; about supper time, Van Bergel and Samuel King came on board. As they desired to speak with him in private, he went with them into his cabin; where, after many compliments, they delivered him a note from the vice-admiral, importing, that he would allow the English liberty to trade, but not to carry victuals and ammunition to the people, whom he held for enemies: also, that he required their boats should pass by his ships to be searched; that otherwise they should be searched by force, and both ship and goods confiscated. The commander answered, that he would follow his commerce; and that if the other injured him, it would fall heavy upon him: that he had some rice still to dispose of, and intended to sell, if they did not obstruct him. That for ammunition, he had in his ship not above twenty hand-guns, belonging to some poor men; the sale of which he neither could, or would prevent, except they would buy

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buy them, in which case they should have them at a reasonable price. That as to submitting to their search, he could not do it without becoming a traitor to his prince; and that he would hazard both life and fortune, rather than his integrity should be called in question at his return to England. On the 2d of June, he sent the vice-admiral and council, a few lines upon the same occasion, by Augustine Spalding, seeking an amicable agreement. Next day, he received a note from the Dutch, who insisted on continuing their search; and offered to buy the hand-guns, but would not permit the rice to be carried. To which he returned by the messenger, the following answer.

"The Vice-Admiral, M. Simon Johnson Hoen, &c. of the Dutch fleet, may please to know, that to the end to take away all cause of quarrel from them to us, and shew the world our honest cause, and their wilfulness: whereas they will not permit my rice to be carried to Puloway, I will likewise therein consent to them, upon condition that they will revoke their supposed search; and to the end, they shall have some security for the performance, I will pass my yet unfalsified word: or if that (through your incredulity) be not sufficient, mine oath unto your deputies, or yourselves, generally at pleasure, to the same effect. But if herein you will not (through desire of quarrel with the English) consent to my reasonable request, then be pleased to know, that I will send it at what price or hazard soever. Concerning our ammunition, I write nothing; your purpose of buying the same being prevention to your doubts, which I pray let be done speedily for your own satisfaction. Thus I commit you to the Almighty, who prosper your honest proceedings, as I wish to mine own. From aboard the *Hector*, in Banda, this 3d day of June, 1609. WILLIAM KEELING."

They sent him their last resolution at night (having called four councils thereupon) which was, that they held their determination for the search. On this, the commander considering their intentions, and that the least violence would cause a total breach; that, in such case, sixty-two men could have no chance against a thousand, or more, and that their ship and goods would be in great danger, or at least be hindered in loading spices, their fort commanding all, he therefore yielded, as by constraint, to the search. The 5th he went with the last of his rice to Puloway, the Dutch having sent on board, and searched, to their great vexation: notwithstanding which, the ship at Lantor beckoned, and called them on board; he refusing, they said they would fire; but they thought better of it. On the 14th, going to Labatacca, he bought some spice, and put off some cloth. On the twenty-fourth, he went to Cumber, whence he stowed eleven fackles of mace. He went to Lantor the next morning to recover some debts, which were denied him. The 26th, he sent his great boat for Puloway, and went, himself to Labatacca, whence he stowed two fackles of mace: next day the boat returned, with spice from Puloway. The Javans began to confer with the Dutch. The 29th he went to Cumber, whence he stowed fourteen fackles of mace. The 1st of July he went thither again to account with the debtors. The 2d, the Dutch (with all the strength they could raise, leaving the ships and fort weakly manned) went and took Labatacca, where they killed sixteen or twenty persons, and burned the towns, bringing away pots and pans.—He sent to Cumber on the 4th, but one of his Guzarats advised him to go thither no more, because

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* "The commander, Mr. William Keeling, may please to know, that it hath been, by our deputies, offered to him, that if he thought good to transfer over to us, the debts remaining among the Bandanefes, and then with friendship withdraw from the road with his ships (which himself heretofore hath partly made mention of to some of us) we are resolved to deal with him in that behalf: and although this reasonable proposal

they suspected he held intelligence with the Dutch. The 16th, before day, the Dutch, with their whole power, went to get eastward, and then burned several boats, and returning to take Salomo, they were there at much strife about landing, not who should go foremost, but who should stay longest on board; by which, and other misconduct, they were repulsed with the loss of six men, besides many hurt, among whom, the governor, Mr. Jacob de Bitter, behaved bravely. Afterwards, Matthew Porter, with others, going on shore, one sent the commander word by him, that the Dutch designed to seize him, and advised him to look well to himself, and the ship: the reason they alledged for this was, that the two preceding nights, the English made signs (which were answered by the people from shore) of the Dutch preparation to land. The 17th, the Dutch sent Van Bergel and Samuel King on board the *Hector*, requesting to know when the commander intended to depart. As he was delayed at Puloway, he could not satisfy them: then offering to make good all his debts if he would be gone speedily, he refused, saying, that the company would not feel so small a loss; and that he could not answer such desertion at home, especially after having staid till his lading was ready. They had likewise some talk concerning the pretended signals above-mentioned; affirming that the English made them two nights together, that many depositions were taken on this; also, that one of his men, was in their fort the day before. Being asked, why they made signs to the country, he answered, that they had reason so to do, since the country was so much indebted to them, and the Dutch gave them all the obstruction they could. The commander, provoked at their behaviour, also desired them to prove what they had alledged, and bade them go on their own way. However, that he might take off all ground of suspicion, he offered to go to Laboan Java, where he could neither know any thing of their motions, nor make signs to prejudice them. On the 28th, in the afternoon, the Dutch sent many of their chiefs on board him, who, at first, demanded kindly, Whether he continued in his former determination of lading there? Having answered, that he did, they desired him to resolve to depart in friendship: he replied, that now spice was ready, he hoped to get away in twenty days. They delivered him a letter from their Vice Admiral and Council,* to which they subjoined the following remonstrance.

"On the 18th of April, the worshipful Admiral Peter Williamson Van Hoef, having anchored with his fleet, in the island of Banda; and there being informed by the merchants of the united East India company, that they were, by the inhabitants of Banda, daily straitened and molested; and also sometimes dispossessed of their cloths and merchandise, which they took at such rates as they pleased, paying for them when, and in what manner they thought proper; whereby they became indebted to the East India company, above 20,000 rials of eight, without intention to discharge the same. And farther, that the people had lived in a very doubtful situation, being daily in fear, lest they should work their destruction, as they did but a few ago, having murdered our merchants, and by force take others; and, according to their custom, made heathens of them.

"Therefore the admiral aforesaid, was moved by all friendly means, to build a castle or fortrefs, that the people and merchandise might rest in better security, both against the Portuguese, and all other enemies; which, by most of the chief Orancayas, was consented to, and on this have we proceeded to erect a for-

is by us made to him, to avoid quarrel, yet hath the commander aforesaid refused to accept the same; notwithstanding, we have sufficient occasion to command him, with his said ships, to withdraw from this Road and our fleet, out of the reach of the fortrefs of Nassau. And that the commander may understand the reason which moved us to the same, we have at large remonstrated the same."

a fortress, which being about half finished, the Admiral Van Hoen above said, procured a convention of the chief Orancayas, and council of the isle of Banda, to meet him and others of the council, at Ratu, there to have entered into a friendly treaty and agreement with them, to which effect, the admiral nominated the fiscal, or justice of the fleet, besides others of good account, as hostages, to continue at Reyacca, that they might, with less fear or restraint, come to meet him.

“Accordingly, the admiral, with several of his council, and a company of soldiers, the 22d of May, 1609, came to Ratu, the appointed place of convention. Being there, a Bandanese approached him out of the wood, who told him, that the Orancayas, and other chiefs of the isles, were near at hand in the woods, but were so fearful of the soldiers, that they durst not come to him; and therefore prayed him and his council to come to them, which they accordingly did, leaving his soldiers at the place of rendezvous, and being entered amongst them, found the woods crowded with armed blacks, Bandanese, and Orancayas, who instantly surrounded them, and without much conference, treacherously and villainously massacred them, giving each of our chiefs not less than 20 wounds. This stratagem having succeeded, they presently assaulted the company of soldiers, intending to have served them the same; but they partly in fear, and suspecting some treachery, having kept upon their guard, encountered the enemy, who at length, betook themselves to their best refuge, with the loss of some of their chiefs, and so fled to Cayas, and there had murdered the fiscal, or justice aforesaid, with the rest of the hostages, besides divers of our people, who were walking into the woods to gather cocoa-nuts; inasmuch, that on this occasion, above 40 of our people were murdered by the Bandanese, contrary to their oaths and promises; which action provoked us to take all possible revenge against those treacherous and inhuman islanders, and urge us to prosecute the present bloody war.”—They conclude thus:

“We, by virtue of our commission and patent of his princely excellency, order the English commander to withdraw with his ship out of our road and fleet, and beyond the reach of the artillery of the fortress of Nassau, within the space of five days, after the date hereof: and inasmuch as we have conquered by force of arms the island of Nera, we also claim and hold the roads belonging thereto, as the road of Labatacca, &c. to be under our command, and will not permit any (during our war with the Bandanese) to anchor there.

“Accordingly it is ordained, and absolutely resolved upon by the vice admiral, and the residue of the council, in the ship of Hollandia, in the road of Banda, the 28th of July, 1609.

“Simon Jahnson Hoer, Jacob de Bither, Henry Van Bergel, John Cornelison Wytt, William Jacobson, Simon Martens, Rusger Tomassen, Marlahen, 1609, William Vandervort, alias Secret.”

The admiral briefly answered to their remonstrance by word of mouth, That he could not justify his departing in such a manner, his lading being then ready; and that unless he was otherwise commanded than by words, he would ride there till he was laden; which would be within 25 days at farthest. They alledged, That this their notification to him was sufficient; to which he replied, That rash men often threatened to do, what they durst not for their lives perform. He fired five parting guns. The 19th he sent his skiff for Puloway, to look out for a road there. Van Bergel coming on board to search the boat, the commander desired him to tell the vice-admiral, that he would leave a factory at Puloway in case of constraint, and that without constraint he would not depart from thence. The 20th, about one in the morning, the skiff returned from Puloway, without any account of the debts or inventory of goods, which was the principal cause of his writing. He (who

was sent on the message) brought word only, that the people were willing to pay their debts if he could stay 15 or 20 days; and offered him their best road at Puloway. The Dutch after this came to some agreement with him for the time of his stay, and for the debts: to which he was invited by the monsoon, and the trade which he already had. The first of August, peace was proclaimed betwixt the Dutch and the islanders, which was a melancholy argument of the Puloway men's breaking with the English. The Dutch sent the commander a letter of credit, for discharging the debts left at Banda, payable at Bantam, and that evening fired no less than 150 guns for joy of the peace. Upon the governor's earnest intreaty he went to see the Dutch fort; it was mounted with 30 pieces of ordnance, of which eight were very good brass demi-cannons. The 14th, having sent his boat to fetch away goods, there returned with it a servant of Nachada Guzarat, by whom he understood, that the Puloways were resolved not to let him have any more spice, except some little to gloss over their falacy to the English; therefore he sent his boat for Brown, and fired five guns to warn his people on board: the islanders not perceiving that he was offended at their ill-dealings. After the second summons, Brown came, but without Spalding, whom they would not part with till the commander went on shore; therefore he stood again to the eastward, near the town, and the king of Macassar came on board him, bringing Spalding, and the three Dutch on board. The 10th he weighed a half hundred by his ordinary Banda beam, and it weighed nine cattis and a half; which it appears that the catti weighs five pound fourteen ounces and a half, avoirdupois. He weighed also the single catti, which made five pounds fourteen ounces and a half, avoirdupois. The 11th, they anchored near Macassar, upon Celebes, being very desirous to go thither, in hopes, as he was informed, of getting cloves there in exchange for cloth. The 12th, having sent his skiff armed, to enquire whereabouts they were; he found, that Macassar was yet half a day's sail to the north, and that three months before, a Dutch ship was lost in sight of the town; upon which report, they gave over the design of going thither. The 21st they anchored before Jaccatra, where they found the Banda, and Enkhuisen, two Dutch ships, which brought the English in the Hope and their goods from Amboyna, having arrived eight days before. The 26th, coming near the point of Bantam, they met a prau with Ralph Hearne, sent by Mr. John Saris, who had ready 3481 bags of pepper. Having got betimes in the road, Saris came on board the Hector in a Dutch boat. On the 23d the commander having taken in 4900 bags of pepper, proposed leaving a factory, which was consented to. The 27th he appointed a factory at Bantam, assigning the factor Augustine Spalding 50l. sterling a year; and the rest per month as follows: Francis Kelly, surgeon, 45 shillings; John Parsons 30 shillings, Robert Neal, 29 shillings, Augustine Adwell, 24 shillings; Etheldred Lampre and William Driver 20 shillings each; William Wilson, 22 shillings a month; William Lamwell and Philip Badnedg 16 shillings each; Francisco Domingo 20 shillings; Juan Sevron, and Adrian, Mr. Towerfon's boy, 10 shillings each a month. He also hired six persons to go with him to England. The second of October the commander took his leave of the governor, and desired his favour to the factor, which he promised with much shew of sincerity.

Early on the 3d he went on board in order to put to sea. The first of November, having in 24 days run about 250 leagues from Bantam, they were in 25 degrees south latitude, the needle varying 24 degrees. The 29th they had all day a strong gale of wind, which, towards night, proved a storm at west south-west from the northward, and put them to try their main course, continuing all night, and the next day. On this occasion (as often before) they found the observation really to be true. That is, generally

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when any easterly wind comes about to the northward, if it happens to rain, presently veering round to the west-south-west, it there settles. They were in thirty-two degrees and a half south, when the storm took them, and had about thirty degrees variation and upwards. On the 8th of December, early in the morning, they fell in with *Tierra de Natal*, six leagues off to the west, where the variation was about eight degrees and a half. They were at noon in thirty-one degrees twenty-seven minutes latitude, standing south-south-east, wind at south-west, under low sails. They met a Dutchman, and understood by him, that the *Erasmus*, (a ship of the fleet, which left Bantam at the commander's first arrival there, in the *Dragon*) being very leaky at sea, and left by the rest, steered for the island *Mauritius*; and there unlading, left the goods, with twenty-five persons to guard the same, till they should be sent for; the rest of her company being now in this ship. He said at *Mauritius*, there were two havens, one called the north-west, lying in somewhat less than twenty degrees; the south-east, in twenty degrees fifteen minutes. That all kinds of refreshments were there to be had, as fish, with a number of fowls; here were hogs also, and the place was very healthful. That the island was between thirty and forty leagues in circuit: and the variation there twenty-one degrees north-westing.

On the 22d, they were in the latitude of thirty-five degrees, twenty-eight minutes, and within seven leagues to the south-east of *Cape des Aguillas*, which rose like two isles; but coming more athwart, it appeared like three islands; two bays to the north, making three perspicuous points, low, and seeming round; they founded about seven in the evening, and had seventy-seven fathoms water, oozy ground, being south of the shore, five leagues at most: they observed the sun's setting, and found small variation, having twenty-eight degrees and a half south of the west Azimuth; their latitude being about thirty-five degrees twenty-six minutes. On the 23d, they steered all night west-by-north, and west-north-west, with a fresh easterly gale; and in the morning, sailed in sight of the land, which was high, about

eight or ten leagues distant. About noon, they were near the *Cape of Good Hope*, having ran between it and *Cape des Aguillas*, in seventeen hours. They were within three leagues of the *Sugar Loaf*, and stood off and on all night. On the 28th, they received by the Dutch boat, six sheep (the fattest the author ever saw) from the island; the tail of one of them, was twenty-eight inches broad, and weighed thirty-five pounds. The commander also bought of the Dutch, a main top-sail, (which his ship was in great want of) they were very ready in other respects, to supply his wants. He took fat sheep left in *Penguin Island*, and left lean ones in their room: he left a note also there of his arrival, and the state of his company, as others had done before. On the 10th of January, in the morning, his ship was under sail homeward. All the time he staid there, the wind had been westerly and southerly: and the two former times, that he was there, at the same season, it blew easterly and was very stormy. On the 20th, they passed the *Tropic of Capricorn*, about noon. The Dutch came and supped with him, and he fired three parting guns. On the 30th, before day, they saw *St. Helena*, having steered sixty-six leagues west in that latitude. They anchored on the north-west side, a mile from shore, north-west from the chapel, in twenty-two fathoms, sandy ground. On the 16th of February, they saw the island of *Ascension*, seven or eight leagues west-south-west from them. On the 28th, in the morning, the wind being pretty fair, they steered with the Dutchmen. On the 10th of May, they had very fair weather, wind south-west, latitude forty-nine degrees thirteen minutes. Next day, betimes in the morning, the wind came at south, and blew a hard storm, which put them into their fore course. At night, they spoke with a *Lubecker*, who told them, that *Scilly* bore east-by-north from them, thirty-eight Dutch miles. They gave him notice of the distressed ship. On the 9th, in the morning, they had beachy land to the north-north-east, three leagues distant; and about sun-set anchored in the *Downs*.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN DAVID MIDDLETON, TO BANTAM AND THE MOLUCCAS.

MR. David Middleton was Captain of the *Consent*, one of the three ships belonging to Captain Keeling's fleet: but setting out first, and not meeting with the other two at the place of rendezvous, went on, and performed the voyage alone. The *Consent* was a ship of 150 tons; and sailed from the *Hope*, on the 12th of March, 1606.

On the 16th of July, 1607, they anchored in the bay of *Saldanna*, all their men in good health; only Peter Lambert, the day before, was killed by a fall from the top-mast head. On the 21st, the captain and master went to *Penguin island*, three leagues distant from the road, where they saw an amazing quantity of seals and penguins. Here having bought some cattle, and refreshed, about four in the morning, with very little wind, they left the road of *Saldanna*, their men being in very good health. They were loth to depart without the company of their admiral and vice-admiral: but not being certain of their arrival there, directed their course for *St. Lawrence*.

On the 27th of August, the wind being at north-west, they steered east-by-south, and at two

o'clock, saw the land of *St. Lawrence*, or *Madagascar*, about six leagues off; then bearing north-by-west, at noon they observed the latitude to be twenty-four degrees forty minutes; and the variation at night, sixteen degrees twenty-three minutes. On the 30th, at five in the afternoon, they anchored in the bay of *St. Augustine*, in six fathoms and a half, large gravel. They were forced to go to leeward, being to roomwards of the road, before they could get in, by reason of a great breach that lies off the bay; and then came in close upon a track, having had seven, six and five fathoms all the way. On the 31st, the Captain, with Mr. Davis, went in their long boat to view the islands; and the author as they went, sounded close by the beach, and had six fathoms. One of the islands is very small, like a bank of sand; the other about a mile in length, and half in breadth. There is nothing upon either, but a little wood in the latter. On the 1st of September, they removed three leagues from their first place, within two miles of the mouth of the river, and rode in five fathoms and a half, very firm ground. It being very foul where they rode before, they broke one of their cables in weighing. On the 17th, having

having provided wood and water; in the morning about five they departed with a pleasant gale, at east-by-north. Coming out, they steered west and west-by-north; till they were clear of the breaches. They brought to sea with them, four goats; three sheep; and a young hieffer. They found there great plenty both of sheep and beeves, for a small value. This day, about three miles from the island, before the bay of St. Augustine, they observed the latitude twenty-three degrees forty-eight minutes. After they were clear of the breach, which lies to the northward of the isle, they steered away south-south-west, and south-by-west; sometimes they had very fair weather, and a pleasant gale at south-east-by-east. On the 11th, having a fresh gale at south-east, and south-by-east, they stood towards the shore till midnight, and then saw a great breach, right-a-head, close by them, but having the surf before they saw it, they tacked, and stood off again presently. At noon, they found the latitude twenty-five degrees twenty-two minutes. On the 12th of November, in the morning, they saw an island, and bearing with the north-side, found it to be Ingana. It is about five leagues in length, lying east-by-south, and west-by-north. The eastern end is the highest land; and the western full of trees: Its latitude is five degrees and a half, the variation four degrees, thirteen minutes. Having the wind at west-north-west, they proceeded without stopping, east-by-south, and east-south-east, a pleasant gale, but very much rain. On the 13th, in the morning, they had sight of Sumatra, about four leagues distant. Saturday, the 14th, they anchored in Bantam road, about four in the afternoon; where they found the merchants in health, and all things in good order. Next day the captain went on shore, and spoke with Mr. Towerfon, concerning the ship's business, and agreed to have the iron and lead which they brought, carried on shore: after this, having refitted their ship, and taken in their goods and merchants, they set sail for the Moluccas, where they arrived the beginning of January. The rest of this month, and all the next was spent in mutual entertainments with the Spaniards, and Molucca princes. The reason was, the Spaniards durst not permit them to trade, till the camp master had given leave; and he would not grant it, unless the English, in those broils betwixt him and the Dutch, would do, or seem to do them some piece of service, at least, by accompanying their ships for greater shew: which the captain absolutely refused to do, as being against his commission. In the mean time, they carried on a private trade with the people by night; and in the day, made merry with the Spaniards. In the beginning of March, they were allowed an open trade: but within a few days this licence was countermanded again, and they were ordered to depart. Accordingly, March the 14th, they weighed anchor, and set sail, trading a little by the way. On the 23d, having entered the Straights of Bengaya, where the captain proposed to take in water, there came an Indian in a prau, hastily from the island to the ship; who being asked the question, undertook to bring them to a watering place, on which they stood over for the eastern shore, and anchored about one in the afternoon, in sixty fathoms water; where there runs a very strong current. Here, while they were fitting out the boat with casks; the Indian sold some fresh fish for China dishes very cheap. At night, their men brought water; but had a wearisome time of it, being five miles distant from the place where they rode. On the 24th, in the morning, they went again for more water, by day-break, the islanders of both sexes came with above 100 praus, and brought plenty of very good fish, both dry and fresh; also both poultry and hogs, great and small, which they sold for coarse white cloth and China dishes, all very cheap: they brought also plantanes, cassada roots, and many other fruits. In the afternoon, the king and the captain made each other presents. Then the mes-

senger, and all the rest departed. About ten at night, in weighing anchor, they broke the flocks of both their starboard anchors. Then sailing away, with very little wind, at length they manned their long-boat, and towed the ship all night. On the 19th of April, the king sent one of his brothers again, to know whether the captain was willing he should come on board; being very desirous to see both him and the ship; because he had heard much of Englishmen, but never saw any. The captain sent him word, that he should think himself much honoured by his presence. Soon after, the king came off in his caricol, rowed at least by 100 oars, it carried six brass guns; and had on board about 400 men with arms. He was attended by five caricols more, which had at least 1000 men in them, the captain having sent Francis Kelly the surgeon, as a pledge, which he demanded for his security, he came on board: where the captain courteously received, and treated him with a banquet of sweetmeats. After which, he demanded what the king had to sell, he replied, that he had pearl, tortoise-shells and cloth, made in the country, (as they supposed) of cotton striped: but as he came into that part of the island only upon a party of pleasure, and did not think to have met with any ship, he had brought none with him; yet that if the captain pleased to go to the town, which was about a day and a nights sailing thence, he should see great quantities of pearl; and any thing he had to sell; adding, that because the place was unknown to him, he would send a pilot to bring him thither. The captain and factors, upon considering the matter, thought best to accept of the kind offer, especially as it was nothing out of the way to Bantam; and presented him a musquet and a sword, with thanks for coming on board. The king made answer, that he had not any thing then about him, worth bestowing on the captain, but that he would requite his kindness before his departure; and in the mean time, intreated him to accept of two pieces of cloth, which he received with many thanks: about three in the afternoon, the king took his leave of the captain, promising presently to send him a pilot, who accordingly came on board; and at night, sent a caricol to see if they wanted any thing, and to bear them company, with a boat for the captain. Then they stood away with a small gale; but at night it was calm, and the tide against them: so they came to anchor in twenty-two fathoms water, and in the morning weighed again. On the 21st, about ten o'clock, the purser, who had been sent on shore the day before, returned on board with hens and cocoas, and told them, that the Indians had carried him to the king, who was very glad of his coming, because he was the first Englishman he had ever seen. The purser found him drinking and carousing with his nobles, and the room hung about with heads of men whom he had slain in war. After some little stay, he took his leave and came to the caricol again, on board which he lay all that night. This night, the ship anchored in twenty fathoms water, the place not half a mile broad. On the 22d, in the morning, there being very little wind, she was towed by her boat through the streights, and as the tide was with her, she made such way, that about eleven, they came to anchor in twenty-five fathoms water, about one mile and a half from the town, where they waited the king's coming: but he came not that night. Here they sent their boat on shore, and bought fish for their company. On the 23d, about one in the afternoon, the king came up under their stern, attended by forty caricols, and rowed round their ship, very gallantly set forth with their colours and pendants. After this, they rowed towards the town, and the captain complimented him with a volley of musquets, and all his ordnance; then ordering his long boat to be manned, he well accompanied with Mr. Saddle their factor, and his followers, went to the town. The king likewise welcomed the captain with his great

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great and small shot, affirming that his heart was now at rest, since he had seen the English, promising to do the English all the kindness that lay in his power; the captain having returned him thanks, for that time took his leave, and in the morning weighed, and anchored in about 27 fathoms water, half a mile from shore. The 24th in the morning there came on board a Javan who had a junk in the road, laden with cloves, from Amboyna; Mr. Middleton talked with him, and offered the captain his whole cargo.—The king invited the captain to take part of his dinner, entreating him to bear with the homely manner of his country: for their meat was served up in great wooden platters close covered with cloth. The king, the captain, and Mr. Siddal, dined together: there was plenty of victuals, their drink was very pleasant, and the king was very merry. After dinner, they had some talk about the cloves they were to have had; and promising to come on board himself the next day, or send some one of his attendants, to see a muster of all his cloth; then the captain expressing great thanks, took his leave. The 25th the king's uncle came on board to see their ship, and was kindly entertained. After him came the king's brother, and staid to dinner with the captain, and then took his leave. The king himself came not as they expected, but sent his son and the pilot, and had a view of the cloth, which they liked very well.

On the 26th the king and his son came on board,

and dined with the captain, and had plenty of good cheer; the king was very merry, and desirous to see a little dancing. On this some of the sailors danced before him, and he was well pleased, both with their performance and the music. At night the king's uncle sent the captain four fat hogs. The 27th, the king of an adjacent island came in his caraval, with his wife, and viewed their ship, but they could not intreat him to come on board. Their ship being fully laden with cloves, bought in this place of the Javans, the captain purchased some slaves of the king, one of whom, while they were busy this night, stole out of the captain's cabin door, and leaping into the sea swam ashore. Next morning the captain sent Augustine Spalding to acquaint the king with it, who presently sent him another. May the 2d, having given the town a salute for a farewell, they set sail for their wished-for port of Bantam. The 3d they had sight of the streights of Celebes. The 22d, they anchored in Bantam road, where they found not one European ship in the road: but there were four junks, which came from China, with taffetas, damasks, and many other merchandises.

The 15th of July, 1608, the captain and merchants, having dispatched their business, took their leaves, and set sail homewards to their native country, where they arrived in safety after their long and tedious voyage.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN ALEXANDER SHARPEY, IN 1601.

THERE were two large ships employed on this voyags. The *Ascension*, admiral, commanded by Alexaneer Sharpey; and the *Union*, vice-admiral; Captain Richard Rowles, lieutenant-general. As these vessels separated near the Cape of Good Hope, and the *Ascension* was cast away in the bay of Cambaya, so they may be said to have made different voyages; of which we meet with different relations.* On the 14th of March, weighing anchor at Woolwich, they came into the downs, over-against Deal, three miles from Sandwich, where they staid till the 25th, and sailed to Plymouth; leaving which on the 31st with a fair gale, they arrived at Salvages, about 500 leagues from thence, on the 10th of April; and next morning came in sight of the Grand Canaries. Casting anchor the 12th at night, they fired a gun, for a boat to come on board; but the Spaniards apprehending they were part of a squadron of 12 ships of Flemmings, who were reported to be coming that way, instead of sending any person to them, sent into the country for a body of 150 horse and foot to defend the place; nor could they be persuaded otherwise, till two of the factors went on shore, and acquainted the Spaniards they were English ships which had touched there only to take in some necessaries.—Next morning, (as the manner there is) they fired another gun, and then the governor of the town sent a boat to know what they wanted, which having acquainted him with, the answer was, that unless they came into the road, it was not in his power to relieve them. But the factors being examined on oath, as to the truth of the matter, had a warrant granted them

for a boat to go on board the ships at pleasure, and supply their wants. What they most wondered at was, the behaviour of those on board two ships in the road, known by their flags to be English, who had not the kindness to apprise them of the customs of those subtle covetous people, as the author calls the Spaniards. On this occasion he further remarks, That if a ship lie out of the road, no person, though of the same nation it belongs to, shall go on board it, without the consent of the governor and council.†

The 18th of April, about seven in the morning, they set sail, with a fair gale, which in three hours falling, heaving to and fro till the 21st, and then a brisk wind springing up, the 27th, about two in the morning, they anchored at Mayo, about 300 leagues from the Canaries.—They determined to take in fresh water at a place called Bonavista; but having anchored there, they found it two or three miles up in the land, and not clear; so that they took the less. But there were other good commodities. At their arrival, they were told by two negros that they might have as many goats as they would gratis; and accordingly they had about 200, for both ships. They told them also, that there were but 12 men in the island, and that there was great plenty of salt growing out of the ground, so that if they pleased they might lade both their ships. Our author says it was excellent white salt, and as clear as ever he saw any in England.

They came to Saldanna, with all their men in good health, except two, who were touched a little with the scurvy, but soon recovered on shore. The same day

* There are extant two accounts of the voyage of the *Ascension*; one written by Capt. Robert Coverte, and the other by Thomas Jones; besides other supplemental accounts.

† During the five days the admiral continued there, some of them went on board every day, and ate and drank with the English after their own manner. The governor had also a present

of two cheeses, a gammon of bacon, and five or six barrels of pickled oysters, which he accepted of very kindly; and in return, sent them two or three goats and sheep, with plenty of onions. There they took in fresh water, canary, marmalade of quinces, oranges, lemons, quinces, white bread, and other provisions.

day they had sight of the Cape of Good Hope, 15 or 16 leagues from thence. At Saldanna they refreshed themselves excellently well, and took in about 400 head of cattle, besides fowls, with plenty of various fish, and fresh water.

At Penguin island, five or six leagues from land, is abundance of fowls of that name, and infinite numbers of seals; with these latter they filled their boat twice, and made train oil for lamps. They took hence also 20 fat sheep, left there by the Dutch, for a pinnacle which they met 200 leagues from the Cape of Good Hope, and left six bullocks in their stead. At first coming hither, they began to set up their pinnacle, launching her the 5th of September, and in seven or eight days after, she was rigged and ready to sail. — The inhabitants of Saldanna, are a very beastly people, especially in their feeding; for our author had seen them eat the guts and garbage dung and all; nay, the seals which the English had cast into the river, after lying there for fourteen days, they have taken up and eaten, although they were putrified and swarmed with maggots, as well as stunk most intolerably, the native brought down to the shore. Ostriches eggs, and some empty shells, with a small hole in one end; also feathers of the same bird, and porcupines quills, in exchange for their commodities. They chiefly desire iron, esteeming old pieces of it more than either gold or silver. On the 20th of September early they set sail, and that night being very dark and windy, lost the Union and their pinnacle, called the Good Hope. About five in the evening the Union put out her ensign, to what intent they could not imagine, but all that night she lay at hull.

They proceeded next day, and having met with various changes of winds and often calms, October the 27th came into 26 degrees, the height of St. Lawrence, holding on their course with the same sort of weather. On the 22d of November in the morning, they discovered two or three small islands; and in the afternoon another, called Comora, a very high land. The 24th, having sent their boat on shore, they met with five or six men of that country, who sold them plantains. The next day they sent the boat again; but a little before she got to the shore, spying a canoe, with two men in it fishing, they went between them and the shore: however, not caring to take them by force, they shewed them a knife or two, which allured them into the boat. They then brought them on board the ship, and used them very kindly, giving one a turban to put on his head, and to the other a little glass; of a quarter of a pint full of aqua-vitæ, after which they sent them on shore. The 25th, by help of their pinnacle, (the wind hitherto failing) which towed the ship between the two islands, adjoining to the shore, they came to anchor in the evening, in between 17 and 20 fathoms water. On the 26th they sent their pinnacle on shore with a present to the king, by Mr. Jordan, their factor, who went himself alone with it, leaving only a pledge or two in the boat. It consisted of a pair of knives, and a fash with a looking-glass and comb; the whole in value about fifteen shillings. The king received these somewhat formally, and, scarcely looking on it, gave it to one of his noblemen. However, he told the bearer, that if the commander would come on shore, he should have any thing the country afforded; and bowed towards him in a very courteous manner, at his taking leave. It is probable, that after Jordan came away, the king examined the present better: for in the afternoon he sent the commander a very fat bullock; the messengers were gratified with a couple of penknives, with which they thought themselves royally rewarded. Next day the commander went, attended with twelve others, and carried a small banquet, such as a box of marmalade, both ale and some wine. Of these they eat before the king, who touched nothing; but his nobles eat and drank. —

After the banquet, the commander had some discourse with the king, by his interpreter, concerning their wants; by whom the English understood,

that the islanders had some dealings with the Portuguese, of whose language he could speak a little. —

On the 28th the king had determined to go on board the Ascension, but his interpreter told the commander that his council and common people would not suffer him. Towards night Captain Coverte went on shore where the sailors were cutting wood, and returned with the boat. The 29th the author went on shore again, with the master, Mr. Tindall, Mr. Jordan, and all the trumpeters. They were very kindly received at the water-side, by the interpreter, who brought them to the king. "He was then near his palace, (Says the author) very courteously bowed himself. He had for his guard when he walked about, six or eight men, with knives of a foot long, as broad as hatchets, and very sharp, who went next his person; several also went before, and many behind him, for his defence. — "Those people seemed to be civil, kind and honest to strangers; for a sailor having left his sword behind him, one of the inhabitants found it, and brought it to the king, who perceiving it belonged to some of the strangers, told him, that if it appeared he came by it otherwise than as he declared, he should be put to death. Next day, at their going on shore, the king's interpreter brought the sword, and told them what his majesty said upon the occasion. They seemed likewise to have a good form of government amongst them: for at their meeting in the morning, they shook hands, and spoke to one another, which the English took for friendly salutations. They appeared very modest and strait, with large limbs, and of a very comely appearance, both men and women. They are Mohametans in religion, and go almost naked, only they wear turbans on their heads, and cover their privities with a piece of linen. The women wear a piece of linen before, that covers their breasts, and reaches to the middle; from the middle, to a little before the knees, another piece goes round them; and about their waists sashes are tied, like a rowl, which hang down, and become them very well. They all go bare-footed except the king, who wears a sort of sandals. For his apparel, he had on a white wrought net cap, a scarlet vest, with sleeves, but loose about him, and open before; he had also a piece of linen round his middle, and another round his shoulders to his feet. When the English were at the town, they brought them cocoa-nuts, fowls and provisions in plenty, except fresh water, which was procured out of the sands, in this manner: They make a hole, and as fast as the water springs, they lade it out into their cocoa-shells, and so drink it. They brought some to the English, but none of them would drink of it, it looked so thick and muddy.

They left Comora on the 10th of December; about two or three in the morning, they saw on a sudden a low land, about a league off, with high trees on the shore; had it not been for these they would have taken the land for the shadow of the moon, which then shone, and so might have been cast away before they perceived the danger. This they took to be Zanzibar, till by one of the natives they were informed it was Pemba, on sight of which, they presently tacked about, and at day-break stood in again with the shore, along which they steered for a harbour to anchor in. Meanwhile they sent a gang with the pinnacle to seek a convenient watering-place. The pinnacle having got to shore, two or three of the inhabitants demanded in Portuguese, who they were? And being told, Englishmen, they asked again what they had to do there, since the island belonged to the king of Portugal? and were answered that they knew not so much, nor came with any design but to get water. As night came on, the boat returned. Next day it went on shore to the same place: but finding no people returned. Soon after the ship came to an anchor, about five or six in the afternoon, near two or three broken islands; close by Pemba, in the height of five degrees 20 minutes. The pinnacle went on shore on the 12th to the same place with Mr. Jordan, where he talked with some that spoke Portuguese, but seemed not to be the same with

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the former: for they said the king was a nobleman. Mr. Jordan told them, that although the ship was English, yet he was a Portuguese merchant, and the goods were Portuguese. Then they said he should want for nothing, and on this sent a Moor with them to look for a convenient watering place, who, after some little search, brought them to a small hole at the bottom of a hill, between it and a ditch. They then carried the Moors on board, and next day going to watering, set him on shore. The report of his kind usage brought down another, who could speak a little Portuguese, and said he was one of the king's gentlemen. He also went on board, and was well treated. At his landing next day, he promised to bring him hens, cocoa-nuts and oranges, which he performed. Captain Coverte, with the master, Mr. Revet and others, went on shore, where they dined, and after dinner came two cavaliers, and a Moor slave, to the watering-place, where the men were filling the casks, and asked, whether any of the chief persons of the ship were there? Edward Churchman made answer, That the master, and one of the merchants were on shore, whom, if they pleased, he would bring to speak with them. At their meeting, they saluted each other after the Portuguese fashion. After some discourse, the Moors demanded who they were? And being told Englishmen, that they were welcome, and that all which the island afforded was at their command. The English returned hearty thanks, but soon found how little acknowledgment they deserved. They demanded in their turn, who the others were?

It was answered, that one of them was the king's brother, who instantly shewed them a silver ring, on which were engraved the number of villages and houses in the island, and said he was governor of all these places. Then the English asked them whether there were any Portuguese in the island? They said, No; for that they had banished them, because they would have relief by force, and would make slaves of the people, which not being able to endure, they had continual war with them from the time of their first coming thither. In the mean time, the pinnace came to them, which had been at another place of the island for cattle, according to appointment, but was put off, till they could find an opportunity to execute their intended treachery. Those in the pinnace told the rest, that they had heard, at the place where they had been, that 15 sail of Dutch had taken Mozambique, and put all the Portuguese to the sword. At this news (which came from Zanjibar) the cavaliers seemed to rejoice; which was another subtle train to bring them into the snare. When night drew on, they desired the Moors to go on board, which they then declined, but promised they would the next day. Accordingly, December 17, the king's brother came with the two others, having had Thomas Cave, Gabriel Brooke, and Lawrence Pigot, their surgeon, for pledges. They were entertained very handsomely. Next morning the commander gave the chief two goats, with a cartridge of gun-powder, and some other trifles to the other two. Messrs. Revet, Jordan, Glasscock, and the author went on shore with them for the pledges; and at their landing with three or four more, ventured up to the houses, where they found their pledges guarded by 50 or 60 men, armed with bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, darts and cutlasses; yet they were delivered to them; after which they immediately departed, accompanied with the king's brother, most of the Moors following them to the pinnace's side; and having viewed her, returned to the rest. The English instantly entered the boat; and at their invitation, the king's brother went readily with them, where he was entertained with as much kindness as before. Towards night the master offered him a knife, with some other trifles, which he scornfully refused, and presently went on shore in their boat, which gave them some suspicion. On the 19th the long-boat went on shore very early in the morning for water; and having filled the casks they saw the ship with her sails out, being let down to dry:

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but the Moors imagining they were going away, the companion to the king's brother came to the boatswain, and asked the question. The boatswain, as well as he could, both by signs and otherwise, let him know, it was only to dry the sails. While they stood talking, they perceived the pinnace coming, being then very well armed, and left off making any farther enquiry. Had not the pinnace appeared, it was believed they then intended to have cut off their men, and taken their boat; for two of them lay concealed about the watering-place, ready to have made the onset, if the watch-word had been given. The pinnace being come on shore, and the men standing upon their guard upon the sands, the master sent Nicholas White to tell those of the island, that their merchants were landed. White passing by one of their houses, perceived it to be full of people, and amongst the rest six Portuguese. Presently after, the companion of the king's brother came, and told Mr. Revet, that the merchants of the island were weary, and therefore desired the English to go up to them, to see the cattle.—White only saw one bullock. But Mr. Revet desired to be excused, and pressed him to send down the bullock, saying, there were goods enough in the boat to pay for it. With this answer he was sent away. The king's brother being then on the sands, commanded a negro to gather cocoa-nuts to be sent to the commander, and made choice of Edward Churchman to fetch them; whom they never saw nor heard of after. When they found none of the English would land, but stood upon their guard, they gave the watch-word; and sounding a horn, presently set upon their men at the watering-place, and killed John Harrington, the boatswain's man, and much wounded Robert Buckler, whom they would have killed, but that being fired on by the ship, they retired. Buckler, though weak and faint, at length got up to the rest, likewise two or three more of the men, by creeping and lying close in the ditch, till they saw the boat, got also safe on board. The 20th in the morning, going on shore, with the pinnace and long-boat, very well armed, to fetch in their davis, (which is a piece of wood or timber where-with they haul up the anchor) a little beyond it, found Harrington's body naked, which they buried in a neighbouring island. At their coming to this island some of the natives made signs to them to beware of their throats, which they took no notice of at that time. The same day being the 12th, they set sail, and about twelve at night, the ship was on the shoals of Melinda, or Pemba, which they were not apprised of, but got off again. Next morning they pursued and took three small boats, slightly built, called Pangayas, before another sent from land could reach them. There were above 40 persons on board the three, six of the chief of whom were judged to be Portuguese, and the rest known to be Moors. These were pale and white, much differing from the colour of the Moors. Yet being asked if they were Moors, they replied in the affirmative, and shewed their backs all written with characters. When the English insisted that they were Portuguese, their answer was, That the Portuguese were not circumcised. As they could not still be persuaded to the contrary, some of the mariners spoke to them about the late treachery and murder of their men. This seeming to terrify them, they talked together in their own language, which made the English suspect, they intended to make some desperate attempt: for this reason the English looked carefully to the swords, which lying naked in the master's cabin, they also had their eyes upon them, they likewise took notice where Captain Coverte, and Mr. Glasscock had set their swords, still expecting when the place should be clear. This Captain Coverte perceiving, kept good watch; and being alone on the poop, they beckoned to him three or four times to come to them upon the spare deck, which he refused, for fear they should have taken that opportunity to seize these weapons. The master, Philip de Grove, soon after coming upon the deck, asked

asked for their pilot, whom he took down into his cabin, and shewed his plat, which the pilot very earnestly viewed: but at his parting from the rest to go with the master, he spoke in the Moorish language, warning them (as the English thought) to be upon their guard, and make the assault as soon as he gave the watch-word. As it was supposed that the pilot had a knife about him, he was searched for it, but he nimbly conveyed it from one side to the other, and with it suddenly stabbed the master in the belly, and then cried out, which (possibly was the signal: for they immediatly began the onset on the deck, where the commander, Messrs. Glasscock, Tindal, and one or two more who happened to be there with them, had the good fortune to kill four or five of the Moors, and made such havock among the rest, that at length they had slain almost forty of them, and brought the rest in subjection; five or six of them however recovered a pangaya, by their exceeding swiftness, and escaped to shore; they swimming to windward faster than the pinnace could row after them. Glasscock, Tindal, and the master, were the only Englishmen hurt. The first had two wounds, of which one was deep in his back: Tindal having had nothing in his hand to defend himself, they aimed at his breast, but turning about, he received the stab in his arm; however they all recovered. On the 19th of January, they saw many islands, which the Portuguese called Almafant, being nine in number. Next morning they sent their pinnace to one of them, to seek fresh water: but though they found none, they met with many land-turtles, and brought six on board. Then they sailed to another island, where they rode in twelve or thirteen fathoms water, and a tolerable good harbour, where they found refreshments.

On the 1st of February, they set sail with a fair wind till the 9th, when they passed the line: and on the 15th, betimes in the morning, came within sight of the coast of Melinda; next day, they came to an anchor, about nine in the morning in twelve fathoms water: and about two leagues from shore, they soon sent their pinnace to seek some refreshments, but they could by no means land: nor would the people of the country (being fearful) come within speech of them; therefore in the afternoon, the ship departed. On the 21st, betimes, they descried an island in the height of twelve degrees seventeen minutes, with four rocks or hillocks about three leagues off it. They had bore up a whole day and night to get to this island; but finding it barren and unpeopled, by sending their skiff on shore, they passed it, and the same day had sight of three islands more, about sun-set, standing in the height of twelve degrees twenty-nine minutes. Two were within a league asunder, and the third they found to be Socotra, which standing in twelve degrees twenty-four minutes. Here they arrived the 29th of March, 1609, and anchored in a fine bay the 30th; about ten in the morning. The islanders having on sight of them, made a fire; they sent their skiff on shore, but the people fled in great fear; having (possibly) been formerly some way injured by some who had passed that way. The men finding no likelihood of relief there, returned on board, and about five in the afternoon, the ship departed to find out the chief harbour. The next day, standing off to sea; the met with a Guzarat ship laden with cotton, calico, &c. bound for Aden. Hither they kept her company; because then it was a place of great trade. Arriving there on the 10th of April, those of the Guzarat ship who landed, told the governor, that an English ship was come to trade there. He sent his admiral to them, and the commander unadvisedly went on shore, where he and his attendants were received, four great horses waiting, and were carried before the governor with as much pomp as the town could afford. But the governor finding him to be a plain and simple man, put him in a house with a chiarus, or keeper, and many Janissaries or soldiers, to guard him; and kept him prisoner for six weeks.

After this, the governor caused him to send on board for iron, tin, and cloth, to the value of 2500 dollars, promising to buy it; but when he had the goods on shore, he seized them for custom of the ship only. When he saw that he had got as much as he could, he sent the commander on board the 27th of May, and kept two of the merchants for 2000 dollars, which he said was for anchorage; but the whole company declaring against the payment, he sent the merchants up into the country, eight days journey, to a place called Sanaa, where the basha then lay. On the 28th, they were joined by the pinnace, whose master, John Lustkin, being dead; upon inquiry, the company told them, that he was knocked on the head with a mallet by Thomas Clark, with the consent of Francis Driver his mate, Andrew Evans, and Edward Hilles. These being asked upon what occasion they committed the murder, could assign no cause, except that they wanted a small quantity of Aqua Vitæ and Rosa Solis, which he was careful to preserve for the rest of the company, in case of necessity. On the 31st, a jury being called, the murderers were convicted, and Francis Driver and Thomas Clark were hanged in the pinnace.*

On the 3d of June, they weighed and sailed into the Red Sea, through the Straights of Mecca, which are about one league over, and about three in length, having eighteen fathoms water close to the island. Within the streights there lies a great shoal, some two leagues off shore, which ships must sail wide off: From thence there are about six leagues to Mecca, where is a good road and safe ground for vessels to ride in fourteen fathoms water. The port is never without shipping, it being a town of great trade, and frequented by caravans from Sanaa, Mecca, Grand Cario, and Alexandria. There is a great want of tin, iron, lead, cloth, sword blades, and all English commodities. It had a great bazar, or market, every day in the week. There is great plenty of fruit; as apricots, quinces, dates, grapes, peaches, lemons, and plantanes, which the author much wondered at, as the inhabitants told them they had no rain for seven years before, and yet there was very good corn at eighteen pence per bushel; besides plenty of cattle and fish. The town was governed by the Turks, and if an Arabian offended, he was severely punished, there being galleys for that purpose. They departed on the 18th of July, and passed the Straights, where they left two anchors; and from thence sailing to Socotra about the 5th of August, cast anchor over against the town of Siab, where the king resides. There one of the merchants went on shore, and gave him a present, desiring leave to buy water, goats, and other provisions, which he did not grant, because the women of the country were much afraid: but told him, if the English would go to a road five leagues off, they should have any thing the country afforded. Accordingly they went, and there bought goats, water, dragon's blood, Socotrine aloes, and other commodities.

On the 18th, they set sail from Siab, with an anchor and a half, for Cambaya; and on the 28th, came to Moa, where one of the natives told them, that for twenty dollars, they might have a pilot to bring them to the bar of Surat; but this was refused. On the 29th, they set forward, thinking to hit the channel leading to the bar, but they came out of ten fathoms, first into seven, then afterwards into six and a half; then tacked about westward, and came into fifteen fathoms, the next tack brought them into five. Then some of the company asked, Whither the master would go? he answered, Let her go over the height and presently the ship struck: Captain Coverte immediatly went up and told him of it. Upon which turning about, he asked, Who durst say she struck? he

* The author observes that Edward Hilles was eaten by canibals at Madagascar, and the other died rotting where he lay.

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He had scarcely spoken, when she struck again, and with such force, that the rudder broke off, which was lost. Then they came to an anchor, and rode there two days; after which their skiff split in pieces, so that they had only their long-boat to help themselves with. However, they made such shift, that they got the pieces of the former into the ship, and the carpenter fitting her up as well as he could, brought 16 men on shore. About six in the evening, on the 2d of September, the ship struck, and began to founder: she had presently 26 inches water in the well. Then they plied the pump from seven to eleven, after which the water increased so fast, that being no longer able to continue on board, they took to their boats. They left the ship without taking either meat or drink with them.* Between twelve and one in the morning they put off for the shore, which was at least 20 leagues to the eastward. They sailed all that night, and the next day without any sustenance at all, till five or six in the evening, when they made a little island over the

bar. Our author says, "But just then a squall of wind taking them, broke the midship-thought of their long-boat, wherein were 55 persons; yet they recovered their mast, and the gulf ceasing, went over the bar, and got into the river of Gandevee."

"The country people seeing so many men in two boats, they beat their drums, and ran to their arms, taking them for Portuguese coming to attack some of their towns. This the English perceiving, and having, by chance, a Guzarat on board, they sent him on shore to undeceive the inhabitants. As soon as they knew who they were, they directed them to the city of Gandeve, where a great man was governor, who, at their coming thither, seemed to be sorry for their misfortunes, and gave them a very kind reception."

Jones's Relation.

Here Captain Coverte ends his account, we have extracted from the relation of Thomas Jones, beginning where the other ends his relation.—Being at Gandeve, they heard that their pinnace came into the same river before them, and was carried away by the Portuguese, but that all the men had forsaken her, and were gone to Surat by land. The governor of this town was a Bannian.—The 7th they left Gandeve, to travel for Surat, about 40 miles distant, and the 19th came thither, where they were met by William Finch, who kept the factory; but Captain Hawkins, was gone to Agra, about 30 days journey distant, where the king resided. The commander, and part of the rest, having staid till the end of September at Surat, then set out likewise for Agra, in order to return home by land, through Persia: but the author not liking that course, staid behind. While he debated with himself what method to take, he became acquainted with a Portuguese Padre, of the order of St. Paul, just come from Cambaya, who proposed to get him conveyed to England, or at least to Portugal, which he punctually performed. Jones, Richard Mellis, John Elmor, and Robert Fox, departed from Surat the 7th of October, along with the Padre, and came to the strong town and fortress of Daman, where once again, they saw the pinnace, called the Good Hope. From Daman they went to Chaul, and from thence to Goa, where they arrived the 18th of November. The 9th of January they embarked on board a carack, called Our Lady of Pity, being the admiral of a fleet of four sail, upon the coast of India, and the 21st of March fell in with the land, in 33 deg. and an half, about five leagues to the east of Cape Des Aguillas. Here they lay with contrary winds, till the 2d of April, and then were encountered with a great storm, at west south-west, which blew so furiously, that they were forced to bear up six hours be-

fore the sea, after which it ceased. The 4th of April they fell in with the land again, in 34 degrees, 40 minutes, and then lay driving backwards and forwards with contrary winds in sight of shore; so that they were twice within three or four leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, yet could not get about it till the 19th day of April, and then they doubled it, to their great comfort; for they were in great despair before, fearing they should be forced to winter at Mozambique, which is a common thing among the Portuguese. The 27th they passed the tropic of Capricorn, and the 9th of May they came to anchor at the island of St. Helena, which island stands in 15 degrees south. Here they staid till the 15th, watering, and then departing, passed the Line on the 2d of June. The 26th they were under the tropic of Cancer, with the wind at north-east, which the Portuguese call the General Wind; and the 16th of July supposed they passed by the westerly islands (or Azores), the pilot not having seen any land since they left St. Helena. At length, they made the land of Portugal, being not above two leagues off the Rock of Lisbon, and the same day came to anchor in the road of Cascaes. That day Jones went on shore in a boat, and so escaped the hands of the Portuguese. He staid in Lisbon secretly till the 13th, and then embarked in a ship bound for London, one Steed, master, which immediately setting sail from the Bay of Weyers, they escaped; for the Portuguese having had notice of their departure, sent out a boat well manned, with a design to have taken the ship, and so carry them on shore: they got safe home the 17th of September, 1610, after an absence of two years and six months from their native country.—

In the mean time the Union, after being separated from the Ascension, in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, sprang her main-mast, and in the midst of the storm they were forced to fish it again. By this accident it seems they lost the company of the admiral, and being at length out of hopes of meeting with either the ship or pinnace thereabouts, considering that the storm continued, they shaped their course for the bay of St. Augustine, in Madagascar, in hopes of finding them there. In this, however, they were disappointed. Therefore, after 20 days stay, in which time they refreshed themselves well, they set sail for Zanjibar, in expectation of meeting their commander at that place. As soon as they arrived, they went on shore, and were kindly entertained; but at their next landing, several men broke out of ambush upon them, and killed the purser, Richard Kenu, and one mariner, and took Richard Wickham, one of the merchants, prisoner: by great chance, however, the rest got off the boat, and got on board. They put to sea in the month of February, with the wind at north-east and northerly, which was directly against them, as they designed to go for Socotra. Now having spent much time at sea, without making any way, (and most of the men troubled very much with the scurvy) the captain went for the north part of St. Lawrence. His intentions was to put into the bay of Antongille, but they fell in with the west side of the island, where they entered an exceeding large bay, called by the natives Conquamorra, found the adjacent country fruitful and pleasant. Here they proposed to recover their men, and spend the unprofitable monsoon. They soon grew acquainted with the inhabitants, who at first appeared very friendly, and made them very kind professions: on this the merchants often went on shore, and visited the king, who was no less complaisant. At length, Captain Rowles, accompanied with Mr. Richard Reve, chief merchant, Jeffery Carlel, and three others, thought fit to go to the palace. Samuel Bradshaw had often been employed

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* About 10,000 pounds of merchandize lying between the main-mast and the sterage, the commander bid the company take what they would. The author thinks they took among them 3000. some having one hundred, some fifty, others forty

pounds, some more, and some less.

† The people of this sect are Pythagoreans, and honour the cow; they also observe the ancient custom of burning the dead.

employed about business to the king: but at this time the captain having some other occasion for him, he staid on board, which proved happy for him; for as soon as they landed, they were betrayed to the inhabitants. By good fortune, the boats escaped: but they had scarcely got on board, when they saw a fleet of praws and large boats coming out of the river, rowing towards the ship. They made a very bold attack, coming up in the face of the ordnance, so that the English believed they would have taken them. The fight continued at least two hours very desperately; but the cannon being diligently plied by the gunner and his mates: at length half a dozen of their boats sunk, which obliged the rest to retire with speed. They staid in the bay 14 days after this, in hopes to recover their men again; but instead of that they lost seven more, through a sudden disease which happened to those who worked so hard at the guns in the time of the action, and within two days they were all thrown over board. These misfortunes coming together, they resolved to make haste away, and water somewhere else; but before they could depart, the enemy made another attempt, with still greater numbers of boats, many of them very large, and crowded with men to a surprising degree. However, they liked the first entertainment so ill, that not caring to come near them a second time, they returned on shore. The English perceiving their malice, and fearing some mischief in the night, stood in for shore (where the Moors were) and gave them a whole broadside for a farewell, the bullets entering among the thickest of them, and made such lanes that they soon forsook their places, and got out of fight as fast as they could. They now put to sea, and directed their course for Socotra; but for want of hulling-in betimes, the wind took them short, so that they could not fetch it, but fell more to the east, upon the coast of Arabia. This was about the fourth of June, and the winter monsoon being come, they durst not attempt to go for Cambaya; neither could they find any good place in that road to harbour in, during the winter. Therefore, after hovering in sight of the coast four days, not without danger of running on shore, they resolved on some course for making their voyage. Upon this Griffin Maurice, the master, consulting with the principal and most experienced men in the ship, they soon concluded to go for Achin, in hopes there to meet with some Guzarats, to barter their English commodities with. Therefore directing their course for that place, they arrived there the 27th of July, and in seven days after had admit-

tance to the king, to whom they gave a present. When Mr. Bradshaw had been at court, and dealt a little with the merchants of Achin, he fell to trade with the Guzarats, giving them English cloth and lead in exchange for bafta's, black and white; which is the cloth they sell in those parts. After they had been here some small time, they sailed for Priaman, where they had a quick trade, which made some amends for the crosses they met with before. They staid and took in pepper, and at length laded their ship, which might have been done long before, if they had not been in disputing among the company; for the sailors would do as they pleased themselves: but Mr. Bradshaw used them with such fair words, that at length they got what they came for. Here the master died. All business being ended, Mr. Bradshaw sent one Humphry Biddulph and Silvester Smith, to Bantam, in a Chinese junk, with some remainder of goods, which they could not sell at Priaman nor Teku; and soon after Mr. Bradshaw set sail for England, in the Union, in the month of February.

By two letters, the one written by Bernard Cooper to his brother Hide, a merchant in London, (including one received from Bagget an Irishman) and the other by William Wilton, who appears to have been the master of a vessel; it appears that the Union arrived in a miserable condition off the coast of France, where the people of Odmen sent off two boats to her. The crews found that she was richly laden with pepper, and other India goods, but had only four men on board, (one of whom was an Indian) and three dead. The survivors were scarcely able to speak, but the boats brought the vessel into the road of Odmen, from whence the advice was sent to Marlaise, and forwarded by Hide to England. The letter-writer resolved to visit the ship in person with one George Robbins, but complained much of taking a journey at that time, and desired a supply of money. However, he went as the other letter of Mr. Wilton relates: and it appears that there were saved from the plunder of the natives of Bretagne, about 200 tons of pepper, some benjamin, and some Chinese silks, which they bought at Teku, in Sumatra, out of a ship of China; and on their return had met with Sir Henry Middleton, to whom they delivered some chests of silver.*

After the pepper and other goods were unloaded and dried, the vessel being examined was found unfit for service, therefore the guns, anchors, &c. were taken out, and the survivors thus put an end to their unfortunate voyage.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN DAVID MIDDLETON, TO JAVA AND BANDA.

ON the 24th of April, 1609, Captain Middleton set sail from the Tower, in the expedition, of London, and got sight of Forteventura on the 13th of May. By the 10th of August, he had reached Saldanna, (or Saldania) and as soon as he had watered, immediately sailed for Bantam.

Arriving there on the 7th of December, the captain was as expeditious as possible in getting the iron he had with him on shore. He then left Mr. Hensworth in the factory, and in the evening set sail for the Moluccas.

He came before the town of Boton on the 8th of January; but hearing that the king was gone to war, and that there were but few people in the place, he would not anchor, but the same day went through the streights. On the 9th, however they fell in with

the Boton fleet. The king came on board them, and many civilities passed between them; but the prince informed him that a loss by fire had disabled him from furnishing the English with spices, a vast quantity of which in store were destroyed by that accident.

He took his leave in sorrow, and the captain steered for the island of Bangaya. There he found that the people were fled for fear of some enemies; but who those enemies were, he could not learn with certainty; for he supposed they retired from the Dutch, but a Dutchman told him they were in fear of the king of Macassar. The man who told him this, lived in great

* It is mentioned that ten Englishmen and four natives of Guzarat were taken out of the ship by a boat of Bristol, and a Scotch vessel.

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state had a great number of women, and received the duties of the king of Ternate. He was a pleasant companion and seemed to affect the manners of the natives and would not be commanded by any other Dutchman. The English met with good refreshment here, and were in better health than when they departed from England.

Having sheathed the long-boat to preserve its bottom from worms, they set sail on the 9th of January; but contrary winds occasioned them to alter their intended course for the Moluccas, and stand for Banda.

They had sight of these islands on the 5th of February, and used all their endeavours to reach them before night. Coming near, the Captain sent his skiff to get intelligence of some of the natives, who sent him word, that the Dutch would not suffer any ship to enter the road: that they would take all he brought (if such things as they stood in need of) and make payment at their own pleasure. That if any junk came with commodities saleable in the country, they were not permitted to speak to the people; but were carried to the back-side of the castle, within musquet shot, so that not a man could set his foot on shore, but a bullet was sent after him; and that they had fifteen great junks which were detained in that manner: yet he stood into the road with a flag and ensign, and at each yard-arm a pendant, making a very good figure. The governor of the castle thinking it had been a Dutch ship, sent out a pinnace of thirty tons towards the Expedition, but coming near, stood into the road before her; so that after they had hailed the captain, he could have no farther speech with him. As soon as he was astwart of Lantor, he saluted the town, and anchored within shot of their ships. Soon after there came a Dutch boat on board from the governor, requiring Middleton to enter the road, and then to land, and shew him his commission. The captain answered, that he was but newly come, and would neither shew his commission, nor impart his business to the governor or any man. They farther asked, Whether he was a merchant, or a man of war? He replied, that he would pay for what he took. Then they threatened him; but he told them that he would ride there, let them do their worst, and hoped he could defend himself, and they returned in a great rage to the castle. The Dutch were no sooner gone, than a crowd of people of Lantor, came on board, and bade him welcome. From them he understood the whole affairs of the country, which would have been willing to deal with him, if he could have procured leave of the Dutch, for they were then friends: but Puloway and Pulotronu, were at war with them. The captain knowing that there was good fishing in troubled water, took the opportunity to talk privately with a native of Puloway, who happened to be among them: this person he engaged for a little money, to acquaint those of the island, that he would give them either silver or commodities for all their spice: that the Dutch and he were likely to be enemies; and that they need not fear but that he would get their spice on board. In the mean time there came the same boat from the castle, and another from the vice-admiral, with peremptory orders from the governor to Captain Middleton to come in. After keeping them to dinner, he told them that he would ride there, and run the danger of the road: that he knew both nations were friends in Europe, and that for them to be enemies there among strangers would be scandalous. But they told him plainly, that he must not ride there: and if he persisted, they would fetch him in by force. His answer was, that he would ride there till he found the inconvenience of the road, (for they said it was foul ground) and then come into the best part of the harbour: adding, that neither of their princes gave authority to their subjects to hinder the other from riding or going, at their own peril. The Dutch replied, that the country was theirs; "Then may I (said Middleton) the more

boldly ride here, for we are friends." So they departed in displeasure. The same evening, he was about to land guns upon the side of a hill, where he rode, and began to fit the ship to fight with any that should molest him. He also sent out some to search the bottom; which indeed proved to be nothing but rocks, so that there was no possibility of riding there with safety. Therefore the captain gave over his design of landing guns; and next morning sent his skiff with Mr. Spalding, and the principal persons of the ship with a letter to the governor: ordering them to say nothing more than he had written, and make no stay, but bring an answer presently: for they rode very badly. The copy of the letter is as follows.

"May it please your Worship,

"With patience to consider, that whereas you have many enemies, (and few friends in this place) I being a christian, if your worship stand in need of any thing that I have, I pray you make bold to demand it, and I will be as ready to perform it to my power; for whereas there is amity between our princes at home, I should be unwilling, that we their subjects, should be at enmity here. Farther, forasmuch as you command me to come under the command of the castle, I hope I have the privilege that both princes allow their subjects to come and go at their own pleasures, and stand to the danger of the road at their own peril. And whereas you demanded to see my commission; I am a gentleman, and willing to shew it upon equal terms; for if you will meet me securely, as I would do you, appoint your meeting upon the water, in our boats, equally manned; or in any convenient place, where I may be as near my force as you are to yours. And whereas it is reported that a contract is to be made with the inhabitants of Lantor and your worship, my desire is, that you would use me as an Indian for my money. Then should I think myself much beholden to your worship, and am more willing to deal with you, than with them. Furthermore, forasmuch as you be at enmity with the islands of Puloway and Pulorin, my desire is to be resolved, whether I may have their spice without your hindrance. Thus desiring your answer to these particulars, and the same to be returned by the bearers, I bid you farewell. From on board my ship, this 7th day of February, 1610.

Your's, in friendship,
DAVID MIDDLETON."

The English coming to the castle, were brought to the governor, who was sitting in council; and delivered the letter, which was read openly: but they would send him no answer but by word of mouth. They had in the road three great ships, of 1000 tons, and three pinnaces of thirty tons each; one of the ships, called the Great Sun, being unfit for service, they determined that they should clap the Expedition on board, and there be set on fire: for this purpose, they had sworn several persons to make her fast with chains, and had put into her thirty barrels of powder to blow her up. She was to be manned out of the castle, attended with all the ships and boats to receive the men when she should take fire. The Great Horn was to go and ride within musquet-shot of the English, and batter them while the frigates plied round to keep them employed on all sides. Those who landed, perceiving the speed they made to warp out the Great Sun, came away as fast as they could, to acquaint Captain Middleton with what was going forward. Upon which he thought fit to go and speak with the governor himself, before he came to a rupture: so taking his commission, he went to the castle, and was met at landing by the governor, and all the principal men, both of the castle and ships, and conducted through a guard of small shot of 300 soldiers, who saluted him with three volleys, and the castle with seven guns. At length

length he came to the governor's house, where he shewed the first line of his commission, but no more, and little of consequence was done at this meeting. He afterwards offered 1000 pounds to procure a loading, but succeeded no better. Having set this matter on foot, he told the governor, now they were satisfied that he was no man of war, he would bring in his ship. He replied with the rest, that they were ready to oblige him as much as lay in his power. It drawing late, he took his leave, and at his going into the boat, the governor ordered all the guns in the castle to be fired. As he passed by the ships and frigates, they fired guns till he got on board.

Next day being the 8th of February, he brought the ship into the road, and rode between their ships and the castle, saluting with his guns; and was answered from the castle and ships. As soon as they came to anchor, the governor, with all the chiefs of the castle and ships, came on board, and accepted of a dinner, such as they could provide. Afterwards he talked about the lading, but could neither by argument, nor the offer of gifts, obtain leave to buy a single pound of spice; the governor telling him plainly, that to grant such a liberty, was as much as his life was worth. The captain finding there was no good to be done, determined to take in water, and try his fortune; but they would not suffer his boat to go on shore for water, without a man of theirs, to see that they had no conference with the natives. After he had got in water, he sent Mr. Spalding to acquaint the governor that he would be gone; who much wondered whither the captain intended to go, the winds being westerly. Having warped till he got sea-room, he set sail, the governor sending three pinnaces to go out with him, one of which sent her boat on board, to command him in the governor's name, not to go near any of these islands. Captain Middleton sent him word, he would not be at his command, for he was going to Puloway as fast as he could; bidding him send his ships to force him away, for that he would quickly drive the frigates farther off. The boat returned on board one of the frigates; and the captain caused the men to prepare to fight with the Dutch ships that were already fitted with their sails brought to the yard for that purpose. He then called all his company to know their minds, and told them that if they would stand by him, he intended to make his voyage at those islands in spite of the Dutch: promising to give amongst them what things belonged to him in the ship; and a maintenance during life, to every man who should happen to be maimed. They unanimously declared they were willing to stand the test: but the pinnace seeing them bring up their small shot, thought it would not be safe for themselves to guard him any longer, and therefore bore up for the harbour. While they were warping out, the admiral and lieutenant-governor of the castle, had been twice on board the pinnaces: but what they did there, was unknown to the English. The winds being westerly, and a strong current setting to the east-north-east, they drove a great pace: and the captain sent Mr. Spalding in the boat with money, besides the purser's mate, and five more, to assure the people of Puloway, that they had parted enemies with the Dutch, and that they were sent to know, whether they would sell him their spice; that he would pay him money for it, and that as soon as some place was found for the ship to ride in, he would come himself either in a ship, or a pinnace that he had on board ready to set up. While his boat was absent, there came two praws from Lantor, to know why he went away. The captain told them that the current had set the ship off. That he would willingly have gone to Puloway, if the current had not hindered him, and had sent a factor there to buy spice. They said, they were glad that he had not left them altogether. Then he desired them to tell the inhabitants of Lantor, that he would give them money or commodities for all the spice they had, if they would sell it him,

rather than the Dutch, who came to take their country from them. One of them said, that he would go to the island and see the captain's people, and then would speak to those of Lantor.

At Mr. Spalding's going on shore, the country people flocked about, and welcomed him, but would make no bargain about the price, till Captain Middleton came himself. However, they offered to deliver spice upon account in the mean time. Upon this he ordered Spalding to hire him a pilot (if he could) to harbour his ship near at-hand. Accordingly, he spoke to the inhabitants for one, and they hired him two, to whom they gave twenty rials, and the captain as much. The pilots coming on board the same night, he bore up for Seran, and came to a place called Gelagula, a tolerable good road, about 30 leagues from Banda. As soon as possible they took a house, and brought their pinnace on shore to set up, which they never could find time to do before; because the season of the year slipped so fast away, and the monsoon was at an end. After labouring all that night to get her dispatched, he named her the Hopewell. The 27th of March, they sailed for Puloway, and arrived there the 31st, in the night, but could not lade any spice till they had agreed with the natives.

After the price was fixed, they loaded the Hopewell with mace, and sent her away; but being too small for the purpose, containing only nine tons, the captain was forced to hire a great prau, which was loaded with nutmegs, and sent to the ship, where she was built higher, to make her 24 tons, and twelve of the ablest sailors put on board. She made but one voyage, and then they heard no news of her for three months. The Hopewell in two voyages bringing no account of her, they took it for granted that she had sunk in the storm, which arose in the return with the Hopewell, on board of which the captain was. He was much grieved to see the season pass away, without being able to get his lading over to the ship, nor durst he bring the ship over to the island, as there was no riding for her. Thus all hope being at an end for six months, he made inquiry for other vessels; and hearing of an old junk that belonged to Lantor, and lay near the Dutch ships, he went and bought her, and got such help as he could to trim her. The loss of his twelve men occasioned great difficulties and delays; for most of the rest were disabled with sore legs. Thus he knew not what to do, the island being in every respect in danger of being taken by the Dutch, who also meant to assassinate him, offering large sums of money to rogues to effect it, either by poison or otherwise; but he had some friends upon the island, who gave him private notice, and warned him to beware of such men-slaves, for that they came to do him a mischief. Upon this, he was obliged to get all the islands to draw to an head, to fit out their carcals to keep the Dutch pinnaces from coming on board. After this they kept their distance, and the islanders landing secretly upon Nera, cut off several of the Dutch, inasmuch that they durst not stir out of the castle, except when there were a great number of them together well armed. These islanders built a fort upon the side of a hill, from whence they shot into the castle, which galled the Dutch very much, and effectually hindered the pinnaces from coming out to cut them off, as often as they attempted it.

Captain Middleton was obliged to get away the junk unrigged, which he had bought at Lantor; for the Dutch seeing men at work upon her, sent one of their ships to batter her to pieces, when she would be in order: so that the night she weighed, she wanted much help to launch her, and was carried away upon rollers. They did this in the dark, and getting her out of sight by day, brought her to Puloway, where, being nothing but the bare hull, they were forced to buy sails, and every thing else for her. The captain sent also to the ship, by the Hopewell, to fetch some rigging, and Mr. John Davis to carry her over, fitting her, as well as he could,

could, with the aid of some carpenters of the country. Three weeks being past, without hearing of the pinnace, he began to fear some misfortune had befallen her, and what was worse, he knew he might wait long enough before they on board the ship could hire any vessel to send to him, the Dutch having seized all that they had taken carrying victuals to the Bandanese. Therefore it was pretty fair weather, and the skiff was then at Puloway. Captain Middleton determined to go over himself, and make some shift, rather than let the time pass without doing any thing: for he could not hire men to carry the junk, if he could have loaded her with silver. He hired three blacks, not having a man of his own that could stand on his legs, and with them put to sea.—Being out of sight of land, there arose such a storm, that they were forced to spoon before the sea; yet they got sight of Seran, but coming near the shore, the sea broke so violently, that they lost all hope of getting safe to land. Night approaching, they strove all they could to keep the vessel above water till morning; but the storm increasing, they found themselves compelled to hazard all to put into the breach over a ledge of rocks. In this, however, they succeeded; yet no man durst forsake the boat, for fear of being beaten to pieces against the rocks.

The next day, they got her on shore, and emptied her, being full of water, and every thing they had in her washed over-board. The blacks now came and told them, that they must put to sea directly, if they meant to save their lives. The captain asking one of them the reason: he said, it was the cannibals country; who, if they got sight of them, would kill and eat them: That they never ransomed any men they took; and that if they were christians, they roasted them alive, for the wrongs the Portuguese had done them. On this they put off and soon got a-head a good pace, and by day were clear of their watches. As they proceeded, keeping close along shore, they saw the hulk of a bark; and rowing near it, found it to be the Diligence, with two Englishmen in her; they told him, that having come to an anchor there, in the late storm, the cable broke, and she drove on shore; and that Mr. Herniman was gone to the town, to get men to haul her up. On this, the captain himself landed, to get the governor to bring some help to save her; the land being crowded with people, who came on purpose to have pillaged her, he ordered his men to fire now and then, which kept them from coming near. When the captain came to the town, Mr. Herniman was gone by land to the ship, which was 12 miles off. Having asked the governor for assistance, he said, he would raise the country in two or three days: captain Middleton told him, that if it blew, she would be lost within an hour. One belonging to Puloway, who knew the bark, and was earnest with the governor to save her, being there, plainly told the captain that the chief wanted to have her bulged; that he might get the planks to build him a prau.—Finding there was no help to be expected, but what came from the ship, he hired guides to follow Mr. Herniman, and took one of his own men for company. Half way, they came to a great water, which they were to cross. As his man could not swim, the captain sent his cloaths back, all but a scarlet coat, which the blacks were to carry over. They told him the river was full of alligators, and that if he saw any, he must fight with them, as they would kill him: and, for that purpose, the black carried a knife in his mouth. Middleton being weary not having slept for two nights, took the water before the Indians, knowing they would be over before him. The river being broad, and the current made by the great rains that had fallen very swift, the Indians would have had him turn back, but as he was more than half-way, he was very unwilling. He who carried the coat having a great cane, struck the captain on the side: who, suspecting it had been an alligator, dived

under water: where the current got such hold of him, that before he could rise again, he was carried into the sea, and thrown by the waves against the beach. He was washed backward and forward several times, till the Indian came, and giving him hold of the end of the cane, pulled him out, within a little of being drowned, having his back and shoulder much bruised. After he had rested himself for some time, he got on board, to the surprise of his company: and that night, sent all that were able, to save the bark; which they did, with much fatigue. As for the people of the country, not a man was suffered to lend a hand; expecting the English would forsake her, and that she would be all their own.

The Hopewell arrived the next day with her lading of spice. She had been driven to the eastward of Banda 30 leagues, in a most violent storm; which continued long, and caused them to have a tedious passage to get to windward. The captain went from Puloway in the boat, and landed presently; and Mr. Davis was lading as fast as he could with a lame crew, the sound being all employed about the Diligence. They presently unloaded the Hopewell; and that night, captain Middleton set sail in her, to see if he could get to Puloway, before Mr. Davis came away: for, as they told him the junk was very leaky, he was willing that the Hopewell should bear her company, for she had not a nail in her; and because smiths of the country could not make nails, they having had none of their own, ordered him they employed, to make iron pins, which they disposed of in most needful places. The captain of the Hopewell striving to reach Puloway, was turned aside by the stream, in a great storm; for the stronger the wind, the stronger the current. Being forced to leeward they were long before they could reach the ship; and were obliged to seek the Seran shore, otherwise they had been quite blown away. The captain having in the several trips he made, still fallen to the leeward of the ship, caused Mr. Davis to search for some harbour, that for the future the vessels that were provided, might come from Puloway directly to the ship: because, when deep laden, they could not so easily ply to windward with their oars.—During the captain's long stay from Puloway, and the islands of Banda, the natives had intelligence, that the ship had weighed anchor; and were persuaded, that he was gone for fear of the Dutch, who were determined to come and surprise him. For this reason, the country people would not deal with the English any more, nor sell them victuals, but began to abuse and rail at them; saying, he was gone in the ship, and had left them on the island, after the example of the Dutchmen; and would, like these, return with a fleet, and take their country from them, and they determined to seize upon the house, and keep the men prisoners, upon a high rock. With this view, they sent for the Shah Bander, that by joint consent, they might take possession of all the goods. When the Shah Bander came, Mr. Spalding went to acquaint him of the hard usage of the islanders, who began to take things out of the house by force. The Shah Bander said, they would take care that the English should not do as the Dutch had done, and were determined to lay them fast, for that the ship was gone, and their meaning was not good. In short, all that Mr. Spalding could say, would not persuade them but that he and the rest, were left there by design. Next day, calling a council in the church, they resolved to send the men prisoners to the rock: but news coming, while they were sitting, that captain Middleton was in sight in the Hopewell, they broke up their consultation. At his landing, Mr. Spalding told him of their hard usage to them, and the fear they were in. As the chiefs of all the islands sat before their door, waiting for his coming, he asked them the reason, why they dealt so ill with his people, in his absence? They told him plainly, that

if he had not come as he did, they would have taken the goods, and confined the men; he then let them know the reason for removing the ship; adding, that it was no wonder the Dutch had built a castle to defend themselves, when they dealt so with them; and had not only left men amongst them, with commodities which the country stood in need of, but had also made the Dutch, who were their enemies; and endeavoured by all the means he could contrive, to do the islands good, as they very well knew. To this they answered, that he ought not blame them for being jealous of christians, since both the Portuguese and Dutch, for many years, had done as he had done, that in the end, they found their design was to take their country from them. However, at length they apologised for what had happened, and became good friends again, and the trade for spice went on briskly.—Captain Middleton, after lading his ship, having some stock left, thought he could not do better, than to lay it out in the same commodities. Accordingly, he laded 30 tons more in the junk, and bought another of 40 tons (on the stocks) with spice to lade her: leaving Mr. Spalding to come in her, and Mr. Chapman for master, with ten others. After this captain Middleton went and took his leave of all the country, in a most obliging manner; and bestowed several gifts for a farewell, intreating them to help Mr. Spalding, if he should stand in need of their assistance; for that in his absence he must rely on them. This they promised to do; adding many expressions of kindness. He was forced to convey over the Hopewell himself, and set sail the twenty-seventh of September from Puloway, with the junk, having staid a considerable time longer in the country than any Englishman ever did before. He arrived at the ship on the 10th; and after he was wholly laden, they set sail from Keiling Bay the same day, without topails, which had been blown from the yard, (where they had been ever since the ship came into the country, for fear of the Dutch, or other treachery) in her passage from the place where she rode before, seven leagues to the eastward; Mr. Davis having removed her by the captain's directions. Holding on his course on the 19th of October, he arrived at Bantam road; here he found that Mr. Hensworth, and Edward Neetles, both died, soon after he left them; so that all the goods remained, and not a yard of cloth having been disposed of to the Chinese. Most of the company being still troubled with sore legs, and many sickly, he left the unsound on board, under the care of the surgeon, and manned the junks with those who were in perfect health. There came in a small ship, which after having been at China, Japan, Ternate, Macian, Coromandel, Patane and Jor, went to Amboyna and Banda, to seek for lading; but not getting any, was forced to repair to this port, to lade with pepper. This ship, when at Banda, sailing near Puloway, fired her great guns at once, one of whose shot passed through an Indian's house, and two suckles of mace in the English house, struck the purser's mate upon the shin, and entering a chest of fine pintadoes, spoiled many of them: it did not break the mate's leg, but the man was lame for six months.

Captain Middleton contrived matters so well at Banda, as to secure his own lading first; but although the Dutch had two great ships half laden before his arrival, they could not get one single pound of spice afterwards. At the same time they were stark mad to see the English pass by them daily with that commodity: therefore they determined with their ships, to take the island, and seize the spice, which they knew the captain had bought, at such a time as they might easily have done it. But, their design miscarried; for it proved calm when they were out of the harbour, they could not get in again, and it being at the time of spring tide, the ebb set the ship to the southward of the island; and the pinnaces were obliged to follow the ships, for fear the caricals should have taken them. After labouring with all their power for two days, to come back, they were forced to proceed for Bantam, to lade pepper. Having been long becalmed by the way, they saw a ship right to leeward, which they thought, could be none else but Captain Middleton: therefore it was agreed in council, to take him and all his spice; but what they designed to have done with the ship and company, he could not learn. It proved to be the Province of Holland, a great ship that was bound to Banda; and had been at the Moluccas, but could not get any spice; and were informed by the other two, that they came from Banda with them to lade pepper:—Thus the English escaped them.

Eight Dutch ships came to Bantam for pepper: and because they were to stay a year for lading, they took in planks, and materials for making flankers, and strengthening their castles at Banda, and Ternate, whither they went after Captain Middleton's arrival. His lame company being very weak, fell sick, and his gunner, and one of his quarter-master's died, and three more soon after. Therefore the ship being fitted, the western monsoon come, and no prospect of the junks arrival before May, he resolved to return. But if one of the junks had come, he would have remained in the country, and fitted her to go for Saldanna. As they did not, he thought it most for the company's service, to leave the Indies, in order to bring home the ship, in case Davis and Clayborne should die by the way. Three days before he quitted Bantam, four sail (part of a fleet of nine ships) entered the road. They brought a great number of women to inhabit the places they had conquered: they were so very weak, that the other ship's company were forced to fetch them in one by one.—Captain Middleton having left a proper person in charge of the house, and orders for Mr. Spalding, (when he arrived) to undertake a voyage to Borneo, for diamonds, accordingly he departed for Bantam the 16th of November, and had a very good passage to the road of Saldanna, where he cast anchor on the 21st of January, and took in water. He found that his brother Sir Henry Middleton, had arrived there the 24th of July, and departed the 10th of August. There he found the copy of a letter which Sir Henry had written to the company, and sent home by a Dutch vessel the day after he came into the road.—This is all material that is recorded of the voyage in this relation:

THE VOYAGE OF SIR HENRY MIDDLETON TO THE RED SEA, AND SURAT, IN 1610.

IN this voyage three ships were employed: The Trade's Increase, of 1000 tons, the admiral, Sir Henry Middleton commander; the Pepper-Corn, of
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250 tons, vice-admiral, Nicholas Downton, captain, and the Darling, of 90 tons: The Bark Samuel, of 180 tons burthen followed as a victualler.

On the first of May, 1610, the fleet anchored in the road of Cape Verde, under an island, where they found a Frenchman of Dieppe fitting up a small pinnace. Next day the carpenters of all the ships went about repairing the mainmast of the Trade's Increase. Pulling off the fishes they found it in a very bad condition, and above the upper deck, about three foot, wrung more than half asunder. Had they met with any foul weather, it must have gone by the board. The 4th, they began to unlade the Samuel, and sent carpenters to cut down trees, having obtained leave of the Alcayde, who came on board, and dined with the commander, Sir Henry gave him a piece of Roan cloth, (bought of the Frenchman) and some trifles besides.

On the 15th, having made an end of watering, and stowed all their boats in the night, they prepared to depart next morning. (The author says, Cape Verde was the best place he knew for outward-bound ships, the road being excellent and good, and fit for the dispatch of any business, and well stocked with fish; besides, it lay in their course.) Having consulted with Captain Dounton, and the masters, what course was best, they resolved to hold on till they had passed the line, and then to stretch over easterly. Here they dismissed the Samuel. They entered the road of Saldanna, on the 24th of July, and saluted the Dutch admiral with five guns, which he returned. There were two other Dutch ships in the bay, which came to make train-oil of seals, and had filled 300 pipes. This day he landed, and found the names of Captain Keiling, and others, in their return in January, 1609, also his brother David Middleton's, who came out in August, 1609, besides a letter buried under ground, according to agreement between them in England: but it was so damp, that no part of it was legible. The 26th, they set up a tent for the sick, and had them all on shore to air the ships. From this day, till their departure, nothing material happened. The 6th of September, before night, they came to an anchor in St. Augustine's Bay, where they found the Union in distress for provision. The 7th, the commander went on shore in his pinnace, to look for fresh victuals, but could get none; so returned with wood and water. On the 10th, coasting the shore with a good gale, south-east, they reckoned the ship should have sailed at least 26 leagues, yet went but 22 north, by reason of the current's setting to the southward. The 12th, they steered between north north-east, and north-by-east; their true way westerly one third of a point, latitude nineteen degrees forty-eight minutes. The current, these last four-and-twenty-hours, set to the northward, wind variable. The 13th, they steered with little wind and calms, for the most part north-by-east, the true way north, one third part west, the winds as the day before. She sailed 15 leagues more than was expected, occasioned by the current's setting to the north-west; latitude by observation 19 degrees 10 minutes. The 20th at noon, latitude 11 degrees, 10 minutes, the wind veering easterly, with calms, variation 12 degrees 40 minutes. This afternoon they saw the islands of Querimba, which are low and dangerous, being environed with rocks and shoals. The first of October they steered north-east-by-north, 27 degrees, the wind for the most part south-east.

Holding their course for many days on the 17th, early in the morning, they saw the Duas Hermanas, six leagues off, north by west, the wind at south-west; variation 18 degrees, 55 minutes. The 18th at night, they arrived at Socotra, and anchored in a sandy bay, latitude 12 degrees, 25 minutes. In the evening they took with their seine great plenty of fish; wind east. The 21st they plied for the road of Tamerin, the chief place of the island; but the wind being at east, and east by south, it was the 25th before they could get thither. The latitude of Tamerin 12 degrees 30 minutes; the variation 19 degrees 18 minutes. The town stands at the foot of high rugged hills. The road is open between the east by north,

and west-by-north, they anchored in ten fathoms water, good ground. The 25th, the commander sent Mr. Femel, well accompanied on shore, with a vest of cloth, a piece of plate, and a sword-blade to the king, who promised to serve them in every thing.

On the 26th, Sir Henry landing with the chief merchants, and a guard of armed men, was conducted to the king's house. That prince met him at his chamber door. Being entered, and seated by him in a chair, there passed many compliments, after which the commander enquired concerning the trade of the Red-sea. The king commended it highly, saying, the people of Aden and Mocha were good people, and would be glad to trade with him. He added, that the Ascension had disposed of her goods at high rates, and came so light into the place, that she took in a great deal of ballast. This account pleased Sir Henry, who then desired to set up his pinnace; the king refusing that liberty in this road, granted it at the place where they first anchored: he was apprehensive that if they staid to set her up in Tamerin, the merchants of other nations would be afraid to come thither. He gave free leave also to take in water, but said he must pay very dear for wood, if he had any; adding, that those of all other countries who came thither, paid for their water, but of him he would demand nothing. He had sent all his aloes to his father, the king of Fartaque, in Arabia Felix, whose chief city and place of residence was called Cussem. He confirmed the loss of the Ascension and her pinnace. Sir Henry asked if they had left any letter behind them? he said, he had, but that his servant had lost it. He dissuaded the commander from seeking trade in the country of Fartaque, for that he believed his father would not permit it: but advised him to go for the Red-sea. They all dined with the king that day.

On the 17th of November, as they steered west-by-south, and west-south-west along the coast, about ten o'clock they saw a high-land, which they imagined to be Aden: it rose like Abba del Curia, and might be seen a great way off. In the evening about six, they anchored in twenty fathoms water, sandy ground, before the town; which stands in a valley at the foot of a mountain, and makes a good appearance. It was encompassed with a stone wall, and defended by forts and bulwarks in many places; but how provided he knew not. This night a small boat came out to view them: standing in, (the wind at east-south-east) they were carried to the eastward by the current at least twenty leagues, to their surprise; for they thought it would have set to the west. A small boat from the town came on board on the 8th, with three Arabs, who said they were sent by the lieutenant governor, to know what nation they were of, and their business thither: adding, if they were Englishmen, they were heartily welcome; and that the year before, Captain Sharpey had been there, and from thence went to Mocha, where he made sale of all his goods. One of them being asked the name and character of the basha: he answered, "his name was Jaffer Basha, and that his predecessor was very bad, this little better: and that all the Turks in general were good for little." Asking if Mocha was a good place for trade? they answered, "that there was a man in the town, who could buy all his merchandise." Sir Henry sent his pinnace on shore, and John Williams, one of his factors, who spoke the Arabic language: they were kindly entertained. Having sent the pinnace to get a pilot for Mocha, the town would not let them have any, without leaving three of the chief merchants in pledge. However, seeing the ships under sail, they entreated Sir Henry to leave one for that port, promising to buy all the goods; he thought fit to leave the Peppercorn there, and sailed with the other two for Mocha, therefore they did what they could to get into the road again, but could not, being carried to leeward with the current. Having anchored to the southward of the town, Mr. Fowler and John Williams,

Williams, were sent on shore, to tell them he would leave one of the ships to trade, provided they would let him have a pilot; they seemed very glad, promising to send one next day. On the 12th, Sir Henry seeing no hope of any pilot, though often promised one, about noon set sail along with the *Darling*, for Mocha; the wind east-south-east. They coasted the shore, sometimes west-south-west, and west-by-north, in twenty-eight and thirty fathoms, following a small sail till they lost sight of her. On the 13th, they held on their course along the shore all that night, steering between west-by-north, and most by south; their true way west. The next day betimes, they saw the head-land going into the Red-sea, rising like an island thirty leagues from Aden. After they had passed the Streight of Babel-mandel, Sir Henry sent his pinnace for a pilot, to a village on the north-shore, in a sandy bay, which returned with a couple of Arabs, who took upon them to be very skilful.

The depth in the Streight was between eight and eleven fathoms water. Coasting the land north-by-west, and north-north-west, in between eighteen and twenty fathoms: about four o'clock they descried the town of Mocha, and about five luffed in: but the wind being high, they split their main top sail, and hoisting their mizzen, it split likewise. Here the pilots ran the *Trade's Increase* on shore upon a bank of sand. As the wind blew hard, and the sea ran something high, they were all in fear she could not be got off. This night there came a boat on board from the town, with a Turk, a handsome man, sent by the governor to know what they were, and their business. Sir Henry told him, they were English merchants, who came to seek trade. He answered, If they were Englishmen, they were heartily welcome, and should not fail of what they sought; for that Alexander Sharpey had sold all his goods there, and they might do the like. As for the ship's going on shore he made nothing of it; saying, that it was common for great ships of India to run aground, and yet that he never heard of any that sustained harm thereby. He made haste back to inform the aga who they were, promising to return next morning, with boats to lighten the ship.

On the 14th, early, he returned with three or four Turks more, of which two spoke Italian. They brought the commander a small present from the aga, with compliments, and offers of any thing the country afforded; saying, he should have as good and free trade as they had in Constantinople, Aleppo, or any part of the Turk's dominions. There came with them four or five lighters, in which the English put any thing that came first to hand, to lighten the ship; Mr. Femel went on shore in one of them, before Sir Henry was aware, carrying all he had in the ship with him. They sent all their money, elephants teeth and shot, on board the *Darling*, and laying out their anchors to pass, in the evening they tried to heave her off, but could not make her stir. On the 25th, they did what they could to lighten the ship, sending some goods on shore, and some on board the *Darling*; Sir Henry had a letter from Mr. Femel, giving an account of his kind entertainment by the aga; and that he had agreed to pay five per cent. custom, for all they should sell; and that what they could not sell, should be returned on board custom free. He likewise received from the aga himself, a letter under his hand and seal, offering himself, and whatever the country afforded at his service. About five o'clock they began to heave at their capstanes, and at length got the ship afloat again. On the 19th, two boats came from Mr. Femel for iron, which the commander sent; but wrote word, that he would send no more goods till those already landed were sold. Femel, in answer, informed him, that if he intended to trade, he must come on shore according to the custom of the place, otherwise they would not be persuaded but that they were men of war. The aga likewise sent the interpreter to tell him, that if he

was a friend to the great Turk, and a merchant who expected to trade, he entreated him to land; alledging, that Captain Sharpey, and all the Indian captains did so. On the 20th, Sir Henry landing, was received at the water-side by several persons of distinction, and with music, brought to the aga's house, where all the principal men of the town were assembled. He was received with all the marks of friendship imaginable. He was seated close to the aga (all the rest standing) who loaded him with compliments and welcomes. Sir Henry delivered the king's letter with a present to the basha, which he desired might be sent up with all speed. He likewise gave the aga a present, which he received very kindly, assuring him, that he should not have the least molestation in his trade; and that if any of the inhabitants offered him or his people wrong, he would see them severely punished. After this, he caused him to stand up, and one of his chief men put on him a vest of crimson silk and silver, saying, he needs not fear any evil, for that was the grand signior's protection. Having taken leave, he mounted a fine horse with rich furniture, led by a man of rank, and so, with the music of the town was conveyed to the English house; where he dined, and presently went on board. The aga was very importunate with him to stay on shore, which he yielded to, in order to see his pinnace constructed.

The aga every day sent Sir Henry some small present or other with compliments; to know if he wanted any thing. On the 28th, he sent twice to desire him to be chearful; and acquainted him, that as soon as their time of fasting was over (which was almost expired) he would have the commander ride abroad with him to his gardens, and other places of pleasure. The same afternoon Mr. Pemberton having gone on shore for cocoa-nuts, Sir Henry made him stay to supper: after which, being ready to go on board, the Turks would not permit him; saying, it was too late, but that in the morning he might go as early as he pleased. The commander sent to intreat leave for him, but they would not grant it. All this time they suspected no harm, but imputed it to over-much caution in the officers; who they supposed had done it without order, of which, he designed to have complained to the aga. Next day, at sun-set, Sir Henry caused stools (as was his custom) to be placed at the door, where he sat with Messrs. Femel and Pemberton, to take the fresh air. About eight there came a janissary from the aga, to deliver some message to him; but not understanding him, the commander sent his man to look for one of his company, who spoke the Turkish language. When his interpreter came, he learnt the purport of the message: which was, that the aga had sent his service, desiring him to be merry, for that he had received good news from the basha. As he was about to go on, Sir Henry's man returned in a great fright, and told them they were all betrayed; for that the Turks and his people were fighting at the back of the house. The Turk who sat by, being desirous to know what the matter was, they told him: he rose up, and asked the servant to shew him where they were. Several of the English ran after them, to see what was the matter, and Sir Henry himself ran after the rest, calling as loud as he could, to return back and make good their house. But while he was speaking, he was knocked down by one behind him, and remained as dead, till the extreme pain, in tying his hands behind him, brought him to his senses. As soon as they saw him stir, they lifted him up, and two led him between them to the aga's; where he found several of the company in the same condition. By the way the soldiers pillaged him of his money and three gold rings: when those who had escaped with life in this massacre, were brought together, and put in irons: Sir Henry with seven more, were yoked by the neck in one chain, some were fettered by the hands, others by the feet, and two soldiers were left to guard them. Inquiring into the affair,

affair, he was informed, that Francis Slanny, John Lanflet, and six more were killed; and fourteen of those present were much wounded: that their house had been surrounded with armed soldiers, who, at the instant he was struck down, fell upon the English, who were quite unarmed and defenceless.

The Turks thus having secured their persons, their next design was to take their ships and goods; for this purpose, about ten o'clock, they armed three great boats with 150 soldiers in them to take the *Darling*, which rode near the shore. That they might pass for Christians, they took off their turbans, and boarding her altogether, entered most of their men. This was so sudden, that three of the *Darling's* crew were killed before they could get down; the rest got to their close fights; but by mistaking their captain's commands, the Turks leaped into the boat, cut the cables, and drove off with the current. By this time the *Darling's* men had got their weapons, the Turks standing very thick in the waist, hollowing and clashing their swords upon the deck. One of the company threw a large barrel of gun-powder amongst them, and after it a firebrand, which took so good effect, that several were burned. The rest, for more safety, (as they thought) retired to the half-deck and the poop, where they were annoyed with musquet-shot, and another train of powder, which so terrified them, that some leaped into the sea, others hung by the ship-side, imploring mercy, which was not to be found; for the sailors killed all they could find, and the rest were drowned: only one man was saved, who hid himself till the fury of the fight was over, and then received mercy. The boats returning, brought news that the ship was taken, for which there was great rejoicing, and the governor sent off the boats again to bring her up to the town; but when they came to the place where she used to ride, they found her standing off under sail. Returning, they told the aga, the ship had escaped, and that they believed the *Emirsal Bahr*, (lord of the sea) and his soldiers were all taken prisoners. This was very disagreeable news to him; however, some time before day, he sent their interpreter to tell them, that the small ship was taken, which Sir Henry believed to be true; and after sun-rise, sending for him, he went along with his seven yoke-fellows, to the aga, who asked him, How he durst be so bold as to come into this port of Mocha? He answered, That the cause of his coming thither was not unknown to him, having long before acquainted him with it; and that he did not land, but at his desire, and after many promises of kind usage. The aga insisted that it was not lawful for any Christian to come so near their holy city; this being the port or door for it: and that the basha had express orders from the Great Turk, to make slaves of all Christians who should enter those seas, even although they should have his own pass. Sir Henry replied, That the fault was his, for not telling him so at first, but deluding him with fair promises. The aga then gave him a letter of Captain Downton's to read, which came from Aden, dated long before: the purport was, that two of his merchants and the purser were detained on shore, and that they would not be released without landing of merchandise, or paying 1500 Venetianos for anchorage; withal desiring Sir Henry to advise him what he had best to do.

After he had read the letter, the aga demanded to know the contents of it; which, being told to him, he said, that since the writing of it, the ship had left Aden, and was coming to Mocha; but in the way struck on a rock, and was lost, with all the goods and men. The aga then desired him to write a letter on board, to know how many Turks were in the small ship. Sir Henry told him, that it would be needless, since she was in his own possession. He replied, that she was once in their hands, but had been rescued by the great ship. This made some amends for the other bad news. The aga then pressed him to write to them on board the great ship, to yield her into his hands; saying, he would let them have

the small ship to carry them home. Sir Henry said; it would be ridiculous to write any such thing, for that they, who were on board, and had their liberty, were no such folks as, upon his letter, to give up the ship; and come on shore to be slaves. His answer was, that he knew if their commander wrote to that effect, they durst not disobey him. Sir Henry then told him plainly, that he would write no such letter.

He then enquired what quantity of money was in the ship; Sir Henry said; there was but little; and that not to lay out in merchandise, but to buy victuals. He then asked what store of victuals and water was on board? The commander told him, enough for two years, which he would not believe: he urged them once more to write for them to come on shore, and yield the ship, threatening otherwise to cut off his head. Sir Henry bid him do so; saying, that it would be doing him a great pleasure, for that he was weary of his life; but to write such a letter he never would, upon this, being taken out of his chain and collar, in order to be separated from the rest, a great pair of fetters was put upon his legs, and manacles upon his wrists. He was lodged all that day in a dirty dog-kennel, under a pair of stairs: at night, at the intreaty of Shermall, consul of the Bannians, he was taken out, and placed in a better room, with one of his sailors, who spoke Turkish. However, says the author, his bed was the hard ground, and his pillow a stone. His companions were grief of heart, and a multitude of rats, which, if he chanced to fall asleep, soon awakened him with running over him."

The aga's lieutenant, and their drugoman came at midnight, and intreated him in very soothing terms to write on board, to know how many Turks were prisoners, and what were their names; but by no means to mention any thing relating either to the loss of his men, or his own hard usage: on the contrary, he advised him to say, that they were detained in the aga's house, till farther orders came from the basha; and that they wanted for nothing. Accordingly, Sir Henry wrote, to the same effect they desired him; but at the same time advised them to look well to their ships, and not to suffer any of their men to venture on shore, for fear of treachery. This letter they afterwards shewed to two or three of the other prisoners, to see whether Sir Henry had written according to their instructions. However, it was not sent at that time, because they could not get any body to carry it: yet, at length, they met with a man who undertook to deliver it on board, provided the commander would write to them to use him well. This man was born in Tunis in Barbary, and spoke good Italian. Sir Henry wrote the letter as they desired, which was perused like the former, and next day sent on board. The purport of the answer was, that all the Turks were slain or drowned, excepting one, whose name was *Rufwan*, a common soldier, and that they were glad to hear the commander was alive; for *Rufwan* told them, he thought all the English were killed. Sir Henry and the rest continued in this misery till the 15th of December, not hearing any thing from the ships, nor the ships from them. The aga often came to him, sometimes by threats, at other times by fair means, urging him to write for those on board to come on shore, and deliver up the ships; Sir Henry still answering him as he did at first. He was particularly inquisitive about their provisions, having been in hopes that for want of water and victuals, they must at last be surrendered to him, knowing that they could not have wind to carry them out of the straits till May. He said, he wondered how so great a charge could be borne with so small a stock. Sir Henry answered, that his nation had factories in several parts of India, which had stock enough to load them in case they had brought no stock at all with them, and that the stock they had was sufficient to load his ship with pepper.—Those on ship-board fared but ill themselves though at liberty, riding in an open and wide road,

road; the wind blowing continually hard at south south-east, inclosed round with shoals, and their water beginning to fail; because they had staved 50 tons to lighten the ship at their coming on ground: besides, having nothing from land, put them to their wits ends, as not knowing well what course to take. At length, one John Chambers offered to go on shore to see what was become of the rest, chusing rather to run all hazards, than see men living in such perplexity. On the 15th of December before-mentioned, being sent with a flag of truce upon a small island, a little to the windward of the town, having one of their Indians with him for his interpreter. They were brought before the aga, who asked him, How he durst be so bold as to come on shore without leave? He answered, That he was a messenger, and came with a flag of truce, which was permitted among enemies. The aga asked, what message he had to deliver? He replied, a letter to the commander; and said he should be glad if he would give him leave to see how his countrymen did. They examined him and the Indian very strictly, as to the quantity of victuals and water in the ships; and their answer agreed exactly with Sir Henry's. They then brought him to the commander's cell; and, coming out of the light, it was a great while before he could see. He delivered the letter with watery eyes. After acquainting him in what manner he came thither, Sir Henry told him, he thought they would not permit him to return on board; for that not many days before, they had detained one of the Pepper-corn's men, who came from Aden with a letter to him. He answered, That he came with a resolution to share his sufferings, if such were their resolutions. But contrary to his expectations, the Turks let him and the Indian return to the boat, with Sir Henry's answer, with leave to come again if they had occasion. Next day Chambers returned alone, for the Indian was so frightened, that he durst not venture. The commander's man sent several things by him to his master, but the aga was his receiver, and kept them for his own use. This honest man having done all in his power, returned on board, and left him to his misery. But when the captives least expected it, they met with some relief: for on the 18th of December, there came from Zenan an aga, captain or chief of the Chiaous, with orders to bring up the English. As soon as he alighted he was desirous of seeing the commander and the rest. On this occasion, there were three chairs brought into his room, in which Rejib Aga, Ismael Aga, (the messenger from the basha) and Jaffer Aga seated themselves. Rejib Aga began by asking him, How he durst be so bold as to come into that country so near the Holy City, without a pass from the Grand Signior? Sir Henry answered, That the king his master, was in league and amity with the Grand Signior, and that in the articles of peace between them, free trade was allowed the English throughout his dominions, of which Mocha being a part, they needed no pass. He answered, This was the door of their Holy City, and that therefore, it was not lawful for any Christian to come thither. He likewise demanded, Whether he did not know that the Grand Signior's sword was long? The commander replied, That they were not taken by the sword, but by treachery; and that if he and his people were on board, he cared not for the length of his, nor all their swords. The aga said, It was proudly spoken, and again urged him to write a letter, commanding all the men to come on shore and yield themselves to the basha, to which he received the former answer. Ismael Aga broke off this idle discourse, by telling Sir Henry, that he came from the basha with express orders to conduct him and his people to Zenan (or Senaa,) advising him to send on board for warm cloaths, for that they would find it very cold in the mountain country. The commander intreated, that if possible, his men might be suffered to go on board; and that he and a few more might be sent up. But Ismael said it was not in his power to grant it, for that it was the basha's order they should

all attend him. However, Rijib said, he should have his desire in part, and that only five more should go with him, the rest remaining where they were till further orders. The 20th, Captain Dounton, in the Pepper-corn came into the road from Aden, to whom Sir Henry wrote what he thought proper.

The irons were knocked off the legs of the English; excepting the carpenters and smiths; and some sick men, who were not able to travel. On the 22d of December, the carpenters and smiths were kept there to build up the pinnacle. The commander and 34 more were appointed to go up for Zenan, the chief city of the kingdom, where the basha resides. About four o'clock, they set out of Mocha; all the company being mounted upon asses, except Sir Henry and Mr. Femel, who had horses. About ten at night, being ten or twelve miles from Mocha. Mr. Pemberton slipped away from them. The company missed him presently, but said nothing, except praying for his escape. About one in the morning, when they came to their inn, at a town called Mowffi, they counted them; but did not miss him; but next day, about four in the afternoon, when they set out, they counted them again, and found one missing. The aga on this, inquired of Sir Henry, what number of them set out of Mocha? He answered, he could not well tell, but thought there were 34. The aga said, there were 35, and that now there was one less; the other replied, it was more than he knew.—Mr. Pemberton was moved to this attempt by seeing so many of them carried up together manacled, with a captain and a guard of soldiers to conduct them; from whence he concluded nothing could ensue but slavery or death. Sir Henry however, found several friends among them. There was one Hamed Aga, who sent him many presents, and advised him not to be dejected, for that his cause was good. He also sent him and his people provision of bread for their journey, and his letters to Abdalla Chelabi the Chiaous. The consul of the Bannians visited Sir Henry every day, and never failed daily to send each man (being 50 in number) two cakes of white bread, and a quantity of dates or plantanes. He set out from Mocha two days before them, promising, at his departure, to do them all the service he could with the basha, which promise he well performed.

They arrived at the city of Tayez (four days journey from Mocha) on Christmas day, and were conducted into the city, two and two in rank, as they do at Constantinople with captives taken in the wars: Their aga rode in triumph as a great conqueror, being met a mile out of the town by the chief men of the city on horseback; and the road, for that space, was lined with multitudes of people, who stood gazing at them. Thus they made their entry into all the cities and towns through which they passed. A lad of Mr. Pemberton's falling sick in this town, was left with the governor; and from this time forward, Sir Henry observed it was very cold all the way from thence to Zenan, their lodging being the bare ground. He bought the men who were but thinly cloathed, furred gowns, otherwise he believes they would have perished with cold. He was but ill provided himself, because he could not be persuaded, when he was at Mocha, that it could be so cold as they said it was: but he found the ground covered every morning with hoar frost; and at Zenan, which lies within 16 degrees 55 minutes of the line, they had ice a finger thick in one night; which Sir Henry could not have credited if he had not been an eye-witness of it. They were 15 days on the road between Mocha and Zenan. The 5th of January, two hours before day, they came within two miles of the city, where they lay upon the ground till after sun-rise, being so benumbed with cold, that when they got up, they were scarce able to stand. About a mile on this side they were met by the subasha, or sheriff, and about 200 men with drums and trumpets. They caused the soldiers to lead the way, and the English to follow one by one, at some distance from each other, to make the better

show. Their gowns being taken from them, they were forced to march on foot in their thin and ragged suits. The ship trumpeters were placed next, and ordered by the aga to sound: but the commander, who came after with Mr. Femel on horse-back, forbid them. Their aga brought up the rear, riding in triumph, with a spare horse richly furnished, led before him. "In this order, (says the author) they marched through the city to the castle, all the way being so crowded with people, they could scarcely pass. At the first gate there was a large guard of soldiers: the second gate had before it two great guns ready mounted. Having passed it, they came into a spacious court, twice the length of the Royal Exchange in London. The soldiers at the gate fired their pieces, and then they placed themselves on each side the way, among many others, who were there when they came; the commander, as soon as he entered into the court, alighted, and was placed on one side with the men, where they had not been long before he and Mr. Femel, were brought before the basha. It was their divan or council-day. At the farther end of the area, they went up stairs of twelve steps. At the top, two great men came and took Sir Henry by the wrists, and holding him very hard, led him to the basha, who sat at the upper end of a long spacious gallery, many nobles standing on each side of him; others stood on either side, from the lower part of the gallery to the upper end, which made a good appearance. The floor was covered over with Turkey carpets. Sir Henry being come within two yards of him, was stopped. Immediately the basha, with a frowning and angry countenance, demanded what country he was of, and what brought him into those parts? The commander answered, That he was an English merchant, and being friend to the Grand Signior, came to seek trade there." The basha said, "It was not lawful for any Christian to put his foot in that country; and, that he had warned Captain Sharpey, to caution those of his nation to come no more thither." Sir Henry replied, "That Captain Sharpey was cast away upon the Coast of India, and arrived not in England to tell them; that had they known so much, they should never have got into the trouble they were in: He added, that Rejib Aga was the man who had abused him, by telling him his nation was welcome into the country; and that they should have as free trade, as they had in any part of Turkey; that he had made him many other fair promises, as to their security; yet that, contrary to his word, he had assaulted them with armed soldiers, murdered several of his men, and taken himself, and the rest prisoners."

"The basha answered, that Rejib was but his slave, and had no power to make any such promises, without his leave; that what had befallen him and his people, was by his order, pursuant to one of the like nature from the Grand Signior to himself, commanding him to chastise all Christians who should come into those parts. Sir Henry told him; they had received great damage: and that if it pleased him to let him return to their ships, it would be sufficient warning to his nation against venturing thither for the future. The basha replied, he could not let him depart; but that he should stay there and write to the ambassador at Stambol, and that he would write himself likewise to the Grand Signior, to know his pleasure concerning them; and whether he would permit them to trade there or not. Upon this he dismissed Sir Henry for that time, bidding him to go to the lodging appointed for him, and take with him four or five more, such as he thought fit. He, and those he made choice of, were conveyed to the keeper of the prison's house; and the rest carried to the common jail, where they were clapped in weighty irons."

"When they were first brought before the basha, one of the lads, thinking Sir Henry was so led to have his head struck off, and that it would be his own turn not long after, fell into a swoon with fear: and upon that sickening, shortly after died."

On the 6th of January, the basha's chiaus, or lieutenant of the kingdom, sent for Sir Henry to breakfast with him; which being over, the commander gave him a very particular account, how treacherously and vilely he had been used by Rejib Aga. This officer bade him be of good cheer, and not think of things past, which could not be remedied: saying, he doubted not but all would be well in a little time: and that his best endeavours to serve him should not be wanting. Shermal, the Bannian of Mocha, had made this man his friend. Sir Henry then departed with his keeper to prison, where he was in better spirits than before.

On the 7th the chiaus sent for him to his garden, where he feasted him and Mr. Femel, telling him, that shortly he and his people should be set at liberty, and sent to Mocha, where he should have redress of all his wrongs. He promised likewise to be his friend, and before many great personages, (both Turks and Arabs) declared what kindness he did him, was purely for God's sake; but Sir Henry concluded, it was in hopes of some great reward. Hamed Aga's letter did them great service. The same day there came to town a Moor of Cairo, who was an old acquaintance of the basha's, and had lent him large sums of money at his coming from Constantinople, when he was but poor. This man was next neighbour to the English at Mocha, when they were betrayed; and had a ship in the road, bound for India, which he greatly feared their ships would have taken, in revenge of the wrongs offered them: but they let her depart quietly, contrary to his expectation; so that he became their staunch friend. He wrote a letter in their behalf to the basha, wherein he blamed him much for using them so hardly: saying, he went a way by such measures to destroy the country and its trade. At his visit to the basha, he not only repeated what he had written, but said a great deal more upon the occasion, advising him to return the English all their goods, and send them away contented.

Mr. Fowler, and eighteen more of the company, who arrived from Aden on the 17th, were afterwards put into a common dungeon in irons, and fed on brown bread and water by the basha's order; but Sir Henry found means to supply them better. Sir Henry having agreed to give 1500 venetianos to forward his business, was afterwards conveyed before the basha, who was prepared for the reception.

In this last conference the basha behaved with affability to Sir Henry, and bade him keep up his spirits, and assured him that he and his people should shortly be set at liberty, and sent to Mocha, there to remain with twenty-nine more (the rest being sent on board) till all the ships of India were come into the port, and the wind settled westerly, after which they also should be sent on board, and suffered to proceed to India: but Sir Henry in vain petitioned to have his goods restored, the basha informing him that they were placed to the account of the Grand Signior; but repeatedly assured him that as to his people, they should be restored to a man, and that even if he had a Turkish slave, that slave should not be detained. He received the English commander's thanks, and apologized on his own part for what had passed, at the same time he gave the English to understand, if any more of his countrymen came into those parts to injure the trade of the bashas of Cairo and Swaken, they might expect to have their ships and goods confiscated, and to be slain or made slaves, which he hoped would serve for a warning to them and other nations. At another visit they made this Turk, giving him joy of his dignity, (he being created a vizir) they were well received; promises were renewed, and Sir Henry and Mr. Femel were admitted to the honour of kissing his hand.

In the mean time many of the English falling sick, their commander ceased not his solicitations till he got their deliverance out of prison. He was now informed that Rejib Aga had desired the captives might

might be sent to Aden, by which means, he said, his town of Mocha and such vessels as might pass the Straights of Babelmandel would be secure against any attempts of the English. But their friend the chiaous contrived to render this scheme abortive.

When the commander again waited on the basha, he received another solemn warning for his countrymen to come no more into those seas. Sir Henry however, begged that in case any of them should come thither before his advices should be received, they might not be betrayed or ill-treated. He could obtain no promise of this kind; but on his begging the basha would write to Rejib Aga in his favour, received assurances that the aga durst not injure him, the basha saying, with great pride, "Is not my word alone sufficient to turn a whole city upside down? If Rejib Aga wrongs you, I will pull his skin over his ears and give you his head, is he not my slave?" And with this answer Sir Henry was obliged to be contented. After this, he commanded the chiaous to write his dispatch, who, in the last place demanded an answer to the king's letter, but he could not get any.

Being returned from the basha's he begged the chiaous would get him permission to purchase a sword, that he might not ride down as a prisoner, as he had come up. The Turkish chief hearing of this, sent him one of his own old swords; but the chiaous was more generous, and the same morning presented his English friend with 100 pieces of gold, which, added to fifty he had sent him before, was no contemptible gift to one in such a situation.

The prison dues being paid, and all things got in readinets for the departure of the English, Sir Henry having breakfasted with the chiaous at his garden, received his dispatches, and the next day took his leave, and left the place.

The city of Zenan (or Senaa) is described as being about the size of Bristol. The houses they found built of lime and stone, and observed that water and wood being far fetched, were dear there. The basha resided at the castle on the east side. The house of the keeper of the prison where Sir Henry Middleton was confined, was contiguous to the city wall; at the foot of it was a yard, where a great number of people, mostly women and children, were detained as pledges to insure the loyalty of their parents and relations. While the boys were little, they ran about at liberty, but when grown big, were fettered and removed to a strong tower, there to be kept during the tyrannical governor's pleasure. The women and children who remained in the yard, lived in cottages. The latter went almost naked, and were as wild as mountaineers.

Sir Henry, previous to his departure, had procured a letter from the chiaous for the purpose of getting a boy of Mr. Pemberton's delivered up, who was said to have turned Mahometan. However, when he came to Tayez he demanded him, and produced the letter in vain, as that officer had only written to the aga to deliver him in case he had not changed his religion. After all, the youth had only been instigated to this change by threats, and received the seal of their Mahometan faith by an act of violence; but to plead all this was of no avail, and Sir Henry was obliged to give up the point.

He arrived at Mocha on the 15th of March, about five in the morning, after a journey of sixteen days. Here Sir Henry learned that Mr. Pemberton, whom he never expected to see more, had lighted on a canoe, and got on board. The Arabs here behaved very civilly, welcoming the English, whose hard treatment by the Turks had not been at all pleasing to them. Sir Henry, Messrs. Femel and Fowler, were brought before the aga, who received them with great seeming kindness, excusing himself for what had passed, observing, that he had done nothing but what he had in charge from his master. The English commander, found there was no other way but to meet his dissembling with equal dissimulation, and accord-

ingly, listening to the Turk; answered him mildly; but gave small credit to his protestations. He was invited to feasts, and otherwise flattered, but though a handsome house had been taken for him by the water-side, the aga, fearful of his escaping, removed him to another in the middle of the town, where he was sufficiently watched and guarded at night, by a company of soldiers. These, and other circumstances, made that commander plan the means of escaping, which after a disappointment, occasioned by his being more careful of others than of himself, was however at last, effected in the following manner:

The Darling being arrived on the 6th of April, and the basha with all his chief men riding out to his pleasure-garden on the 11th; Sir Henry, glad of this opportunity, resolved to put his long-determined design of escaping, in practice; for Hamed Aga, and others, had told him, that the basha would not perform his word, unless he was forced to it. Sir Henry wrote a letter to Mr. Pemberton, signifying that he designed the same day to make his escape on board, conveyed in a cask, and therefore desired him to send the boat, with all speed, well manned, and with liquor, to make his keepers drunk; which was accordingly done. Before he acquainted Mr. Femel with his intention, he made him swear to be secret; and use no arguments to dissuade him from what he had resolved upon. After this, he shewed what he had written to Mr. Pemberton, and then directed him to walk out, with others, to a certain place, by the water-side, where he promised (in case he got safe to the boat himself) to come and take him in. Sir Henry had appointed the carpenters, and others, to repair to the southward of the town, where lay a boat near the shore; with masts and sails ready to take them in, charging them at the same time, not to embark themselves till they saw the ship's boat put off from the bridge.

Matters fell out to favour Sir Henry's attempt: the subasha, (who was their guardian; and left in town only to watch him) fell to drinking most greedily.—All things being ready, and the keepers drunk, about twelve at noon the subasha returned from drinking, and retired to his quarters, at one end of the house, parted from the English only by a wall, the better to guard them. Sir Henry now put his project in execution. He ordered the carpenters to take others with them, and to go by two and two in the best manner they could, to avoid suspicion. He directed Mr. Femel, and those he had appointed to be taken in to the leeward of the town, to go two or three in a company along the sea-side to the place, and there wait his coming. After he had given these directions, he was inclosed in his tub, and safely conveyed into the boat, which being done, he forced out the head of the cask, and came on board, ordering the men to bear up with the leeward point, where he took in eleven persons. But Mr. Femel and others, being rather too dilatory in setting out, were taken before they could reach the boat. For by this time the town was raised, partly by the indiscreet running of some of the English, and partly by seeing the boat bear up to leeward, contrary to custom. He might however have escaped with his company, had he come by land to the point, and not taken water so soon as others behind him, who were sick and weak. Sir Henry came to an anchor, and in waiting for them, brought the boat ashore, which put them all in much danger. He likewise ordered men to leap over-board, to rescue Femel: but before they could get a pike's length from the boat, he and those were apprehended. Mr. Femel being closely pursued by one person, discharged a pistol in his face, and mortally wounded him. Sir Henry finding the whole town in pursuit of him, and considering he had a very narrow and shoal channel to pass, between a small sandy island and the main, saw it was folly to stay any longer, therefore ordering the men to put forward, they luckily hit on the right channel, which quickly brought them into the deep water, and out of danger of their enemies. Those in
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the Darling kept good watch on the tops; and as soon as they saw the boat under sail, let slip, and bore up to leeward, to relieve them in case of need. By the time they got on board, the boat in which the carpenters were, coming in sight; Sir Henry sent the ship's boat to bring them on board, one of them who was appointed to come with them, stayed so long behind, that the boat was put off before he came up, and he thinking to swim on board, was drowned. About two hours after, two poor Arabs appeared in a canoe, but were so fearful that they durst not come nigh the ship: till at length, being won by fair words, one of them entered and delivered the commander a letter from Mr. Femel: intimating, that they were in great danger of being killed by those who apprehended them, but that some of the soldiers, bearing them good will, saved them, and brought them to the aga's, where they waited his coming home.

On sight of them he looked very pale, and said they should all lose their heads; asking how they durst attempt an escape? They said they came out of England under the general's command, and did nothing but by his orders, which they durst not disobey. He again threatened them with the loss of their heads, and caused them to be chained by the necks: but they were soon released at the entreaty of Nakhada Malech Amber, Nakhada Mohammed, of Cananor, and others, and permitted to remain in their former house: but under a stronger guard than before. This proceeded from fear of their ships in the road, which were then under Sir Henry's command: who returned an answer, and sent the aga word, that if he did not immediately send him all his people, and the ship-furniture, which he detained contrary to the basha's order, he would fire the ships in the road, and endeavour to batter the town. He likewise sent word to the Nakhadas, that he would not suffer any boat to go to their ships, without first coming on board his, to acquaint him with their business: nor let any thing be carried out of them, but by his leave and order.

After his escape, there was no small disturbance in the town. The aga not knowing what answer to make to the basha, feared it would cost him the loss of his head. The subasha, who had been Sir Henry's keeper, knew not whether he had best stay or fly for his life. The Emir al Bahr (or lord of the sea) was in the same terror, being accused of consenting to his escape: one of their porters took sanctuary in a church, and would not come out till he had got his pardon. Most of the Nakhada's and merchants, in great fear of losing their ships and goods, sent presents of victuals to Mr. Femel and the rest, whom before they scorned to speak to. At night Sir Henry sent the boat well manned to carry the news to their ships, with orders likewise to come over with all speed. He plied to windward in the Darling, when the tide served, and rode a little without the great ship, so that he had her, and all the rest, under the command of his guns.

On the 12th Nakhada Mohammed of Cananor came on board with letters, telling Sir Henry, that he was sorry he went away in that manner, for that he was determined, within a few days, to have set him at liberty, and all his people: That he would deliver the furniture belonging to the ships, which were on shore, but could not send his people without an order from the basha: That he had intreated fifteen days respite; and if, in that time, all his men were not put on board, they desired no favour. The commander told him, that he likewise expected to have his pinnace restored, for that he would not leave the road without her. The Nakhada said, "He would acquaint the aga with his demand, and doubted not but she would be delivered up. Sir Henry yielded to his request, upon his promise, that he should have both men and pinnace within the time limited. He durst not demand restitution or satisfaction for his goods, till he had recovered all his men from shore. Mohammed having acquainted the aga with the condi-

tions, upon which he had obtained fifteen days truce; he was very angry, that Sir Henry had insisted on having the pinnace; and sending for Mr. Femel and John Williams, asked what the commander meant by demanding her, since she was the basha's by agreement with him? saying, "He might as well demand the goods as the pinnace; both which were put to the account of the Grand Signior." They made answer, That he could not well proceed on his voyage without the pinnace; but that for the goods, they assured him, he would never demand them. In the meantime, the Darling's cables, anchors; pitch, tar, and other materials, were brought from shore; and few days passed, but Sir Henry had some presents of refreshments from the aga, the dabutian, and others.

That morning early, a boat going from shore on board the innermost ship, the commander caused two guns to be fired at her, which brought her on board him. On threatening to hang them and burn their ships if they did so any more, they durst not attempt the like afterwards.

On the 13th, near night, the Increase and Peppercorn came to anchor in sight of the road, not able to get in, because the leeward tide was against them. But next morning entering the same, Sir Henry went on board the Increase, where he was received with great joy.

The 18th, there arrived a ship of Diu, belonging to Shermal the shah bander, laden with Indian commodities, which Sir Henry ordered to ride near him; but next day, at the intreaty of Shermal, he licenced all the people (excepting some few to look to the ship) to go on shore. On the 21st, Mr. Femel wrote him word, that they had all been chained by the neck. The 25th, Nakhada Mohammed came on board, and informed Sir Henry, that the basha had given order for the release of his men and pinnace, promising to bring them next day; the Increase firing three guns at his departure. One day all the English at land were chained by the neck, and the next day released: The cause of which usage they could not learn.

Mohammed returned on the 26th, saying, the pinnace was launched: but the aga would neither deliver her nor the men, till Sir Henry had given him a writing signed by himself, and four or five more of the principal persons in the ships, importing, that he would maintain perfect peace with the Turks (the aga's subjects) and Indians: that he would not meddle with any ships either in that sea, or elsewhere, in revenge for what had passed; nor demand restitution or satisfaction for goods taken from him: which engagement was to be confirmed by oath. Sir Henry told him, That he was surprised to find he came every day with new demands; that as he had the day before promised absolutely to bring him the pinnace and all his men, he took it for granted it would have been done; but that since he had not kept his word, he intended for better security, to detain him, and those that were with him as hostages, till he had performed his engagement; desiring him to acquaint the aga with it. Mohammed alledged, That he having undertaken this affair of his own accord, should reap much discredit, and be laughed at for his forwardness, if he should write to that purpose, and therefore declared plainly, that he would not write such a letter, let what would happen, but promised, if Sir Henry would give him such a writing as he demanded, and send him on shore, he would bring all his people on board before night. The commander, finding he could obtain nothing by compulsion, thought it best to yield to him in appearance, and give him some writing, though of a different nature from what he desired. In effect, he caused a memorandum to be drawn up in English, containing a brief relation of the treacherous usage he had met with in this country, and nothing else; which was signed by him and five more, as witnesses of the truth of it, and he sent advice to Mr. Femel, how he should interpret it. Sir Henry thus delivered him the writing, but refused

refused to swear; saying, his word should be truer than a Turk's oath at all times.

Then Mohammed went on shore, leaving some of the better sort of his company for pledges; and bade the commander hang them; in case he did not bring him all his company on board that night. Accordingly, he returned in the evening with Mr. Femel and nine others; Femel, Williams, and Cunningham were clothed with paltry vests. Another was sent to Sir Henry, which they said came from the aga. The nachada would have put it on his back, desiring he would wear it as a favour from that chief; but the commander refused it, telling him, "That he scorned to wear any thing which came from so unconscionable a dog, and his enemy, by whose order he had received so much wrong." Mohammed finding he would not take it, left it with his man, and so departed; carrying with him the Turk taken in the Darling, (who had remained on board the Increase till then) and promised to return in the morning with the pinnace. Accordingly on the 27th, he brought the pinnace, and asked, If all he had promised was performed? The commander replied, No, for that he still wanted a boy, whom they detained at Tayes, and had forced to change his religion: declaring, that he should be delivered to him before he would release the ships. Mohammed replied, that he would tell the aga, and return with his answer.

On the 28th, a writing was sent the commander from the aga, whereby Nachada Mohammed and Shermal Shah Bander, bound themselves under forfeiture of ships and goods, that the boy should be delivered in twelve days, provided he would release the vessels. On which he gave them leave to unlade the ship of Diu, and visit the other ships at their pleasure. This night Mr. Femel died either of a calenture, or of poison given him by the Turks.

On the 1st of June, three boats laden with cotton were discharged out of the ship. This evening a strong squall from shore broke their land-cable. The wind was so hot they could hardly endure it, and it obliged Sir Henry to fly to his cabin. These hot winds are common in those parts. He wrote a letter to the basha in Italian, demanding restitution of his goods, and satisfaction for damages. He was answered afterwards as to his demand: but the letter was not understood, for want of an interpreter. He again laid an embargo on the ship of Diu, and would not suffer them to unlade any more goods out of her, till the basha had satisfied him to the value of 70,000 rials of eight. The boy also was restored: but all this was not accomplished till several angry messages had passed between him and the aga.

This being settled, the Shah Bander demanded the 1000 venetianos promised the basha's chiaous: but Sir Henry would by no means pay it, although he urged him much with his promise, and said he should be forced otherwise to pay it himself, for that he had passed his word for that sum. The commander told him the officer had not performed his promise made him, to set him and his people at liberty: how the chiaous and he will agree (says Sir Henry) I know not, but I doubt he will be forced to pay it. Towards night the Shah Bander and the rest having taken their leave, the commander caused three guns to be fired for his farewell.

On the 3d of July in the afternoon, the ships warped out of the road, and that night set sail towards Affab, but could not get thither till the 5th, in the morning. On the 6th, Sir Henry landing, caused all the wells to be emptied and cleaned; for he had been often told at Mocha, that the Turks practised with the people of Affab to poison the wells. They were employed till the 13th, in watering and buying provisions: nothing happening in the mean time worth notice. This day the king of the country, sent three of his chief servants, attended by thirty soldiers, with a letter and present of refreshments to him. The purport of his letter was, to congratulate the commander on his escape from his enemies,

and welcomed him into his dominions, offering to supply him with whatever his country afforded; Sir Henry having feasted and rewarded the messengers, sent the king a present, consisting of a vest of broad cloth, and a fine looking glass.

On the 17th, there came a vessel from Mocha, wherein was Tokorfi the Shah Bander's man, and another Bannian; who brought some provisions Sir Henry had bespoken, and the money due to him; but a writing he had demanded to ratify the peace, was not brought. Tokorfi's excuse was; that the basha was so busy in the wars, that he had not time to write, from whence it was manifest, that he intended to keep no measures with the English.

On the 24th, the fleet set sail out of Affab road, to put in practice what Sir Henry had long before determined, which was to ply to the windward as high as the island of Comorin; and there wait for a great ship that comes every year, about this time, from Suez, richly laden for Mocha. By these means he proposed to be sufficiently revenged on the Turks: He was the more desirous to meet with her, because he understood that the basha, and Rejib Aga had considerable ventures in her. From hence, to the last of this month, they plied to the windward, and the wind being contrary, they sailed by day, and commonly lay at anchor all night. In this cruise they ran many hazards for want of a pilot, and often narrowly escaped running on ground, which would have risked the loss of all: at last the ship escaped them in the night; as they found on their return.

They set sail on the 9th of August in the morning, and about eight in the evening, anchored three leagues short of Babalmandel. On the 10th, the Darling and Release, went out by the western channel, which they found to be three leagues over from the Coast of Abyssinia, to the island of Babalmandel. One third of the way from the island, they had no ground at forty fathoms, the channel being clear without dangers, and full of shoals and rocks, which rendered it unnavigable, as all the Turks and Indians reported, in order to make them believe there was no other passage, but through the eastern channel, which might be so fortified, that no shipping could pass without being in danger. Between the Arabian shore and the isle, is not a mile and a half: and on the land side, there lie shoals reaching a good way off.

The Increase and Pepper-corn, sailed through the narrow channel. About four in the afternoon, they all met without the Straights, in nineteen fathoms; being about four miles from the Arabian shore. All this night they sailed along the land.

From the 12th till the 27th, they had much wind, often contrary, and sometimes calm, with a current setting south-west, about four miles an hour: so that during this time, what they got when they had a favourable gale, they lost, and more; when it fell calm, being carried back by the current.

The monsoon being far spent, Sir Henry desired the nachada of Diu to help him with his boats and people, to take in ballast and water; which he, with others, most readily granted; proffering him all the water out of his ship: and employed his people also to fetch some from shore. The commander often spoke to the king to sell him his aloes: but for a long time could bring him to no reasonable terms. At length, with much trouble he bargained with him for all, paying dearer for it than Captain Keeling did for his. The Indians were also treating for it, which made him raise his price. The commander left letters with the king, which he promised to deliver to the first English who should arrive there.

On the 3d of September, Sir Henry having finished his business, the ships plied out of the road; having with much ado got a person out of the Diu ship, who took upon him to be a good coaster, to pilot him to India. The 26th, between nine and ten o'clock, with a fair gale, they entered the road of Surat, and anchored by three Indian ships in seven fathoms. A mile from them rode seven sail of Portuguese frigates,

and thirteen more were within the river of Surat. Long before Sir Henry's arrival, the Portuguese had intelligence that he was in the Red Sea, and bound for this place; so that their frigates were purposely sent to hinder them from trading at Surat, or any where else upon the coast. A small frigate came on the 29th from the admiral of the Armada, (as they termed it) in which was one Portuguese and his boy; who brought an answer from the captain major to the commander's letter, sent the day before; the purport of which, after some compliments, was, that he was glad the commander belonged to a king who was a friend; and that he and his would be ready to serve him to the best of his power, provided he brought a letter, or order, either from the king of Spain, or the vice-roy, for trading in those parts; that otherwise, he was obliged to guard the port he had in charge, where the king his master kept a factory. Sir Henry returned answer by word of mouth, that he had a letter neither from the king of Spain, nor vice-roy, nor had any need thereof: for that he was sent by the king of England, with letters and with presents to the Great Mogul, in order to establish the trade begun in those parts: he likewise desired, or rather demanded, that the English in those parts might come on board. He bestowed a vest of broad-cloth upon the messenger, who promised to return the next day. Finding it was not possible, without a pilot, to cross the bar (where the commander went to discover in the Darling) he returned in the evening, and anchored in the road. Going on board the Increase, he found letters from Nicholas Bangham at Surat (formerly a joiner in the Hector) who informed him, that the English had no factory there, and that he was thither from the aga by Captain Hawkins, to recover some debts; likewise, that he had letters from the captain, but durst not send them on board, lest they should be intercepted by the Portuguese. He made no mention of what became of the factors and goods. Sir Henry wrote to him, to send those letters and farther particulars concerning their business.

The 3d of October, Chojah Nassan, governor of Surat, and the governor's brother of Cambaya, sent a message to the commander with a present of refreshments, offering to do him all the kindness they could, adding, that, for their part, they desired to trade with the English, but could see no possibility of doing it, as long as the Portuguese armada rode so near their fleet. He therefore advised him to go for Gago. But Sir Henry could not as yet determine which course to take. On the 5th the interpreter (who was a Bramin, or a priest of the Banians) came in a boat with a letter from Nicholas Bangham, and Captain Hawkins's letter from Agra, dated in April before, relating the manner of his being taken into, and put out of favour, by the Great Mogul; that monarch's fickleness in granting their trade, and afterwards denying it them, in favour of the Portuguese. The same messenger also brought two letters, advising such commanders not to land any goods, or hope for trade in those parts.

Though Sir Henry had so little encouragement, yet he resolved to try his utmost. By Bangham's letters he understood that Captain Sharpey, John Jourdain, and others, were coming from Cambaya to Surat, to go along with him; and therefore determined at least to get them on board. The proper Monsoon being past, the Indian ships, which rode by him, had given over their voyage to the southward. The Bramin desired leave to bring their ships into the river, but this the admiral would by no means grant. On the contrary, he desired them to tell the governor, and the rest of the owners, that their ships should not depart till he and all the Englishmen at Cambaya and Surat were on board.

On the 22d of this month the Portuguese had laid an ambush for the English that were sent on shore, and when they thought they saw a fair opportunity, broke out from their hiding-place, rushing forward with impetuosity, but in crowds and without order.

There were about 300 in all who discharged their shot. The fire was returned by the English on shore, as also by the frigate, which being close to the land, they retired on board. The enemy having received some damage, retired behind the hills, and swam from thence to their ships, in order to escape the danger. After this, when the English went in their frigate and boats on board their ships to Deadner, the Portuguese came to anchor where they were before, and Sir Henry having taken the opinion of Captain Dounton (of whom mention will be made hereafter) as well as of others, the result of the consultation was, that they should stay no longer there, but return to Surat road, where the Trade's Increase then lay.

The viceroy's son now came into the river with 100 sail of vessels, some filled were, but the greater part of them merchantmen. At night Sir Henry ordered the ships that rode within, to come and anchor by him, lest he might be endangered by the enemy, of whose force he was ignorant. At this time arrived Nicholas Bangham, who brought with him some refreshments from Surat. On the 9th the ships riding without the land, Chojah Nassan came down to the sea-side, Sir Henry went to him with his frigate and boats, and the former promised to bring goods to trade with him within two or three days at farthest; as also to order the country people to bring in provisions which they stood in need of.

The commander received a letter from Bangham on the 18th, intimating that there was little trade to be expected here; and this circumstance, joined to Chojah Nassan's breach of promise, naturally led the English commander to conclude all their former proposals meant nothing, and that they durst not allow him the liberty of trading, for fear of the Portuguese. For this reason he wished to abide by the resolve that was made of going away as soon as possible. To this purpose he wrote to Bangham to come to him, but he could not get permission from Chojah Nassan, whose vigilance, however, at length he eluded, and escaped. As soon as he was missed, the chief, judging that he was gone to the ships, sent one Jaddah, a broker, after him, with a letter from himself, and another from Mokrib Chan, in which both promised to come soon to see the English commander, who could have but little dependence on what was written, yet he thought proper to wait some time the event of these professions. After some interruption from the Portuguese at the landing place, who were obliged to retire, the English got their boat, and prepared to depart, as they had determined.

But on Sunday the 24th, Jaddah the broker came on board, and told Sir Henry, that Mokrib Chan was on the road. And soon after dinner, going to the shore-side with his frigate, he found Chojah Nassan there, who sent to let him know that Mokrib Chan would likewise come there presently. The admiral in consequence went on shore again with a proper present, and found the Chan waiting for him, together with Chojah Nassan and a great company. They embraced each other at their meeting, and while the English ships saluted, which the Indian seemed to take very kindly. Afterwards they sat down to talk together on carpets spread on the ground. Afterwards Mokrib Chan came on board, and staid all night, which apparent confidence induced the English commander to think that he should settle a treaty of trade to advantage. The Chan however seemed rather disposed to consult his own interest than any thing else, after he had busied himself in buying knives and toys, he urged the general to open his chests, asking for whatever there was in them that pleased him, and even taking away from other quarters of the ship, such things as he liked best, without offering to pay for them. He behaved in the same manner on board the other ships which he visited, and the commander then thought proper to comply with his humour.

After all this courtesy shewn by the English, they attempted to establish a trade, but met with little success,

success, although samples of goods were shewn with the prices marked on them. The Indians were very full of tricks and evasions. Chojah Nassan managed the markets, and did every thing to spoil the sale of the new comers commodities.

However Mokrib Chan came down again on the 8th of December, and after many salutations proceeded to make overtures towards trading, but Chojah Nassan who conducted the business, rendered it of little advantage to the English. In the mean time, Mokrib Chan received dispatches from his king, which it seems contained an order for him to resign his government of Cambaya, (as Chojah Nassan had lost that of Surat.) Nothing now remained to the former but the customs of the last-mentioned city.

The new governor of Surat and Hassan Ali came on board the Pepper-corn on the 10th, and afterwards went to see the Trade's Increase. By this time the lead was nearly landed, which was a principal article of trade, but the natives of Surat, who weighed all with their own weights, proved deceitful. And at length Chojah Nassan insisted on having half the worth for his commodities in money, and the other half in goods.

As it is a custom in some Indian countries that any bargain may be revoked provided it be done in 24 hours, Sir Henry had obtained a promise of Chojah Nassan that he would absolutely stand to his bargain. But still doubting the sincerity of this man's professions, the commander thought to keep those on board for pledges, till the agreements entered into were performed. Those pledges were Chojah Nassan and the Shah Bander, on board the Pepper-corn.

On the 24th the whole business was concluded, and in consequence the pledges were released. Three days afterwards a Jew came on board who brought a letter from Massulipatam, which was sent by Peter Floris, a native of Dantzick, employed by the company, giving an account of his setting out in February, his safe and speedy passage, and his arrival in the beginning of September. Mokrib Chan who had been out of town, returned on the 7th. Before he left the place he had confirmed the promises he made to the factory. But now he sent for Mr. Jourdain, and with a frown on his brow, asked, What he did there, and why the English were not departed. He was answered, that he staid, depending on his promise that a factory should be established, and that otherwise he should not have been there. But the Indian replied, They should not have any factory there, and added, that by their long stay he had been a very great loser in regard to the customs; for which reason he ordered them in the king's name to quit Surat, and they departed accordingly.

They warped out with the Increase on the 9th of February, the weather being calm; and on the 11th in the morning set sail for Surat road, and anchored there in the afternoon, by a new ship of that place, which was lately launched, and came out of the river, bound for the Red Sea. They weighed on the 12th, and, driving to the southward, anchored again near a ship of Calicut, bound for Surat, out of which Sir Henry Middleton took a pilot for Dabul, whither he steered his course, and arrived in the road on the 16th, about six in the evening. The pilot was now sent on shore in a fishing boat, with a letter to the governor. The letter was to intreat him to use the commander kindly, and trade with him. In the afternoon he received a small present of refreshments, both from the governor and Malech Amber, with many compliments, offering him any thing the country afforded, and promising to deal with him if he would send on shore. On this he sent two merchants with a good present, who were bid welcome, and kindly entertained while they staid there.

On the 24th, Sir Henry called a council, and proposed the question, Whether to go from thence directly for Priaman, Bantam, &c. or return to the Red Sea, to trade with the Indian ships bound thither? He alledged, that since they would not deal

with them at their own doors, to which they had brought from far commodities proper for their country, and no where else vendible, he thought they should do themselves but justice, and them no wrongs; in compelling them to barter, and give their indicoes, and other goods in exchange. It was the unanimous opinion, that they should return to the Red Sea, for several reasons: First, in order to put off the English goods, and get others in lieu fit for their own country. Secondly, to take some revenge of the great and unsufferable injuries done Sir Henry, by the Turks, at Mocha; and, lastly, To save the ship, which they heard (by the way of Massulipatam) was bound that way, judging, that otherwise she could not possibly escape being betrayed. From this day to the 27th, they employed their time in getting fresh-water on board.

The Indians had bought all the red-lead, and it was actually delivered on shore, but afterwards disliking it, they returned it.—In the evening, the English saw a ship in the offing. Two or three Malabars which made near them, told them she was a Portuguese vessel, of Cochin, bound for Chaul; therefore the commander sent the Pepper-corn, Darling, and frigate, to fetch her in, which they did on the 28th. Those in the frigate having pillaged the mariners, he took their plunder from them, and returned it to the owners. Her lading was cocoa-nuts, and little else. This day was spent in searching her, but the commander could find no bills of lading. Some small matters he took from her, on account of the injuries offered him by the captain, at the bar of Surat, in seizing his goods, and hindering his trade. That he sustained no farther damage from them, was not owing to their good will, but for want of power, as appeared by the viceroy's letters, &c. before-mentioned. Sir Henry took an account of the things he had out of her, from under the hands of the principal men who were on board.

On the 25th of March they had sight of the island of Socotra, and at four in the afternoon the point of Deliffa, bore south south-west, six leagues off; variation sixteen degrees. From the 24th at noon, till this day at noon, they steered north-west and west, and west-north-west, and west all night, thinking by day-light to have been near the westernmost part of the island; but contrary to their expectation, they found they had gone but little a-head, though they had a fresh gale, as they had a great current against them. From noon, till four the next morning, they sailed along the coast with a small wind, and then it falling calm, the current carried them directly upon a peak, which lies four or five leagues from the western part of Socotra. They were forced to anchor till they had a gale to carry them from it, which springing up from the east, about two hours after, they stood to the westward, and at noon were four leagues from the rock, where they found a current setting to the northward. The 27th, shaping their course, west-south-west, they met with a current setting to the northward. In the morning they were opposite Abba del Curia, and before night had sight of Cape Gardafui, about seven leagues distant. From yesterday noon, till this night, they stood in till midnight, and hauled close of a wind to the southward. The 28th, by eight o'clock, they were near the shore, midway between the two capes of Guardafui and Felix.

On the 22d of April, Mr. Pemberton came on board, and told the commander that he had been at Socotra, and that the king had shewn him a writing left there by Captain John Saris, (who was the commander of three ships) wherein an account was given of the time he left England, his places of refreshing by the way, his arrival there, and proceeded from thence to the Red Sea, to seek trade. It was also mentioned, that he had perused a writing left there by Sir Henry, with reasons to dissuade him from going thither. Yet that having the Grand Signior's

pass, he hoped to meet with better entertainment than Sir Henry had done. The commander having heard this unexpected news, called a council, who resolved to proceed as formerly they had determined; and indeed they had no other way left, for they could not get back till the westerly winds came on, which could not be till the middle of May; thereupon the commander left Captain Downton in the Pepper-corn, to stay thereabouts, till the 5th of this month, in order to observe the ports of Aden, whilst himself, with the Trade's Increase and Darling, went to watch the two-fold entrance of Babalmandel. They steered from thence with the head of Aden, being about seven leagues off. About four they were in with Aden. From four o'clock this day, till the 3d in the morning, they had little wind: they steered along the channel, west by north, and west north-west. Towards the heat of the day, it began to blow, and they continued their course as before. About sunset they anchored in 20 fathoms, four leagues off the streights, where they rode till next morning. The 4th, about eight in the morning, they set sail; and about ten, anchored within Babalmandel, between Arabia and the island, in eight fathoms water. The channel is half a league over. As soon as they had anchored, there came a boat from shore on board the Trade's Increase, wherein was a Turk, and three or four Arabian soldiers. This Turk was chief of the place, sent by the aga of Mocha to guard it. He promised the commander, if in case he thought fit to write a letter thither, to send it away by a foot-post, who should return in three days, with an answer; upon that he wrote a letter to Captain Saris, to acquaint him with his reason for coming, and what he intended to do.

On the 6th there came in a vessel of Zeyla, a place within the streights on the Abyssinian coast, bound for Mocha; her lading was mats. Sir Henry bought of her 12 sheep, and so permitted them to depart. This day they had much rain. The 17th, before day, there came in a ship from Basanor, which the commander caused to anchor by him. The same morning Richard Wickham, one of Captain Saris's merchants, brought sellers from him; the purport of which he omitted setting down in his journal. He kept Wickham with him, on account of the commander's stopping the Indian ships, and returned an answer by a Turk who came in his company. The 8th in the afternoon, there arrived a ship of Diu, bound for Mocha. The commander sent off his frigate to fetch her to anchor by him. She proved to be the same ship he had detained the year before in Mocha road. This day they rumaged these two ships, and took out such goods as were fit for their purpose, which were brought on board the Trade's Increase. The 9th came in a small frigate which was laden with Ollibanum, of which they bought part, and paid for it to their content in rials. They continued rumaging the Indian ships for more goods. The 11th, the commander detained a small bark of India. The 14th Captain Saris came into the road about eight in the morning, anchored with his three ships by Sir Henry. Having saluted each other with their guns, Captain Saris, Captain Towerson, and Mr. Cox, (their chief merchant) came on board the Trade's Increase, where they spent all that day together. Captain Saris at parting, invited Sir Henry and others the next day to dinner with him. The 15th, Sir Henry and the rest going on board the Clove, the captain shewed him the Grand Signior's pass, and read it. They had a good deal of conversation on this occasion. At last, by an agreement in writing, Captain Saris was to have one third part of what should be taken, paying for it only as Sir Henry did, for the service of his three ships in action; and leaving the disposing of the ships afterwards to him, who had suffered the wrongs.

On the 16th, the ships coming in, Sir Henry sent his frigate, and brought them to anchor; one was loaded with rice, bound to Mocha; the other was of

Carapatan, near Dabul, and subject to the same prince, laden with pepper, which ship came from Achen, and was bound for Aden, but being chased by Captain Downton to leeward of the place, they proposed to go for Mocha.

A ship of Cananor came in on the 18th: she had been at Achen, and was bound for Mocha, laden for the most part with pepper. Next day there arrived two more from Surat, one called the Hassani, belonging to Abdal Hassan, bound for Joddah; the other a small ship of Sir Henry's old friend, Chojah Nassan, bound for Mocha. They were brought to an anchor near the commander, who ordered their sails to be taken from their yards, and kept some of the chief men on board himself. By them he understood, that the Great Mogul's mother's ship, called the Rhemi, would soon be there. The 20th, there came a great ship of Diu, laden with Indian commodities, bound for Mocha, and presently after another of Dabul; she passed by, but the pinnace fetched her back. Next day, Sir Henry sent away passengers out of the Surat ships. About noon there arrived a small vessel from Calicut, bound for Mocha, which was stopped with the rest. At length, on the 23d, the Rhemi of Surat, the queen mother's ship, arrived: she was bound for Joddah, and stopped with the rest: in this vessel there were 1500 persons. In the afternoon Sir Henry delivered the ships their sails, and ordered them to be ready betimes the next morning, to sail with him for the road of Affab. The 24th, they all set sail from the streights, only the Thomas and Darling were left to ply up the Streights. They arrived at Crab Island about five o'clock, and came to an anchor in 12 fathoms water, where they rode all night; the wind at south south-west. Next morning, they stood in for the road of Affab, and about one o'clock cast anchor in seven fathoms and an half. The 27th, they fetched a large quantity of indico out of the ships of Surat and Diu. The Clove plying where the fleet was, Sir Henry caused a gun to be fired, which she answered with another, and bore up for the road presently after.

This relation ending here, we shall give a part of Captain Downton's account, by way of supplement to the voyage.

"The first of April (says he) from midnight, till six o'clock, we steered west by south, five leagues, at which time, by estimation, they were 18 leagues short of Aden.

This day the commander sent for Captain Downton, Messrs. Lawse and Fowler, to consult about their separation: at length it was concluded, that the Pepper-corn should ply before the port of Aden, to keep all Indian ships from entering or staying there, and put them by towards the Red Sea; whither the commander was to repair with the Trade's Increase.

"On the 2d, from midnight to six o'clock in the morning, when they should have separated, about eight leagues eastward of Aden, they found the Darling at anchor; she had got before them by reason of their lingering for her four days: she had done her business at Socotra, and left that island before the commander passed it; and got a day before him in her passage by the Saboyna, Abba del Curia and Mount Foelix, where he lingered for her. She brought from thence the copy of a letter left with the king by Captain John Saris, who had under his command the Clove, the Hector, and the Thomas, signifying, that notwithstanding the account Sir Henry gave in his letter, of the villainous treatment received in the Red Sea, yet with his ships was gone thither. Immediately, the commander, with the Trade's Increase, and Darling, departed towards the Streights, leaving Captain Downton at an anchor, to execute the order before given him.

"The third, at one in the morning, they set sail, and stood southward, the better to discover; and thus all day kept up to windward of Aden. In the morning were seen three sail, which were bound for Aden,

Aden, but stood away for him; so that he could not come near them all night. The wind blowing hard, he did not anchor, but lay a hull; to try how much the ship drove, which he found to be three leagues in ten hours, running thus far in. And the 4th, about seven in the morning, he anchored in 12 fathoms, three or four miles from the town of Aden. The 12th, in the morning, a little after midnight, they set sail to cross a vessel they saw, and in the morning saw her riding at anchor, three miles to the southward of them. She seeing them prepare to bear up with her, presently was under sail, and stood in with Aden; but between nine and ten o'clock, the Pepper-corn firing a gun at her, those on board struck their topsails, and sent in her boat. They told the captain they were bound for Aden, and that their ship belonged to the Samorin, or king of Calicut, from whence they had been out 40 days; that they passed near Socotra, and touched at Mount Foelix, where they saw the letter left there by the commander, for the Darling; as also a ship of Dabul, which came from Achen. The nachada of this ship, was called Abraham Abba Zeinda, her burden was 140 tons, and the cargo, according to their information, as follows: tameric, three tons, rice, 2300 quintals, jagaza, or brown sugar, 40 bales, cardamum, seven bahars; dry ginger four quintals and a half; pepper, a ton and a half; cloth 31 packs, each pack containing five or six maunds. She had in her 73 persons, for the uses following: 20 to bale water, and other businesses below; eight for the helm; four for the top and yard and other businesses aloft; 20 boys for dressing several mens victuals; the rest merchants and pilgrims.—

They being of the place whose inhabitants never wronged the English, the captain dismissed them, without taking any of her goods, excepting two tons of water, which they spared him. However, as he would by no means permit them to go to Aden, they were very uneasy; so that he was obliged to tell them, if they offered to attempt it, he would sink their ship, and leave them only their boat to save their lives. Yet their unwillingness to depart, made him threaten them farther, that if they did not get away before any other sail came in view, he should be forced to sink their ship to prevent their dealing with the Turks, his enemies. Upon this they set sail, and stood somewhat off the land, but to leeward; so that he was under the necessity to keep plying off and on all day and night, for fear in the dark they should slip into Aden. It must be observed, that as soon as any ship from the eastward or elsewhere, came in view, she had notice given her by the governor of the town, of Captain Dounton's being on the coast, before he could come to speak with her, and when he had the Malabar under command, the governor sent a boat on board with several Turks, and two Turkish soldiers of the town, who had been formerly some of the instruments employed by Abdal Rahman Aga, to bind and torture the captain's men, then in their hands. These, doubtless, came as spies to see what ship she was, and so to colour their design, brought some fruit to sell. As soon as they saw who their visitants were, (for they knew them immediately) they would have put off their boat, and have gone; but the captain would not permit them, being come on board, he caused them to be put in mind of their cruel treatment of his people, but without using any harsh language; and when he thought they were sufficiently terrified by the conviction of their own minds, he ordered them to be told, that they should, notwithstanding, see how far his nation exceeded the Turks in lenity; for that, although they had most cruelly handled his men, after inviting them on shore, under the most solemn promises of friendship and security; and, although he knew they themselves had been concerned in afflicting them, yet he would let them go without doing them any injury. Therefore they departed, promising next day to bring more refreshments. Next morning they sent a boat with good fish, and promised to come again with better provi-

sions, which they were providing; but the Pepper-corn being under sail, to put the Malabar to leeward, stood off too far for them to row to her. Had that ship staid; the aga might have permitted them to perform their promises.

On the 14th in the morning, the wind at east; they saw another ship of like burthen, bound to Aden. Having forced her to anchor, about ten o'clock, the captain sent on board to search her; and bring away some of her men, while he ordered his boat to be hoisted out. By them he understood they were of Pormean, a town which was then tributary to the Great Mogul, who had abused the English nation, and who despised their king: the Nachada being a Bannian, Captain Dounton being at anchor with his ship, two miles from Aden, and finding by the Malabars working the day before, that if any other sail, of ever so much importance, should approach before he could finish his business with her, he must leave one or other of them, to go where she thought fit; he therefore judged it better to send his own people to search what he had in her, than examine those who belonged to her. Thus, with great labour in rummaging before night fell, they had out of her 14 packs of coarse dutty, of six corges a pack; and 36 ballets, containing so many of the like number of dutties; one small ballet of candakinsmill; or small blue pieces of calico, with 30 or more white bastas, a little butter and lamp-oil. These were all fit for them. The rest of her lading were packs of cotton, which, next day, they proposed to examine.

This day Maharim, Aga of Aden, sent to the captain a present of hen-eggs, limes and plantains; which he would not look upon as such, sending word by the messenger, That the manifold injuries done his friends and nation at Aden the year before, had brought him there again to revenge himself, by disturbing the Turks. And that his coming was not to merit favours at their hands, so he resolved to receive none of their dissembling courtesies: for since they cut the throats of the English, when they came to them in friendship, they could expect no real kindness from them now, that they came to put all the Turks in those parts to a defiance. He added, with regard to the present, that as it was sent, his people should take them for their own use, giving as much as the things were worth. There likewise came on board, a fishing-boat with some fresh-fish, which the captain ordered to be bought for supper; always making the bringer eat part of what he brought."

On the 6th, in the morning, they descried a sail to the south of Aden, plying to the eastward. In the afternoon the pinnace being sent to fetch her, brought her near. She was a jelba of Shaher, bound home, laden with grain, opium, and other commodities; besides many pilgrims from Mecca, as passengers. Next morning they saw a jelba plying to the eastward between them and the shore; the pinnace being sent to fetch her off, she proved to be the same that had passed by the 17th and 22d. Of those on board, for a trial, they bought nine pounds and a half of opium; and so again dismissed them.

On the 28th, in the morning, they set sail, plying off and on to windward of Aden, with the wind at east. Next day in the afternoon, having descried two sail standing towards Aden, the captain sent his pinnace well-manned, to bring them in, which by four o'clock on the 30th, was effected. They both belonged to a place on the Abyssinian Coast, called Bandar Zeada. One was only laden with mats, the other with some mats and sixty-eight sheep with great rumps, which they bought, and so dismissed them. They presently sailed into Aden; the wind at east-south-east, and east-north-east.

On the 8th, with an easy gale of wind at north-east-by-east, they continued plying towards the Streights. At ten o'clock they descried the land on the Abyssinian side, which appeared like an island;

till they drew nearer. From thence they steered north-west towards the Streights, then, by estimation, ten leagues distant, which, towards four in the afternoon, they had sight of. Here they lingered off and on, to spend the night. Daylight appearing, they stood in towards the Streights, at the entrance thereof, they perceived a small sail a-stern of them: therefore the captain struck his top-sails to stay for her, and sent off his pinnace which brought the nachada and Malim on board. They were subjects to the Great Mogul, and belonged to a place called Larree, at the mouth of the River of Sindi. He bore up with them in a bay on the east-side, and anchoring in seven fathoms; sent his merchants to search what she was laden with. They found several packs of cloth, and many sorts of seeds, besides leather, jars of butter, and a great quantity of oil, some for eating and some for burning in lamps. As the captain could not keep her for want of water, she having no passengers, and was uncertain of a wind, he resolved to take out the packs of cloth fittest for their purpose, with some butter and oil for use in the ship, and so let them go on to Mocha. They had scarce set about this work, when, towards three in the afternoon, they saw opening the east-land of the Streights, a vessel of 200 tons; and immediately following her, a large ship, whose main yard was forty-three yards long. These ships being very near, before they could be seen for the land, the great one, by the assistance of wind and tide, had got a-head of the Pepper-corn, before the captain could get out of the bay to cross her; so that she was brought to a stern chase: but drawing nearer, they knew her by her masts and tops, to be the Mahmudi of Dabul, their friend: so that they were disappointed in their expectations of a prize: yet the captain, knowing the pride of the nachada, would gladly have exercised his authority over him, because he would never vouchsafe to visit the commander, either in the road of Mocha or at Dabul: but finding the vessel gain ground of him, he gave them one shot, and stood again with the other ship. This latter seeing the English follow the great one, struck a-hull, thinking to lose them by the darkness of the approaching night. Captain Dounton took her to be a ship of Diu, but when they came up with her, the men said they were of Cuts Nagone, a place not far from the river of Sindi. She was laden with cotton, a few packs of calico, some butter and oil. The Captain having got some of the principal men on board him, caused them to edge up with him into shoal water on the Arabian Coast: where by lights he endeavoured to find out the Larree ship, in which he had left five men; and at night they anchored in twelve fathoms, four leagues within the Streights. Here the next two days, they took out of the Larree ship, sixty-six bundles of calico (which, because they were otherwise furnished for all their English commodities and needed it not, was delivered to them, with part of the butter and oil: only eight gorges of bastas, for which they were paid). These things being taken out, the captain put on board her passengers and pilgrims of the cotton ship, and sent a letter by them to Sir Henry Middleton, in case they should find him in the road of Mocha: but before they departed, the English saw a vessel coming towards them, and because the wind was not good, they sent a canoe before, for expedition. The master informed the captain, that he belonged to Bandar Zeada, a town on the Abyssinan Coast, half a day's journey westward from Bandar Cassum; that he was bound to Mocha with mats: that going on shore, as he passed the Streights, he was told by one, who said he had a letter for Captain Dounton, that his countrymen were gone to Assab, with eight or nine Indian ships: but that he who had the letter would not send it by him, because he expected a reward, in case the captain should be put back to the Streights. Upon this advice, the captain set sail the same afternoon, but the wind not proving favourable, he was obliged again to come to an anchor.

It was about this time that Sir Henry, after many delays received the composition money already mentioned, and the English vessels departed.

After passing Aden, Captain Dounton says, the ships came to Tekoa, where the Darling was, which had buried three merchants and three sailors; and had most of their men sick. —

“ Here (says the captain) they likewise heard of Captain David Middleton; of the four ships of the ninth voyage, whereof two were already arrived at Bantam: and of Captain Castleton's man of war: this gentleman, who had been here a little before, gave an account of fifteen sail of Dutch already come, or near at hand, laden with ammunition: and of two ships of New-Haven, in France, come also to trade. Which news took away all hopes of repairing their tired-out, crossed, and decayed voyage.

“ On the 22d, Sir Henry Middleton finding such little encouragement at this place, set sail the night following in the Pepper-corn, towards Bantam, leaving Captain Dounton in the Trade's Increase, to remain till the 16th of next month. On the 2d of November, all the men of every kind, in Tekoa, went to the wars with Raja Bunefi, till whose return, no business was to be done on land. This day in taking up the wine, they found a considerable quantity run out, the casks being rotten.

“ On the 20th they fetched the remainder of the pepper weighed the day before, in which they discovered much deceit; for in some of the sacks there were small sacks of paddy; in some rice, and in some great stones: also rotten and wet pepper put into new dry sacks; yet there was no remedy. Having got every thing on board, they set sail near midnight, by the moon-shine, the wind at north-east off the shore. They took care to avoid the two known rocks, three leagues from the island, one south by west, the other south by east, having 26 fathoms between them, oozy ground; and for better security, steered back the course they stood the same day they came. As they stood off, the wind somewhat shrunk on them, yet they lay first west, then west by south, and west south-west, and last of all south-west by west; the current set them something southward, their depths proportionably from 14 to 27 fathoms, all oozy ground. The next cast they had four fathoms, and the ship set fast upon a rock. Sounding, they found a-stern four fathoms, and on the star-board midship, a quarter less than three fathoms, under the head three fathoms, and a ship's length off, five fathoms; on the larboard bow, a ship's length distant, they had six feet, in the midship 16 foot, under the larboard gallery 20 feet; and round about within a cable's length, deep water. She remained upon the rock from a little after three, till five o'clock, but the wind soon grew calm, and the sea smooth; likewise the set or motion of the ship, (considering the place) was very easy. The water had so increased in the hold, that both their chain-pumps though plied hard, could not, for a long time, gain on it: but their main endeavour was, with the utmost expedition, to get out a stern anchor, which was let fall in twenty-six fathoms right a-stern, two thirds of a cable distant, in order to heave her off: which had so good effect, that before they could, with the capstan, bring the cable tight, the ship was of her own accord set into deep water. This was no sooner done, but they had a westerly gale, which put them off a mile from the rock, where they anchored to wait for the boat, which brought their kedge after them; and though it was a clear day, they could not discern where the rock stood.

“ At length the captain, after a consultation, judged it proper to return to Tekoa, there to endeavour to stop such part of the leak as they found to be in their stern. Accordingly they set sail for the island, and at sun-set anchored in the same place, which for their turns they desired. This day, for a long time they kept both pumps going, but the water still increased when the chain chanced to break, which often happened.

happened. The two pumps at once employed twelve men, and the labour was so extreme, that without shifting hands it could not long be continued: but the water being once brought low, one pump at a time has always been sufficient to discharge it; and yet it tires all the people by often shifting: so that the captain found it required more than ordinary address to appease their murmurings and clamours:

“On the 22d, and the two succeeding days, they landed indico, cinnamon, and other things, endeavouring to lighten the stern, where they knew the leak was. They were thus employed, till the 8th of December, in stopping the leaks, which done, they set sail from Tekoa, and, with the boats a-head, got over the bar, having four fathoms at low water. They got without the island by the help of a fresh gale at north-north-east, north-north-west and north-west, which as the sun got high, both dulled, and at last shrunk upon them: so that their course lying but south-south-west and south-by-west, they came by estimation, near the rock which they had formerly struck upon. They made diligent search with boats a-head, and could discern no signs of it, the sea being smooth; they then set away to the southward, south-by-west and south, from sun-set to sun-rising, the 9th day with a small gale north-west-by-west. Afterwards, having steered south-west-by-south ten leagues, with the wind at west-north-west and west, they descried some part of a great island bearing south-westerly, and then steered away south. This night they had much rain in gusts, with thunder and lightning, the wind was fickle, shrinking to the south-west and south-south-west: it continued not long in that point, shifting to the south-east, east-south-east, and east; and again to south-east, they sailed about eight leagues to sun-rise, at which time that part of the island which they saw the night before, bore south-east eight leagues off. Also to the eastward they had sight of the high land of Sumatra, near twenty leagues distant. At noon they were in two degrees eleven minutes south latitude. The northermost part of these islands, lies nine leagues south-east from the sound they came through between the western islands.

On the 20th, they arrived at Pulo Panian, the Pepper-corn having been fitted there. Sir Henry Middleton called a council to advise about the damages which the Trade's Increase had received upon the rock: the result was, that she must be now strengthened and careened, before she could return home; (this commander died in this voyage at Machian, on the 24th of May, as was thought of grief, for the ship's being on shore, and the loss of his men) and as this required so much time, that she could not set forward this year; it was concluded to dispatch the Pepper-corn immediately for England, to give some satisfaction to the adventurers.”

The Pepper-corn being laden, on the 4th of February set sail, and arrived on the 10th of May in the road of Saldanna, where Captain Dounton expected to have found all the ships, which formerly departed homewards; but he there met with only the Hector, and Thomas, two ships of the eight voyagers, and Captain Newport, in the expedition, employed in the 12th voyage, by help of whose men and coopers the Pepper-corn in four days took in all her water, intending not to stay to refresh her men, in order to have the company homewards of the Thomas and Hector, which were to depart the next day. Accordingly, the 15th, at nine in the morning, they set sail, with the wind southerly, but being out of the bay, they were much delayed by contrary winds, which drove them southwardly. This night the Expectation doubled the Cape of Good Hope, shaping her course towards Persia, there to land Sir Robert Shirley, and his Persian lady, with Sir Thomas Powel, and his English lady, all passengers, who were bound thither.

Towards evening the next day, the Thomas was fallen far astern; but the Hector with lofty sail bore

away. This night the Pepper-corn lost their company, which, to recover, the captain stood to the southward. He knew they could not run him out of sight, and although he thought it against reason to stand in upon a lee shore, yet he bore up towards land, in order to seek them. Not seeing them, he delayed the time for them till the 19th, during which time the men were employed in repairing their weak and decayed sails.

This day at sun-rising, Saldanna bore half a degree east, distant 17 leagues, the weather being cloudy and dark, which continued the three following days. The 26th of June, as they came about the north-east point, opening the road, and luffed in, with their anchors ready to let fall, they observed two carcasses in the road, whose neighbourhood did not please Captain Dounton, neither durst he venture to anchor by them, on account of their usual treachery; therefore he stood off again by a wind, to deliberate for a while what to do. His intention was to have stood in again, to try whether they would be gone, concluding they might, upon a supposition, that he had more company near hand; but he found the current set the ship so fast to the leeward, that he could hardly recover the road by two o'clock in the afternoon. Finding there was no other remedy, he ordered the sailors to bear up the helm for England; his hopes being thus frustrated, both of refreshing his weak and sickly people, and regaining the company of the Hector and Thomas. The 15th and 16th, they had many showers of rain; and the 18th they crossed the line.

The 10th of September, they had a very strong gale of wind, and a hollow sea; but being unable to get into any part of the south of England, they stood on their course, north-east, in hopes to fetch Milford Haven in Wales, the sooner to send letters to the company. The 11th, at five o'clock in the afternoon, they discovered the coast of Wales to windward, and the coast of Ireland to leeward, being a high hill between Wexford and Waterford. This night they spent with their head to the southward, and next morning, finding it was not possible to fetch Milford Haven, the winds being contrary, he stood in towards the first coast, chusing to go to Waterford, rather than any other harbour. The 13th in the morning, they discovered the tower of Whooke, the only mark for the river of Waterford, about three leagues distant. At eight o'clock they perceived a small boat coming out of the river, which, being wasted, bound to Wexford, whom the captain hired to return, and give notice of his coming, to the lieutenant of the port of Dungannon, to prevent his stopping there, because of the channel being narrow in that place, the ship might be endangered in winding up at anchor. At noon they got up into the river, so high as Passage. Here he found Mr. Stephen Bonner of Lime, being come with his bark to fish, who laying aside his own business, was very diligent to provide for the ease and relief of the weak and sick.

On the 18th, the captain sent Mr. Bonner towards London, with letters to the company, to give them an account of his arrival and wants, desiring they might be supplied. The 20th, Dr. Lancaster, bishop of Waterford, very kindly visited Captain Dounton, bringing down with him his good cheer, and preached a sermon on board. The 21st, Captain John Burrel came to see him also, and having proffered to lend him money to supply his wants, provided he could send somebody to Cork for it; he, on the 11th, sent Mr. Mollineux along with the captain thither. The 22d Anthony Stratford, lieutenant of the fort of Dungannon, having hired a villainous fellow (whom, for his misbehaviour, Captain Dounton had caused to be imprisoned in Waterford) to say what must bring him and his men within the statute of piracy, obtained a warrant from the Earl of Ormond, and came to Passage, where he sent to desire the captain to send his boat well manned, to fetch him and several other gentlemen on board to see the ship. The boat's crew apprehended

hended the men, and presently came on board; where, having arrested the captain and his ship for piracy, he committed him prisoner to the fort of Dungannon, giving strict charge that none should have access to him, without his warrant; and would have obliged those, who by his permission visited the captain, to declare on oath, what discourse passed between them. His man was sworn not to carry letters between him and any one: they also examined several of the people this night upon oath, omitting nothing that might induce them to accuse him. He continued in prison till the 16th in the morning, at which time Stratford brought him a letter from Sir Laurence Esmond his captain, inviting him to meet him (the knight) at Passage. They went together; and there the captain met Sir Laurence, accompanied with the bishop of Waterford, come from the Earl of Ormond, to replace him in his charge; which, after much intreaty and persuasions, he yielded to. The 23d Mr. Mollineux, having sent the captain's letters to the company, to acquaint them with the aforementioned affair, returned from Cork with money.

On the 25th Mr. Benjamin Joseph, in a small ship

of Bristol, came, and brought with him both men, money, and provisions, to supply the captain's wants, which he took in with all speed in order to be gone. The 6th of October he departed from the river of Waterford, the 12th in the morning he was abreast of Beachy; and by eight at night anchored in Dover road. The 13th in the morning he left Dover road, and at ten o'clock anchored in the Downs, near the Assurance man of war, saluting her with five pieces of ordnance. Immediately Mr. Cocket, the master, came on board, and again stopped his ship till farther order from the lord admiral: Upon this Captain Dounton sent Mr. Mollineux to London, with letters to inform the company of it. The 17th Mr. Adersly came from them with a letter for the captain, a release for the ship; and Mr. Punniat, a pilot, to bring her about, the 18th in the morning, they set sail; and at six o'clock at night anchored at Tilbury. The 20th, in the morning, they departed; and at ten o'clock came up to Blackwall. In the afternoon the deputy, and several of the committee, coming down, Captain Dounton delivered up his charge.— And thus ended the voyage to the Red Sea and Surat.

A VOYAGE TO THE CANARIES, CAPE VERDE ISLANDS AND BARBADOES, BY CAPTAIN ROBERTS.

THE English, who had successfully followed the track of the Portuguese in the East, were early disposed to sail to the western hemisphere. The Canaries and Cape Verde islands, which the Portuguese claimed the honour of discovering, though some of them were probably known to the ancients, under the name of the Fortunate Islands or Hesperides, were visited by the English, who also founded settlements in the West-Indies.

The voyage we are about to relate is one of those which abounded in cross adventures to the undertaker, but at the same time is such as must, by its variety, prove entertaining to most of our readers.—

On the 14th of September, 1721, Captain Roberts contracted with some merchants of London to go to Virginia; and there, after taking possession of a sloop called the Dolphin, to buy a cargo to slave with on the coast of Guinea, from whence to proceed to Virginia or Barbadoes, as he judged most for the owners advantage. Captain Scott, one of the owners, being bound for Virginia in the King Sagamore, a ship of 22 guns, Roberts went on board him for so much of the voyage, and accordingly they set sail from London: But being driven into Plymouth by contrary winds, they happened to be there when Lord Belhaven, who was going governor to Barbadoes in the Royal Ann galley, had put into that port. The wind soon after presenting fair (though not likely to stand, the weather looking very unsettled) the Royal Ann sailed, but had not been long out before she met with hard and contrary gales of wind; and (as was supposed through the rashness of the lieutenant) was cast away upon the Stag Rocks off the Lizard, wherein his lordship, and most of the crew perished. Captain Scott, with the author, staid there near a month wind bound, and then sailed, till they arrived at the isle Du Sal. Here not meeting with any of the inhabitants, they made sail about eight at night, and next day about ten arrived at Bona Vista; where it had been resolved upon to take in a cargo of salt: they anchored in the English road under the little island within the sunken rock. Next day they went on shore to agree with the inhabitants for their

assistance to bring salt from the salt-pans down to the water-side; as also to settle prices of goods, and of the island horses and asses, which they were to take in after the salt. This done, they set all hands to work at making salt.

From hence they sailed to the isle of May, where they met with five sail laden with salt-petre, for the East country up the Baltic, among whom they got some water, and also tobacco, which proved very convenient. Hence they made for St. Jago, and coming the length of Port Villa de Praya with all their sails out, they could not luff into the bay, but were driven by the sea to the leeward of the road: into which they did not go for three days, and by this means they left several of the asses. Being arrived at Barbadoes the latter part of March, 1722, their horses and asses were in very bad plight, they could sell but very few of the latter only; and had not a country gentleman given the feeding gratis, the cheaper way would have been to have knocked them all on the head, for it would have cost more to have fitted them for a market than they would sell for. Also the Canary wine they brought from the Tene-riffe was sold under the price of common-Madeira: this being the wine the people were used to, though theirs cost double and was twice as good. Meeting with these disappointments Captain Scott resolved not to proceed to Virginia, according to his orders, which Roberts not liking, he was discharged, at his own desire, by the captain, the 24th of April; who, in lieu of wages and some money lent, bought a sloop called the Margaret, for Roberts to trade with, promising a bill of sale to hold part in her proportionable to the debt. In this sloop the author, taking a cargo here for the coast of Guinea about Rio Grande, and the Cape de Verde Islands, set sail about the middle of July, 1722, in company of Captain Scott, for fear of some pirates they heard lay at the Caribbees: However, he lost sight of Scott in a squall of wind three days after. In this passage, being confined to his bed by sickness for ten days, they missed their way, either by ignorance or carelessness of the mate, so that wandering backwards and forwards a great while, at last they arrived at the island of du Sal, about

about the middle of October. He came to anchor in the northermost bay of Palmera: and it being green turtle season, sent his boat to bring one on board; if there were any fresh caught. On this occasion Captain Roberts observes, that the French often make a turtle voyage thither, salting them on shore; and drying them much after the same manner as they do cod at Newfoundland in the West Indies. The shell they save for the French market, where it generally yields a better price than in England; especially that of the turtle caught about these islands; which is of the thinnest sort, and extraordinary clear, as well as finely clouded. Besides, ambergrease is often found in greater quantities at this island than any other of the Cape de Verdes, and did not the wild cats eat it, (as does also the green turtle) much more would be found than there is. In about two hours the boat returned, bringing a green turtle of between two and three hundred weight, and with it a black native of St. Nicholas, who told him, that the turtle was sent as a present by his companions, of whom there were about 60, all natives of the same island, brought thither to catch and cure turtle, by a captain of a ship who, ten weeks before, failed to Bona Vista for salt; but as he staid so long away, they had no hopes of seeing him again, and therefore offered Roberts half their turtle, oil, shell, ambergrease, &c. to carry them, with the other half to St. Nicholas. Roberts being bound thither, promised to give them a passage for nothing, refusing to meddle with the effects till he knew the right of the matter. This black said he was an Englishman; but several places in England being named, knew none of them; at last Roberts named Bermudas, and then the negro told him he was of that island. Next day, about seven in the afternoon, he set sail for St. Nicholas, carrying along with him six men, two women, and a sucking child; but nothing more of theirs, than what was necessary for the voyage. They anchored by nine the night following, in Trefall road, in about six fathoms water. In the morning, the priest (who was a Portuguese) came to him and said, he had sent the before-mentioned sloop to the Isle du Sal, with the blacks, to catch turtle; that some were his own slaves, and the rest were hired; some at two, some at three or four dollars per month, and, that all the turtle, oil, shell, &c. was entirely his; but as he was afraid the sloop was lost, he agreed next day with Roberts, to fetch home the men and effects for 100 dollars, and a stout man slave, to be paid and delivered at his return; and before any of the goods were landed. Next morning he went from Trefall, which lies fifteen or eighteen miles from the town, along a steep rocky way; and anchored at Paraghisi in the old road, being nearer the town than Trefall, and, for the most part, a level way; his intent being to truck with him for some of his corn, rice, &c. for cotton cloth; likewise for ambergrease, dragon's blood, &c. The black also that he brought from Sal, told him that all these windward islands of the Cape de Verde were in great want of provisions; and that the famine had raged so in St. Nicholas, in particular; that within the last twelve months, there died 500 people merely for want of food, of which good part of his cargo consisted. However, he did not stay here, but resolved to lay hold of the priest's offer, for fear his sloop should come, being satisfied he should have time enough to make his market at St. Nicholas, after his return from du Sal, which, accidents excepted, would not take up above a week; nor did he fear any vessel to spoil his market, it being the wrong time of the year, viz. the shifting wind season. And though Captain Scott had been there, (as he heard) but ten days before, yet they could be supplied with very little provision by him.

The next morning, he turned up Currisal, to recruit his wood and water; that being very commodious for this last, which runs there down to the sea; but the wood was a long way to reach, over steep rocks; so that had it not been for four blacks assist-

ance; (who were come on board with the priest) to go with him to du Sal, he thought his own men would never have found it, or got it down when found. The last turn was got on board at eleven o'clock at night; and it proving calm in the road; he could not weigh anchor as he designed; upon which, the priest, with his four blacks, being sea-sick; lay on shore. Next morning he rose about day-break, as was his usual custom, but it continuing still calm; as the day broke, looking out, he saw three sail of ships off the bay, and making one of them plain with his glass; she seemed to be full built, and laden; he took the rest to be the same, and of her company; imagining they wanted water. He saw them bring to, then edging away, but could not perceive any signal made by them, all which confirmed him in his first opinion. But as soon as the weather cleared up, they made his ship, the middlemost standing right in towards her; and as the sun rose, the wind increased, and backed more to the eastward, as is usual there, after calm nights. As she drew nearer he found her, by his glass, to be a schooner, full of hands, all in white shirts; and seeing likewise a great number of guns, he began then to be alarmed; but it was now too late to escape them; especially as it held a calm within the bay; and they came in with the day-breeze as fast as the wind would permit, carrying an English ensign, jack, and pendant. As soon as Roberts saw them, he hoisted his ensign also. The other had eight guns, six pateraroes, and 70 men; and stretched a-head, hailed him, which Roberts answered. Then he asked where the ship belonged to, and whence she came? Roberts told him, she was of London, and came from Barbadoes. He said, Very well, he knew that, and so bringing too a-head of him, bade him send his boat on board of him, which accordingly Roberts did, with two hands in her.

The captain of the schooner, whose name was John Lopez, as he was told afterwards, but then went by the name of John Ruffel, (pretending he was born in the northern parts of England) asked the people, who came in the boat, where the master of the sloop was? They answered; he was on board, and sent them with the boat to know what he wanted. He asked which was the master? They shewed him Roberts walking the deck, whom he treated with much abusive language, and afterwards, completely pillaged the vessel.

The priest and blacks were by this time got up the rocks, in order to escape into the mountains, which the pirates observing, Ruffel asked, if he knew who those persons were? Roberts acquainted him with their intended voyage to Du Sal; upon which he said, the priest would never see his sloop more; for they had taken her; but that her own gang, whom they had put on board her, had ran away with her, and 800 pounds in cash; besides other goods. He added, that the information he had received about the Author, and the probability of finding him at this island, joined to another; concerning 1600 dollars, which the priest and governor of St. Nicholas had hoarded up; was the only occasion of their coming thither; having otherwise intended to go to Bona Vista. Roberts having asked from whom he had the intelligence; he named Captain Scott; and on his inquiring how it was with the captain? they told him, But indifferent; that they had burnt his ship, and put him on shore at Bona Vista.

Ruffel resolving at any rate, to have the priest, determined to sail down to Paraghisi; to catch him from thence, and made Roberts pilot him thither, in his sloop. The pirates on board her slipping her cable, left both that and the anchor behind; because they would not be at the trouble to weigh. The other ships still lay to in the offing: but as soon as they saw them make sail down to leeward, the Rose-Pink, which mounted thirty-six carriage-guns, commanded by Edmund Loe, who was their commodore, edged in towards them. Upon this, they doing the like, Ruffel gave him an account of what

had passed, and of his design of landing that evening to take the priest and governor, if he approved of it, the commodore agreed; and, in his launch sent some of the ship's company to reinforce the schooner's crew. Then they hauled in for shore again: and coming the length of Porto Lappa (which is a road or bay, lying about the middle between Currifal and Paraghisi) one of the schooner's company swore, that to his knowledge, this was the best place to land at, and nearest to the town. Upon this, Ruffel ordered them to stand in for the bay; and when they were got within half a league of the land, went on shore in the boat, at the head of thirty-five men, ordering their vessel to keep on their course, and anchor in the old road of Paraghisi. Next day, Ruffel and his company came down to them, with their priest, the old governor's son, and five or six negro men, their prisoners. They all immediately came on board, and weighing, stood off to the ships which were then lying too in the offing; and coming within call of the commander, he hailed them, and asked, How all fared, and what luck? Ruffel answered, he would wait on him on board, and give him a particular account. Accordingly the priest and the rest of the prisoners, were put on board the launch, (Roberts also being ordered along with them, to pay his respects to Captain Loe, the commodore) and Ruffel followed them in his own boat. When he entered the Pink, the company welcomed him on board, and said, they were sorry for his loss; but told him he must pay his respects to the Captain, who was in the cabin; and waited for him. He was ushered in by an officer, (the gunner, he thought) who acted with proper deportment as master of the ceremonies: though he did not remember such an officer, or office; nor knew whether they were always so formal on board on such occasions. When they entered the cabin, the gentleman usher, making a low reverence to the commodore, presented Roberts, and then withdrew, leaving those two alone. Captain Loe, with the usual compliments, welcomed him on board, and told him, "He was very sorry for his loss: that it was not his desire to meet any of his countrymen, (but rather foreigners) excepting some few, whom he wanted to chastise for their roguishness." "But however, says he, since fortune has ordered it so, that you have fallen into our hands, I would have you be of good cheer, and not be cast down." Roberts replied, "He was also very sorry that he had chanced to fall in their way; but still encouraged himself with hopes, that he was in the hands of gentlemen of honour and generosity: it being still in their power to make this capture turn out no misfortune to him." The other said, "It did not lie singly in his breast, for that all business of that nature was to be settled by a majority of votes in the whole company: and although neither he, nor he believed, any of the rest, desired to meet with any of their own nation, except some few persons, for the reason above mentioned, yet when they did, it could not well be avoided, to take as their own what providence sent them: and as they were gentlemen who depended upon fortune, they durst not be so ungrateful to her, as to refuse any thing which she put in their way, for if they should despise any of her favours, though ever so mean, they might offend, and cause her to withdraw her hand from them, who might thus, perhaps, perish for want of those things, which, in their rash folly, they had slighted." Afterwards he made him drink with him, and renewed his protestations.

As it was now known that the quarter-master general Ruffel was come on board with his prisoners, he was ordered to attend, and with the priest and the governor's son of St. Nicholas, entered the cabin. They were followed by the officers, and some of the most signalised villains among them, who stood fairest for preferment. The cabin thus filled, Loe, after the necessary compliments, bade Ruffel and the prisoners sit down; and then asked what news? On which, Ruffel gave him an account of the whole

affair: which was as follows. After landing thirty-five men, they immediately seized two of the natives: who were sent by the governor to enquire (as usual) whence, and upon what account they came. These fellows they made their guides to the town; which, night coming on, and the road being uneven and rocky, they could not otherwise have reached that night. They got thither about nine o'clock, it being about twelve miles, by estimation, from the landing place; by this means they prevented any notice of their coming: and so were assured there was no booty but what they found. They went first to the governor's house, where leaving a guard, they passed along to the priest's, who they found had not been long returned from Currifal. But though he had not the least thought of this their sudden arrival, till his own eyes confirmed it, yet he did not seem much surpris'd. He ordered what victuals he had, and wine enough, to be set on the table; telling them, he could not entertain them as he would, at such an unseasonable time of night: but that they were welcome to what they found; and if they staid till to-morrow, they should be supplied plentifully with whatever the island afforded: Ruffel thanked him, and told him, he came of an errand, and must perform it: which was that having positive information from very good hands, that both he and the governor had a quantity of dollars as well as gold hoarded up; that they were come to share it with them, it being one great branch of their trade, not to let money lie moulding in old bags or chests, but to make it move and circulate whenever they could come at it. To this the priest without any apparent concern, replied, That whoever gave them that information, it was false. They said, Seeing and feeling must prove whether it was true. The priest told him he was very welcome to make use of those senses for his satisfaction; and immediately ordered wax candles to be lighted; for they had no other, and those were all consecrated.

With these they searched every corner about the house, but found nothing, only twenty dollars, which he did not think worth while to take. From hence they went to the governor's house, and searched that as narrowly, but found still less there. "After this, says Ruffel, I disposed of my men as I thought most convenient for refreshing them after their fatiguing journey: but yet with due regard to our own security, by setting a watch, ordering the rest to repose as well as they could, but not one of them to stir out of the governor's house: I gave them withal a strict charge to be ready with their arms at a moment's warning, and not lay them out of their hands, or unslung their pistols: which was punctually performed. Next morning, as we had not lighted on the booty according to information, which therefore was deemed false, we concluded to seize and bring on board, the governor, the priest, and four or five of the principal inhabitants for your ample satisfaction." Here Captain Loe, who sat as demure and attentive all the while; on a sudden started, as it were out of deep study, and interrupted Ruffel in his story: and a dispute ensued about the money expected, in which Ruffel seemed to have the advantage.

"He afterwards sent to the priest to come to him at the governor's house: but the priest was fled with all his slaves, only an old woman, who told them this story. Upon this Ruffel ordered the governor, who was an ancient negro, to bring him in two hours time. The governor said, he would do his utmost, but that it was impossible to be done in so short a time, in case the priest was gone to the mountains, as he heard he was, it being very easy for him to remain there several months undiscovered, notwithstanding the most diligent search. Ruffel, without regarding his excuses, assured him he would burn their town to ashes. The governor answered, That he lay at their mercy; but hoped the innocent should not suffer with the guilty, if his endeavours should prove fruitless.

fruitless. Ruffel told him, The time was set, and the doom would not be deferred a moment after the expiration: but promised the priest should not be killed or abused, provided he surrendered himself within the time limited. The governor having sent immediately several parties of blacks on the hunt. Ruffel in the mean time, ordered him to kill an ox, and dress it as soon as he could, and broach a pipe of wine for his men. In about two hours some of the blacks brought word, that they had found the priest, and that he had sent them to let him know, he was coming to throw himself intirely upon his mercy: accordingly he came, and very submissively asked Ruffel's pardon, saying, He repented that he should be so foolish, as to sneak away and abscond, having no reason, as he believed, to do so, but his own groundless apprehensions. The pirate bade him cheer up, but told him, he had like to have ruined the whole island by his unadvised flight; for that if he had not come as he did, he was resolved, as soon as his men had filled their bellies, to have burnt the town to ashes, church and all. The priest said, He thanked God that he was come time enough to save them, and the captain for his clemency in deferring his vengeance so long: the more effectually to appease whose wrath, he sent to his house for wine, fowls, and an anker of rum. With this good cheer they made very merry, and kept open house, treating all the natives that came to them at the parson's expence. When they had sufficiently caroused, Ruffel told the priest and governor, that they and six more, whom he would chuse, must go on board the commodore. The priest seemed much surpris'd at this news, and said, He hoped he would not carry them away from the island, nor make slaves of them. Upon which Ruffel told him, That he was a member of the Church of Rome as well as himself, and that no harm should be done him, or any of his company: his intention being no more than to have the commodore satisfied by their own testimony, that the information he had received of their having so much money, was false. At this he seemed very well contented, and they went on board accordingly.

Captain Loe said, he had behaved very well, and asked the priest several questions, after which he directed the captives to be put on shore in the schooner, but Roberts was ordered to remain on board the commodore till his own and sloop's fate should be decreed by the company. Mean while Loe ordered him a hammock with bedding, and told him, in the most generous obliging manner, that every thing in the ship was at his command, and desired him not to go out of his usual course as to hours, drinking, or company.

Next morning about eight, as he was walking the deck, one of the company came up to him, and bidding him good morrow, said, he was sorry for his misfortunes; adding, "I believe you do not know me?" which was true, for the author could not then call him to mind, or that he had ever seen him before. The man smiled, and said, "He once belonged to him, when he commanded the *Susannah*, (a frigate-built ship of 300 tons) in 1718. By this time there came up two more, who also declared that they belonged to the *Susannah* at the same time; Roberts thought he did remember something of them. They expressed sorrow for his ill-luck, and promised to do all that lay in their power to serve him: they said, "They had among them about forty or fifty pieces of white linnen, and six or eight of silk, besides some other things; and that they would make what interest they could with their consorts and intimates for gathering for him of what they could, and put all on board as soon as the company had decreed him his sloop again." Upon this they looked about, as if they had something to say in private; and seeing the deck clear, which is very rare in these ships, they told him with much seeming concern, "That if he did not take very great care, he would be forced to stay with them; for his mate had informed them, that

he was very well acquainted with the Coast of Brasil, and they designed to stretch over thither; after scouring that of Guinea; but they had not a man among them who had ever been at the former. They said there was but one way for him to escape being forced.

On this, injoining him to secrecy, (since the discovery was as much as their lives were worth) they told him, that they had been at close consultation, whether they should oblige him to go with them, not as one of the company, but as a forced prisoner, in order to be their pilot on the coast of Brasil, and that his mate had offered to enter with them, but desired to defer it till they had determined his (Roberts's) case; that the mate being asked whether he (the author) was married, said he could not tell for certain, but believed he was not; that on this, they themselves spoke in his behalf, as having known him for several years, and giving him the character of being very good to his men both for usage and payment, and affirmed, that to their knowledge, he was married, and had four children. On this occasion they told him, That they had an article among themselves, to which they were sworn, never to force any married man against his will to serve them; and therefore he should be sure to say, he was married, and had five or six children, for that nothing else could prevent his being forced; that his mate was as yet ignorant of their articles, for that they never expose them to any body till they are going to sign them. They informed him farther, that there was one man who would fain have the company break through their oath on that head, insisting, that they might, and ought to do it, because it was a case of necessity, as there was no possibility otherwise of getting a pilot for the Brasils, unless in their run along the coast of Guinea they should find one so qualified, and within their articles, in which case, he said, they might set him, (Roberts) on shore; but that till then they ought to detain him, but Captain Loe was against it.

He afterwards came on deck, and bidding good-morrow, ordered a consultation signal to be made; it was a green silk flag, with the figure of a trumpeter in yellow, hoisted at the mizzen peak, on which all coming on board, and into the cabin or steerage, or where they could, the commander told them, he only wanted them to breakfast with him.—Mr. Roberts being examined, told him of his family, which occasioned a great dispute between Loe and Ruffel, the former wished to excuse him while the latter was of a contrary opinion; but the whole ended with a drinking bout.

Next morning, one of the three men who spoke to the author the morning before, came and excused his own and the other's reservedness to him, on account of an article among them, which made it death to hold any secret correspondence with a prisoner. He farther told Roberts, that he might thank his mate for this extraordinary dispute; and, that he much feared, he would prove a rogue to him, and enter with them; in which case, said he, if you should get your sloop, you'll be sadly put to it to manage her, with only one boy and the little child. He heartily wished they could go with him in her, but they said, that could not be thought of, it being death even to mention it, by another article, which declares, "That if any of the company shall advise or speak any thing tending to the separating or breaking of the company, or shall by any means offer or endeavour to quit the company, that person shall be shot to death, by the quarter-master's order, without the sentence of the court martial." He added, That till his mate had given Ruffel an account of his being acquainted with the coast of Brasil, he seemed to be his best friend, and would certainly have prevailed with the company to make a gathering for him, perhaps not much short in value of what they had taken from him; for that most of them had several pieces of linen, silk, spare hats, shoes, stockings, gold-lace, and abundance of other goods, besides the public store; it being a practice among them, to reserve such things for no other use than

to give to any they should take, whom they were formerly acquainted with, or to whom they took a present liking. He said farther, that he believed Captain Loe would be his friend; and do what he could for him; but that in opposition to Ruffel, he could do but little, for that Ruffel bore twice the sway with the company, and was always more considerate to those they took than Loe.

After this man left him, Captain Loe came up, and passing the usual compliments, they took each a dram of rum, and discoursed on different subjects: for he was forced to seem pleased with every one, and join in discourse with them on all topics, however disagreeable; otherwise he must have incurred their displeasure; in which case every one might have let loose his brutal fury, and fell upon him either with his tongue or hands; for they made no scruple to kick and cuff, or otherwise abuse their prisoners, merely for a little game. About ten o'clock Captain Ruffel, with some more, came on board; and in an agreeable manner addressing himself to Roberts, told him, that he had been considering about his request for his sloop; but could not see how he should go through with it. He said, he believed Roberts was a man of understanding; but that, in this case, he seemed rather to be directed by an obstinate despair than by reason: that, for his part, he did not think it consistent with the credit and reputation of the company, to put it into his power to throw himself wilfully away, as he seemed determined to do; that therefore, as he had wished him well, he had employed his thoughts all night about the affair, and believed he had hit at last on a way, which, without exposing himself to so much danger, would turn out much more to his advantage than any thing he could possibly expect by having the sloop; "And that, says he, is to sink or burn your sloop. In this case, continued he, I promise (and will engage to get the company to sign and agree to it) that you shall have the first prize we take, if you like her, to be at your own use and disposal; and if not, you shall stay till we take one you do like."

Roberts thanked him; but said, "He did not perceive it would be of any advantage to him, but rather the reverse, that he could not see how he should dispose of the ship, or any part of the cargo; for that nobody would buy, except he had a lawful power to sell; and that if the owners of any such ship or goods should ever come to hear of it, then he should be obliged to make them restitution to the full value; or, perhaps, be thrown into a jail, and run the hazard of his life." Ruffel said, "These were but frivolous objections, and might be evaded; for, as for want of title to the ship, and fear of being detected, they could easily make him out a bill of sale, and such other necessary powers in writing, as would be sufficient to justify his right to them beyond all possibility of exception. That as to his apprehensions of a discovery by the owners, that might be as easily prevented: for they (the pirates) should always know, by examination of the master, &c. as well as by the writings taken on board such ship, (which they always took care to seize upon) who were the principals concerned in both ship and cargo, with their places of abode." He added, "that Roberts might have the powers and writings in another name, which he might go by, till he had finished his business, and then could assume his own, which method would infallibly secure him from all possibility of a discovery." Roberts told him, "that he confessed there was not only a probability, but a seeming certainty in what he proposed, as well as abundance of address in the contrivance; but at the same time assured him, that were he positively certain that the affair would turn out ever so well, yet there was still a stronger motive to deter him from accepting of the offer, and that was his conscience; which, he said, would be a continual sting and accuser. After this, Roberts expatiated on the necessity of restitution, and touched on some points which he thought might awaken in

some, at least, of his auditors, a sense of repentance. On this occasion some of them said, he would do well to preach a sermon, and would make them a good chaplain; others said, No; they wanted no godliness to be preached there, and that pirates had no gods but their money, nor saviour but their arms." To do them justice, however, others approved of all he said, and wished that godliness, or at least some humanity, were more in practice among them, which they believed would be more to their reputation, and cause a greater esteem for them both from God and man. After this a silence followed, which Captain Ruffel broke by employing all his little sophistry to persuade Roberts, that the accepting of any thing from them, which they had taken from others, could be no crime in him, though it might be one in them, since he had no hand in the capture, and was a constrained prisoner. As to the owners having still a right; "Suppose (continued he) we should resolve to sink or burn her; unless you will accept of her; now where is the owner's property, when the ship is sunk or burnt? I think, the impossibility of his ever having her again cuts it off to all intents and purposes: and our power was the same, notwithstanding our giving her to you, if we had thought fit to make use of it." Loe and all the rest said, they liked to hear them argue, and that Roberts was a match for Ruffel, although, it seems he could seldom meet with a man to stand him; but the author pushed the matter no farther, finding he began to be peevish, and as it was resolved to give him his visit again. However that night when they were drinking together, a dispute arose about who was the rightful king of England, when Ruffel attempted to fire on Roberts, and was disarmed and confined for it. He was ordered not to offer the least disturbance again, nor concern himself with or about the author, till after he was on board the commodore, on pain of the crew's displeasure, and also of being prosecuted as a mutineer: the gunner told Roberts, they would have put him on board the commodore that instant, but for an express order among them, to receive no boat on board after eight or nine o'clock at the farthest. Next morning they carried him on board Captain Loe, and about four in the afternoon Ruffel came with Francis Spriggs, who commanded the other ship, and after a little while told Loe, that the mate of the ship was willing to enter with them a volunteer; on this Loe asked, How they should do in that case? because then the master of the sloop will have nobody to help him, but one boy: for, says he, the little child is no help at all. Ruffel replied, he could not help that. "But, said Loe, we must not take all the hands from the poor man, if we design to give him his sloop again; adding, that he thought in reason there could not be less than two boys and a mate. Ruffel said, the mate was a lusty, brisk, young fellow, and had been upon the account before. On this he said, that he was but just come from on board the sloop, and that the mate, in Sprigg's hearing, declared, that he was fully resolved to go with them, and not in the sloop, unless forced; and that his design, when he came out of Barbadoes, was to enter himself on board the first pirate he met with. "Besides, continued he, he told me, the first day, that he was resolved to enter with us." Loe replied, that to give a man his sloop, and no hands to assist him, was but putting him to a lingering death, and they had as good almost knock him on the head. Ruffel answered, As to that, they might do as they pleased, what he spoke now was for the good of the whole company, and agreeable to the articles, and that he would fain see or hear the men who dared contradict them. He said, he was quarter-master of the whole company, and by the authority of his place he would enter the mate directly, and had a pistol ready for any who should oppose him. Loe said, that with regard to what was law and custom among them, as he owned what he now pleaded was, he would neither oppose nor argue against; but if they thought fit to take the man's mate from him, then they might let one of his men go with him. Ruffel answered,

answered, No; for that all the sloop's men were already inrolled in their book; and therefore none of them should go in her again. "Gentlemen; continued he, you must consider, I am now arguing for the good of the company; as well as for the due maintenance and execution of the laws and articles: and as I am the proper officer, substituted and intrusted by this company with authority to execute the same; so, as I told you before, I have a pistol and a brace of balls ready for any who should oppose me therein;" and, turning to Roberts, he said, Master, the company have decreed you your sloop, and you shall have her; you shall have your two boys, and that's all; you shall have neither provisions nor any thing else more than she is now. And I hear some of the company design to make a gathering for you; but that also I forbid, by the authority of my place, because we are not certain but we may have occasion ourselves for those very things before we get more; for that reason I prohibit a gathering; and I swear, by all that is great and good, that if I know any thing whatever carried or left on board the ship, against my order, or without my knowledge, that very instant will I set her on fire, and you in her. "They disputed this matter a little longer; but in the end Ruffel, by dint of hardened villainy, and stern resolution, carried his point, and about dusk they parted, each to his own ship, several professing a kindness for Roberts, but none giving him a farthing, as he supposed, on account of Ruffel's words; for otherwise this generosity was very usual with them. Ruffel being ready, Roberts was directed to go in his boat, and as soon as they came on board, he ordered a supper. In the mean time, the bowl and bottle, with pipes and tobacco, being set on the table, he invited Roberts, and all his own officers, into the cabin: he there told him, he was very welcome, and bade him eat and drink heartily; "For, says he, you have as tedious a voyage to go through, as was Elijah's journey to Mount Horeb; and, as far as I know, without a miracle, it must be only by the strength of what you eat now; for you shall have neither eatables or drinkables with you in the sloop." Besides all this, Ruffel made game of him, saying, He might do without provisions or sails, as doubtless some miracle would be wrought in his favour. The gunner, however, seemed to have some remains of humanity; and among other things, bade Ruffel take care he had not this to answer for one day when, perhaps, he might wish he had never done it. "But you have got the company's assent (continued he) I cannot tell how, and therefore shall say no more, only that I, and I believe most of the company, came here to get money, but not to kill, except in fight, much less in cold blood, or for private revenge. And, I tell you, Ruffel, if ever such cases as these are any more practised, my endeavours shall be to leave this company as soon as I possibly can."

Ruffel made no answer, but gave orders to have the mate and main-sail brought away from the sloop, and then told Roberts he would give him something to remember him, which was an old musquet, and a cartridge of powder, and two half-pound papers of tobacco; after which, with great ceremony, he was conducted over the side into his own boat, (which was ready) and directly put off; and meeting the schooner's boat, about half way between the two vessels, according to Ruffel's orders, they took their own hands out, and put his boys, whom they brought with them, on board him, and so made for the schooner. He shipped this mate at Barbadoes, who told him then, he had been mate of a New England sloop, but being shipwrecked, lost every thing, and indeed was almost naked when Roberts first met with him; however, he believed the man was not in debt, because he himself was never troubled on that account, as the custom is on that island, where they oblige the debtor to assign over his wages to the master, with a power to pay the debt, otherwise they will not suffer him to go off the island. Roberts bought his men clothes and instruments, with such necessaries as were

absolutely requisite for the voyage. He observed nothing in him tending to the common vices of sea-faring men, especially those who have frequented those parts, as swearing, drunkenness, debauchery, &c. He pretended to be a rigid Dissenter, and seemed mightily averse to the church of England, as by law established, about which, they had frequently several arguments. He did not remember to have heard him swear all the time he was with him; and yet one of his boys told him, that after this very mate had acquainted the pirates with his resolution, (or rather returned to be a pirate again) he became worse than the most profligate of them, in the frequency and horribleness of his oaths; and that he was almost constantly drunk while on board the sloop, after the pirates had taken him. "I wonder, said the boy, that Mr. Hunter, (that was the mate's name) should be so barbarous as to leave you in this extremity, as some of the pirates on board told me; for he had acquainted them how kind you had been to him, and they refused at first to enter him; and believe, they would not have admitted him, if it had not been for Ruffel."

On the 13th of October, at day-break, they went to rummage the sloop, first sweeping all the bread-lockers out, Roberts got near a hat full of dust and crumbs of biscuit: in another he found four or five hands of tobacco, with as many short broken pipes. They had besides left his fore-staff, but with the thirty crosses only: likewise his bedding, which was quite useless to them: all but the captain, master, steward, and gunner, lying on the deck, or where they could. In the hold, there was about ten gallons of rum left in one hoghead, and thirty pounds of rice in another, with a small remnant of flour in the bottom of the flour cask, but all the water they could drain from the cask did not make above three pints. In the next place, looking at his sails, he found the same jib that was bent, an old fore-sail, and the old rent rotten main sail above mentioned; which, however, lighting in their search upon six needles, with some twine, and a couple of pawms, they went to work upon; but for want of stuff, cut off the first reef to mend the rest, as far it would go, taking down the foot, and sewing the bolt-rope. By good luck, they also found some old canvas in the mate's cabin. Thus employed, they lived for three days on raw flour or rice, with a dram of rum, and saved their little stock of water to make cakes with; of which they baked four little ones, and the fourth day divided one among them, which, with a dram of rum, was the best meal Roberts had made since he left the pirates.

On the 3d of November, he took two observations, and found himself in seventeen degrees north latitude; therefore steering as well as he could for the Cape de Verde Islands, he found himself on the 7th of November, by observation, in latitude sixteen degrees fifty minutes north, about forty-six leagues by computation, off St. Anthony: and the night following, having a smart shower of rain, they saved about a gallon of water. But on the 10th, there sprung up a moderate gale, which holding till the 16th, about ten that morning, they saw St. Anthony, which bore east half a point northerly, about nineteen leagues distant, by judgment. It falling calm, in the afternoon they caught a large shark, but were forced to let it go again for want of proper care. However, another was taken soon after, which was very strong, and with its tail shook the decks amazingly: that, however, was cut off, and it was killed. It was about eleven feet and an half long, and three hundred weight: on cutting her open, Roberts found five young ones in the belly all alive, each about the bigness of a small whiting. Her liver was not of a blackish colour, as usual, but of a bright grey. Presently striking a light with Ruffel's gun, they set on the pot with sea-water, and boiling this fish, made a very hearty meal of it: but having no salt, they cut the rest into long thin slices, and dried them in the sun. This gun, was thought at first

an useless present, and only accepted it because he durst not do otherwise; and having neither tinder-box nor steel left him, it would have been impossible for him to have got a fire without it. And having no candle, he made use of a live coal to discern the compass.

On the 17th, St. Anthony bore south-by-west, about eight leagues distant. This morning they boiled some of the fish for breakfast, which made them very thirsty; but then they had a good stock of water, and ventured to drink a little; and for dinner, Roberts set on the pot with some fresh water, and a little rice; which being boiled soft, he thickened with flower, and then put in a piece of shark's liver shred small, which soon dissolved almost all to oil. This served them instead of butter to their hasty pudding. They made a very hearty meal, and it relished much better for being in sight of land.

On the 19th of November in the morning, they saw St. Anthony, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Terra Branca, and the Monte Guardie, the highest mountain of St. Nicholas. And on the 20th, they came to an anchor at Currifal in sixteen fathoms, about a quarter of a mile off shore. After he had stowed his sails, he went in the boat to get in the end of his cable, which the pirates had slipped, having discerned it and the buoy on the anchor before he anchored. For this purpose he took a coil or two of small rope in the boat to fasten one end to the cable, and bringing the other end on board, to haul the cable with it, and so ride moored till he moved from thence: but night coming on, he was forced to come on board without finishing his design. Then Potter begging to scull the boat on shore to fetch some water, he gave him leave; and presently after, being quite faint for want of rest, he went down, first ordering the boy to keep watch for Potter's return, and fell fast asleep. He awaked in a surprise, and called to the little boy, who not answering, he went up, and found him fast asleep in the gang-way, and looking about, could but just see the island. It was now about midnight, and he was not a little surprised to see himself again exposed to the sea; and in a worse condition than before, being himself faint through weariness, and having lost his only assistant. However, with a great deal of fatigue, he got into a sandy bay, called Puffacco by the natives, where he anchored on the 22d of November. About sun-set, seven blacks came from Paraghisi, and brought two ten gallon casks of water; saying they were sea-men, and sent by the priest and governor to help him; assuring him, that he might get up to Paraghisi as soon as the windward current was made, which would be in about an hour's time; and when he talked of staying for his boy at Currifal with his boat, they told him that could not be this fortnight at least, the wind being set in strong trade. The blacks prevailing over his judgment, they heaved anchor about eight o'clock, in a moderate gale; but the wind increasing, they stood along shore, and off, till they reckoned they were a-breast of a place called Porto Gavy, and then putting the vessel in stays, the main sail spilt so in the staying, that he was forced to lower it down, for fear it should be torn all in pieces, which so daunted them, that they were resolved to quit the sloop, and take to their boat, telling him, he had better go with them. Roberts used all the arguments he could think of to divert them from this resolution; representing on one hand, what inhumanity it would be to leave him without any help at all; and on the other side, setting before them the danger of such an enterprise to themselves; but it was in vain; they said, Their chance could be no better if they staid in a leaky sloop without sails, water, provisions, &c. and often repeated, it would be better to perish in sight of their homes, than in a strange place. Besides, said one of them, if you should get to any land, you would want for nothing, but we must expect to be killed; or, at least be made slaves during our lives, which would be worse than death itself, and therefore,

(continued he) I am resolved, come what will, to trust myself to the boat and St. Anthony, and doubt not but he will prevail with God to carry me safe."

Captain Roberts was at a loss what course to take, on these blacks leaving him, guessing he should not be able to fetch the Isle of St. Mary, or St. Jago, and was then entirely unacquainted with St. Philip's and St. John's; and besides, had no encouragement to steer for either; the sea draughts giving a very imperfect description of them, and the pilots of those parts being as much or more defective, making them both to be very dangerous; but he found afterwards most of their accounts to be false.

The next morning, he saw east-north-east from him, Terra Vermilia, or Punta de Ver Milharee, as it is called by the inhabitants. And next day in the afternoon, to his great surprise, he heard the voice of men in the hold, and looking down the hatch-way saw three blacks, who called to him, and asked, If he was at anchor? he told them, he was at sea, and out of sight of land: but was in hopes he should fetch St. Jago. At this they seemed rejoiced, and got upon deck, and one of them said, He was very well acquainted at St. Jago, St. Philip's, and St. John's, of which he gave proofs, and said, he could direct them to any harbour in either of them: that St. Philip's was a plentiful island, but had bad riding, the sea ran so high; but that at St. John's there was a very good harbour, which he was sure he could direct him safely to. They all said they were sorry their comrades went away and left him, after they had drank off his rum; though the chief cause of their staying, was, their having drank in the hold, till they fell down quite drunk.

After he had got his main-sail up, he steered directly for the north point of St. Philip's; and at day break doubling the point, he bore more southerly along the coast, till he came abreast the Ghors: then seeing the island of St. John's, he steered directly for it, and as soon as he made the little islands, he steered (by the direction of his pilot) to the eastermost of them, which is the highest. When they had got abreast of this, they steered for the north-east point of the eastermost of the little islands, about south-west-by-south, distant near two leagues. Then Roberts began to ask his pilot, whereabouts the harbour was? and found to his great surprise, by shewing every new place they came up with, for it, that he knew nothing of it. However, he now saying he was sure they were not past it, they kept along the island, and at last discovered the harbour, but not till they were got to leeward of it. Upon this, Roberts asked Nicolau, If there was no place to leeward that he might anchor at? The negro said, No, and that if he did not put the sloop on shore before he drove to leeward of Punta de Sal, he would not be able to do it at all, and they must all certainly perish. Roberts asked him what he would advise him to do? He said, He would have him run the sloop upon the rocks, and let every one make his escape as he could. Roberts told him that neither he nor his boy could swim. His answer was, That since they were got so near the shore, if he did not put the sloop on shore, they could and would, whether he gave them leave or not. On this, Roberts saying, he had a gun ready loaded for any who should offer to do any thing on board his vessel against his will, Nicolau immediately jumped overboard, saying, He wished him well, and the rest with him; but that he would endeavour not to perish himself, and so swam on shore. The captain, afterwards telling them of this man's ignorance, they began to curse him heartily, and to wish that he might be drowned before he got on shore, or break his neck down the rocks in climbing up. Roberts told them he was in hopes yet of getting them safe to land, provided they would pump the water out of the sloop: but they told him, they would neither pump, nor do any thing else, till they saw themselves safe at anchor, and then they would do any thing he desired; making

making bitter imprecations never to leave him as Nicolau had done.

Roberts ran down along shore, and hauled in close to Punta de Sal, so near, that about the point a man might almost have jumped on shore. His reason for venturing so near those rocks, without being acquainted with them, was, that this point being the most leeward land of the island he could see, he did not know but the land might reach away on the other side of it; so that he should not be able to haul in with it: also observing it to be a smooth steep rock, but possible however, to be climbed, and knowing generally such sort of rocks are steep to the water, his intention was, if nothing else could be done, to steer up to the rock, so that the boy and he might jump on shore, since to drive to sea, if he could any way avoid it, would be the height of rashness. But as soon as he opened the land on the other side of the point, he discovered a small, deep, little bay, and luffing in about it, cast his lead, which he had ready, and found thirteen fathoms, the next cast twelve: the northern current (which set into the bay, and round the point) being made, helped to check him in, then he had ten, next nine, on which he cock-billed his anchor, and let go in eight fathoms water, even and clear bottom, though the shore looked ragged; which generally denotes foul ground. And now the blacks went overboard, and swam on shore. Three of the inhabitants came down at day break to the sea-side, and hailing the sloop, went on board; they were very civil to him, offered to get him water; and dress him a pompion, if he would go on shore: he told them he could not swim: they much wondered that a man should venture to sea, without knowing how to swim: he told them many of his countrymen could not, and that swimming was not common among the English, as it was among them.

They said, It was very strange the English using the sea more than any nation, even more than the Portuguese, who had taught all the world to be sailors, as they were informed, should not practise swimming: that for their parts, they accustomed themselves to it from their infancy, even the women, saying they should not venture down upon the rocks to fish, unless they could swim, for fear they should at any time fall into the sea, in which case they must needs be drowned.

The negroes having brought him two calabashes of water, holding about six quarts. Roberts offered to dress some of his dried shark for them: but on sight of it, they said they took it to be the fish called Sarde; and asked, if it would seize and devour a human creature. Roberts telling them it would, they, without any ceremony threw it overboard, and said, they thought no man of any nation would eat a fish that fed upon human flesh; but especially the English, whom they took to be the nicest and cleanest people in the world. However, they pumped the vessel dry for him, and he gave them each a small dram of rum; telling them, he had only a little left by the pirates at the bottom of a cask.

They thanked him and said, they would rather he would keep it for himself, since, as he was used to it, he might want it the more; but as for their parts, they had never tasted any spirituous liquors before, although it was the best liquor they had ever met with; yet water being their only drink, was more natural to them; but there were some among them, they said, knew it well enough. They had heard it related, that a pirate, called Maringwin, a Frenchman, having landed in this island, had a quantity of that strong water, and was very free of it among the blacks: who drinking plentifully, for want of being used to it, went mad for that time. Some also falling sick, died of phrenzy fevers. Notwithstanding this, many now upon the island were almost every day wishing, that a pirate would come and take them with him to some country where they might have enough of that hot liquor to drink.

They much admired the hour-glass, and fore-staff;

and when he told them their use, they said they believed all white men were conjurers. But he told them the contrary, and that forcerers were burned by the Christians, which they said was a good law. They told him that a great many of them could read, write, and cast accounts, though they owned they had not the use of figures like the English, who, as they had been informed, exceeded all people in the world for navigation, physic, conjuration, and arithmetic. Next morning, about sun-rise, there was a great noise and calling, from the tops of the lower rocks, as if there had been an hundred people. The blacks said they believed these were the fore-runners of the company, which the governor had sent; but observed that the noise was multiplied by the resounding of the rocks, which deceived the author, for they knew there was no more than two of them. In the afternoon, it began to blow, and looked dark, cloudy and heavy to windward, over the land, which is a certain sign of a gale of wind. He got some of the blacks to swim with the end of a small rope on shore, and by that to haul a cable's end, and make it fast to the rocks, which they did, but so slightly that it slipped, and he could not prevail with them to try once more; saying, if the vessel should drive, (which he was afraid of) they would get him and his boy safe on shore, and, pointing to the cross jack yard, which lay upon the deck, they said, with that, they could carry him an hundred times farther than from thence to the shore to fetch Nicola Verde, and with no more help. The gale continued the next day, and about eight o'clock it began to blow very hard, the flaws coming down the rocks with an incredible fury, blowing sometimes directly off the high, rocky shore, and sometimes in counter-flaws to that on the land, which raised the water beyond what he ever saw a whale or grampus do. He could not tell what course to take; but with a great deal of difficulty, persuaded the natives not to leave him, and so got that night over. In the morning it looked as it did the day before, and rather more fiery and red, and about nine or ten o'clock, it began to blow much harder. They were all wet with the spray that was thrown up into the air, like a water-spout, so that sometimes they could not see the land, though it was so near, and so high. On the 29th of November, about twelve or one, the cable parted with a counter-flaw on the land, and drove them on a point of broken rocks which lay in the bay, and soon made a free passage through her bottom for the water. On this, the natives went on shore in a fright, but soon returned; and one of them carrying the little boy, the rest offered to help him on shore also, and said, they did not doubt, in the least, to convey him safe, with the aid of St. Anthony, who, they were sure, would assist them, because they had said their prayers before they came off. The natives, from the tops of the rocks, seeing the ship run foul of them, and the people in her take to the water, hastened down to see what was become of them. These were soon followed by others, who brought some pompions and milk in a calabash; and the storm being a little abated, they swam off on light pieces of boards of the wreck, and finding a place about 16 feet above the flowing of the sea, and about eight feet broad, with the rock over-hanging, they made a fire, and boiled some provisions. Thus they passed the night, it proving moderate weather, besides being clear and star-light. These people spent the next day in saving all they could of the wreck, and were very dextrous at the work; but were particularly careful of all the bits of planks where they found any paint, esteeming that the richest stuff of all. They said, if the mast, boom, bolt-sprit, &c. could be any way fastened, and secured till a calm day came, they could tow them up to the harbour, called The Ovens, and they might be serviceable to him one day or other. He told them they would, and if any ship happened to put in there that would want them, he could sell them for something which would be for their benefit, to help to pay them for this their kindness to him. They said,

said they were glad they had been of any service to him, and thought it their duty to serve strangers in distress, notwithstanding they were of different colours, and by others, they believed, accounted different creatures; yet they thought we were all of one species, and they were all men as we were, though they allowed themselves much inferior to whites in every thing. Roberts told them, as to that, he did not see any difference, only in the colour, and he could not tell whether that might not be owing to the excessive heat of the sun there; saying, if a white man and woman were to come and live with them, and go naked, and exposed to the scorching sun as they were, perhaps their posterity, in three or four generations, might be changed to their complexion. They said, No; for they had heard, that notwithstanding their skin might lose its whiteness, yet their hair would always hold its nature, and not be frizzled, like theirs, and they said, moreover, there was a curse laid on them, that they should always be subjects and servants to the whites; a doctrine which the Portuguese had probably taken pains to inculcate.

They continued, one or other of them, swimming about the wreck all day, and continually kept bringing off something; and among the rest two iron pots, at which they seemed much rejoiced. Swimming was their master-piece; they made no difficulty of passing from place to place this way, even as far as to the small islands and back again, and said, a man might remain several days in the water, if he were not seized with the cramp. They fetched up many things from the bottom, by diving, at which they were very expert; and the sea being always smooth there in fine weather, (as this little bay of Punta du Sal lies on the lee side of the island) they can see all round very plain, in four, five or six fathoms, and in a rocky bottom, even to ten fathoms; standing up to the middle in water. It is a common practice with these blacks, when they have done fishing, to stand on the rocks and throw stones into the water, and for others to dive and bring them up; and they account it nothing to dive five or six fathoms, and creep along the bottom for a minute, or more.—About noon they set on the pot with a pompion, and dressed some fish which the blacks had caught; soon after which, a messenger came from Signor Lionel Gonsalvo, the governor, with his compliments and excuse for not coming himself, on account of a cold. He brought some pompions, and three or four potatoes, and promises of some wild goat or venison, next day. A little while after came a black from the priest, with the same compliments, but brought nothing with him to eat; and said, his master desired, if Roberts had saved any flour, to send him some, and if he had any strong liquor also, his master would be no less glad of it, though he had not told him to ask for any. And Roberts shewing him all he had left from the wreck, which were chiefly some pieces of board, and two iron pots; he said, his master was more able to do him more service than even the governor himself; and believed, if one of those pots were presented him, it would be very acceptable. Some time after came down one Domingo Gomez, son of Antonio Gomez, formerly governor of the island. He brought some pompions, bananas, a papah, and a cake of bread, made of bananas and maize. He said his mother sent the cake, and would send some milk.—Roberts talking of a return for these favours, they replied, they did not desire any thing, but that he would continue his esteem for them, and let his countrymen know how kindly he had been used among them; adding, that no other return would be required by any of the islanders unless the priest, who, they heard, was always very craving; and, therefore, they gave him this caution, for fear he might beg any thing of him, according to custom. The captain said, when he returned home, and gave his countrymen an account of their civility, he did not doubt but some of them would come and visit them. Gomez answered, it might be so, if this island produced any thing fit for traffic; but that his father, and other

old men, remembered several strangers coming thither, most of them of the same nation called Pirates; (for they thought there was a particular people of that name) who had robbed the author; adding, That though they had used him so hardly, they were very civil to *them*, and would often tell them their island was very poor, that they lived very miserable in comparison of what the white men did in their own country; and that having no produce good for any thing, was the reason so few ships came to visit them. Roberts observing one listening to his discourse with more than ordinary attention, and looking at him, he observed he was not like the Guinea negroes. This man, to his surprise as well as joy, answered in the English language, that the island might yield many valuable commodities, though unknown, at least as to their uses; as the gold, teeth, ambergrease, wax, and various kinds of dying woods in Guinea, were formerly; and that, at this present, the northernmost part of that country, to his knowledge, produced several rich commodities, not yet known to the English to be there. Upon inquiry, he told Roberts his name was Charles Franklin, and that he was born at Caerleon upon Usk, in Wales, that his father was a justice of peace, and he himself had been master of several ships out of Bristol; adding that in a voyage to the West Indies, he had been taken by his name-sake Bartholomew Roberts the pirate, and being brought upon the coast of Guinea, made his escape at Sierra Leona, and got to a black prince up the river, called King Thome, who protected him from Roberts's persecution; to whom he sent word, that he had a thousand stout men, or four times that number, who, tho' blacks, knew how to use arms as well as his, and were ready to give him a proper reception, if he offered any incivilities in his country. That the pirate upon this message, thought fit to make off as soon as he had refreshed, and pursue his intended voyage on the coast of Guinea, as far as St. Thomas, or Prince's Island. After Roberts's departure, Captain Plunket, governor of the English factory at Sierra Leona, hearing of Franklin, and taking him to be one of the pirates company, sent to acquaint the king with it, and also, demanded him to be given up accordingly to the English justice, and the English right. The king made known to him this message, and the difficulties it threw him into, as he was loth to disoblige the governor, and the English nation. But the Welshman laid before the king the dangers he might be in with the governor and the company, for want of proper vouchers of his innocence, (which he solemnly avowed) if they should be severe, and likewise expressed a desire to stay under his protection till some ship came thither, whose captain knew him.

On this, the king swore by his chief god, he should not be delivered to any body, and accordingly rejected all solicitation, but desired him to consult his own safety in such a manner, that no offence might be given to the English. Then he begged to be sent farther into the country; being the more induced to this, by the reports he had from the natives, that the ports within land abounded with gold, which metal he had some knowledge of, having served an apprenticeship in Bristol, to the goldsmith's trade. He also observed to the author, that though he was sure nobody would, in the long-run, do him any harm, yet a great deal of trouble might be given on account of a name-sake of the latter, who was a noted pirate, and had been advertised in the London Gazette. His chief motive for desiring to be sent up the country was, a notion he had, that there was gold within land at Guinea, and that most of the mountains abounded with it; more especially between the latitudes of 12 or 13 degrees, both north and south; and, perhaps, also as far southerly as the land reached. His curiosity, he said, was strengthened by the opportunity he now had of giving them no room to suspect him for a spy; for the inhabitants of these inland parts were very jealous, being prepossessed by the borderers on the

the sea-coast, with a fear of being carried off by the whites, as well as of their great power and subtilty. These notions, he believed, were infused by the borderers, to ingross the whole trade into their own hands; it being also usual with them to tell strangers, that there is no gold in the inland countries, and that it is also contained in the sands and shore of the rivers on the coast.

These islanders (he says) have also a notion, that the white people have a new world, where they intend to reside, which is inconceivably better than the old, but that they want so much done to it, that it will be many ages before it can be made fit for their reception; that they send all their most valuable things from their old world thither, the labour of which is carried on by the negros they yearly take out of Guinea; that all those blacks must work very hard, without any intermission or redemption, until the new world is completely fitted up in a very beautiful manner, and the white people are all settled there. But when that is done, having no farther service for the blacks, they will send them home to inhabit this world, without ever molesting them again.

Franklin came acquainted with these inlanders by his long residence among them; for he had prevailed with King Thoma to send him to King Bombolu, whither he went, attended by four of that prince's guards, and his staff of state, which serve as a credential. He informed Roberts, that he was seven days in his journey to King Bombolu's town, which was about ninety or one hundred miles off; that he travelled on foot, and stopped by the way at several of their towns, where they were used very courteously; that for the first four days he observed nothing of any consequence; but after that, perceived gold among the inhabitants in very great abundance, yet durst not make any inquiry about it, finding himself strictly watched by his attendants, who, as he understood afterwards, had orders to give him no opportunity to make any remarks upon the country, and to carry him a defart way as much as they could, and see he did not write at any time. For though King Thoma had, for this reason taken away all his paper before he set out, under pretence of keeping it safe till he came back, yet they had an opinion, that all the whites had a genius who would bring them at their call, any thing they wanted. Therefore, if they saw him have any paper, or offer to write, their orders were instantly to deliver him up to a certain king, who was, it seems, an enemy to them as well as to all the whites, on whom alone the geniuses of white people had no power. "At length, continued he, we arrived at King Bombolu's court, where, after shewing the staff of credit, and delivering my pretended errand, which was to open a trade with them, I was received with abundance of respect and honour by the king and his nobles, who shewed me every thing they thought might contribute to my diversion; and there was gazing enough upon me, I being the first European that was ever remembered to have been seen in that town."

The author observing the two blacks, who were with them, very attentive to their discourse, asked one of them, if he understood English? He said No; he heartily wished he did; but was glad, however, they could understand one another. Franklin telling him that Roberts was his countryman, the negro was surpris'd, knowing Franklin to be a Guallego, or Welchman. Roberts having a great desire to go up the town, not being satisfied with Franklin's objections of the impracticability of it, on the account of the steepness and height, as well as sharp points of the rocks, asked the negros their opinions, who confirmed what Franklin had said; and told him what he saw, was not the hundredth part of the whole height, giving a very imperfect and extraordinary account of the island. Notwithstanding this, when Franklin propos'd to explain it, they presently took snuff, and one of them, raising his voice, and knitting his brows, said he wonder'd Franklin should

pretend to give a better account than they; who travelled paths which he durst not attempt. Franklin asked pardon, making a great many apologies; and they seeing Roberts a little surpris'd and concerned at their resentment, softened their tone; and told Franklin they were heartily glad he could talk with; and divert the captain; and that he would have them carry on their conversation in what language he liked best; however, they said, as the captain could speak their language very well, they had rather he would talk in that, that they might benefit by the discourse, yet were still more willing to forego their own satisfaction for the sake of his. This resentment Franklin said was owing to the jealousy they had, that he stood better with Roberts than themselves therefore it was thought fit to break off farther discourse for that time.

The author now began to wish himself at the town especially as both the governor and priest had sent men down to invite them to their houses. On this occasion he overheard one, who spoke low, say, "If I were the captain, I should rather chuse to lodge with Signore Antonio Gomez, than with any one on the island, he having also a good stock of every thing to eat, and more plentiful than the governor;" "Aye, but says another, the priest has meat and fish oftener than Antonio Gomez or any body else." "It is true, says a third, but if the captain lives with the priest, he will beg all his cloaths; and you all know what a covetous man he is. We cannot make any of us a handsome cap, or have any thing else that is either fine or delightful, but presently he is begging it from us."

While the author continued in this dismal habitation, he was daily in danger of being killed by the stones that tumbled from the mountains early and late in the morning and evenings. This, as the blacks said, was occasioned by the wild goats going to their caves on the edge of the mountains, whose foot was at the top of the rock, under which they were: "For the land, says the author, rises something like the pyramids of Egypt: the foot of one mountain being, as it were, the top of another, till you arrive at the middle of the island, which is the highest; and tho' it appears with a rounding head, off the top of the sea, yet it is rather flat, but, however, declining a little till you come to the edges, and from thence going steep down, something like St. Paul's cupola." He was therefore desirous of setting out for the town; and a day or two after, Domingo tying the boy behind him with a sash, carried him up, and as soon as he returned, Roberts set out himself; but after they got to the first resting-place, which was about the height of St. Paul's Cupola, it was so steep he could proceed no farther; and one of them searching about for the best way, broke off a very large piece of a rock, which was very near sweeping down some of them in its way; and the noise and dust frightened them also, that they were about descending, when Domingo called them to stop, and said he would not trust the captain down in the day-time; because he said the rocks were then more crumbly; so they lodged in a kind of gallery for that night, dressing some fish and pompions for supper; and in the morning, with great difficulty and hazard, got down to the old place again: soon after, Domingo, with some of the blacks, went to fetch the boat to carry the author to town by water. It was almost calm then, and about noon it grew quite calm, contrary to what it is on the weather side, as well to the south-east and north-west sides of the island, where the nearer the sun approaches the meridian, the fresher the gale blows, but on the south-west side the contrary. The extreme heat of the sun reflecting from the rocks, together with bad diet, fatigue, &c. threw the author into a violent fever, which bringing on a delirium, he lay here six weeks before he recovered strength enough to be carried to the town. He was very carefully and affectionately attended all the while by the blacks, and one of them was unfortunately killed very near him by a piece of a

rock, which falling down, dashed him in pieces.—The blacks returning with the boat, and seeing this misfortune, hastened him away to Fuarno, where the governor's horse coming for him in the morning, he rode up to his house, or hut, and was kindly received; but being engaged, by a promise to Domingo, lay at his father Antonio's. They had provided him a bed, which was something extraordinary, considering the people and country. The four posts were driven into the floor in a long square; and four pieces of wood tied, between, to them, with banana cords, formed the head, feet, and sides, three or four sticks being laid across at proper distances, and tied at each end to the posts: over these was laid a hurdle, made of large cane-reed, the same sort that is brought from Portugal, &c. and upon this, a quantity of banana leaves, which were covered with a banana mat; upon which were spread two white cotton cloths for sheets, and over all a blue and white cotton cloth by way of counterpane. Here he lay two months before he was able to go abroad; and as soon as he got strength, diverted himself with fishing, at which sport they used to be out three or four days together, the negros carrying down wood for a fire to boil the fish, and roast their pumpions; and salt they gathered on the rocks, being made by the heat of the sun from the sea-water lying in the holes.

Roberts having made all the inquiry he could, when any ship had touched at the island, was informed, that only two had put in there in seven years: one an Englishman, who bought some hogs; the other a Portuguese carrying slaves from St. Nicholas to Brasil, and called for water; but was driven from his anchor by a storm. As he had a mind to go to St. Philip's, where he was told ships often came, he got together all the remains of the wreck, and with the help of the natives, he built a boat of twenty five feet long in the keel, thirty feet between stem and stern-port, breadth at the main beam ten feet, depth about four feet ten inches. He caulked her with cotton and moss, and paid the seams with tallow, mixed and incorporated into a putty, with asses dung and ashes. There was this peculiar good quality in it, that being rubbed well in the seam, it hardened it in a short time, so that the sun did not melt it, neither would it wash off again with the water, nor would the fish eat it off as they did the unmixed tallow, which besides was pretty scarce; for they got but five pounds of tallow out of forty goats, and a tolerable fat cow. He now prepared to go, (and having picked up an anchor, left by the above mentioned Portuguese ship) thence passed to Fuarno. From this place he went up to town to take his final leave, as he thought, of the inhabitants: but to his great surprise, Mr. Franklin, who had constantly talked of going with him, now he was ready, refused it, and gave him such reasons as he was forced to acquiesce with. He therefore set sail with six blacks and his little boy, about two hours before day, taking the first of the northern stream, and chose the morning tide, in order to get across the channel before the day gale, which sometimes blows in violent flaws down the Ghors. They got into the road, and ran down to Fonte de Villa, which is a sandy bay; but he passed by it, because the wind was pretty far northerly, which is an open wind there. He ran down along shore, and doubling the point at Nuestra Señora, he anchored in the bay in six fathoms, this being also a clean sandy bay, and the water, as the wind stood, smoother than at Fonte de Villa: but he staid not there, being advised by some negros, who came from Thome Santee, to sail down a little lower to a small bay, called Laghate, where he might put the boat to the beach, and wade on shore: the sea being very smooth, and little or no surf running on the shore, and they went with him to shew him the bay.

This Thome Santee, was commandant of the horse, and was ordered by the governor to march along the cliffs as far as Nuestra Señora, to defend

the coast, in case Roberts should attempt to land before they were satisfied what he was.

On this island of St. Philip's he found two black carpenters, who were brought up at the French Factory at Senegal, and had been five years at Nants to learn the trade; and finding his boat very leaky, he determined to go back with those to St. John's (where wood was plentiful) to fit up his boat better, taking Captain Thome along with him, and some other passengers, he weighed from Laghate about an hour or better before the northern tide was made: and having the advantage of the southern breeze, which lasted up to the point, with the help of both sails and oars, they arrived there by the time that the flood set up to the northward, and then opening the point, they met the trade wind, and making two or three boards, got the length of Balleavilies a good while before the tide was done: but that being well spent, and the wind far northerly, fearing he should not reach the Fuarno on a lee-tide, he anchored there, staving to take a whole flood to cross the channel: and the tide serving before day, he weighed about four o'clock in the morning, and got into the Fuarno of St. John's, a little after noon. That day he received ten cotton cloths for freight of his passengers, which made him a good foresail, and repaired his jib: of the remainder, he made a pair of trowsers for himself, and a jacket and trowsers for his little boy. He staid here two months before he finished his boat, after which, he sailed thence to St. Jago, but called at St. Philip's by the way to put on shore there Captain Thome and the Philippians. He staid there three days to lay in provisions and water, then weighed, and in about ten days time, beat up to St. Jago; but says, had he not been acquainted with the set of the current, he could never have raised it. He reached a bay called Rivero des Bharkes, where he anchored; but finding no ships there, and also a great scarcity of salt, he determined to go to the isle of Mayo for that commodity: he was also near half full of pompion, maïse, &c. and was told the isle of Mayo was almost famished for want of sustenance. Having taken in water, he concluded to go about the north-end of St. Jago, as he knew it by experience, to be the best way to gain the isle of Mayo. After two days stay, he weighed, and anchored in the bay of Rivero de Plata; and with the next tide got to Porto Terrafall; and waiting thirteen days there for favourable weather: he at last weighed and got in a windward tide to Porto Facienda: but afterwards could not weather the point of the island, and was driven by the lee tide into an unknown bay. Over-against the bay were a great many rocks, the largest not a good stone's cast in the length, most of them above water, extending about half a league off from the shore: but he got well in with some difficulty, and found a safe and pleasant cave running in behind the point, above a cable's length wide, from which people could see no sea, and were sheltered from the winds. An elderly man came down to him attended by four slaves armed with lances. He very courteously asked Roberts to come on shore; who told him he would come presently, and in the mean time a water-melon was thrown into the water for him.

Roberts did not care much for trusting himself on shore with him at first, for that part of St. Jago consists mostly of banditti, who frequently fly thither, and sometimes make incursions upon the rest: but seeing him accept his present kindly, which, with those people is mostly esteemed as a token of friendship, he ventured on shore, where he was received with great formality by the old gentleman, who asking whence he came, and whither bound, &c. told him that his name was Jorje Vharela the Jhuiss; that he was the justice of those parts, that all the land as far as could be seen was his estate: and that he had silver mines in his ground, but knew not how to extract the silver from the oar, and did not chuse to send to the city for a smelter, for fear the mine should

be discovered by the king of Portugal, and be seized by his army for him: adding, that this might perhaps, also be the means of making them lose their privileges here, which had been preserved ever since the island of St. Jago was inhabited; but promised to send for some of the ore for Roberts. When it came, it proved to be nothing more than a rock of a yellowish grey colour, consisting of flakes about the thickness of slate, full of shining spangles, which glistened in the sun-beams like chrystal glaſs. The native thanked his gueſt kindly for the melon, which was the more acceptable, he ſaid, on account of the ſeeds, which coming from abroad, the fruit would be always valued as a rarity; and in return, he gave him at parting, a fat goat and ſome milk.

Next morning Roberts weighed, and getting about the Bighude, which is the north-eaſt point of the iſland of St. Jago: about noon, the wind north-eaſt, he ſaw the iſle of Mayo: about three in the afternoon, Monte Pinofa bearing ſouth-eaſt-by-eaſt; and anchored next morning at Porto Engleſe, or Yingdoſs, as it is called by the inhabitants: but finding no ſhips here, and the ſurge running high on ſhore, he weighed, in order to beat up to Calyete or Paafcco, to windward of Calyete; but finding that not convenient, being a great way from the Salt-pans, he run down to the Calyete, and anchoring there, diſpoſed of his things, and had ſalt brought to him by the natives, for which he paid with ſome of his cargo from St. John's and St. Philip's. But the negros in the boat, taking it into their heads that this ſalt was intended to be carried with themſelves, to Barbadoes, they all ran away from him. However, he had not been long in this condition, before two blacks came and offered their ſervice to go with him. One was a native of St. Nicholas; and the other of St. Antonio. This laſt ſaid, he would make a better hand of his ſalt, if he went to that iſland; and thence to Du Sal, taking a gang to St. Anthony to kill turtle there, in order to ſell at St. Nicholas, which was ſtill very ſcarce of proviſions: he reſolved to take his advice, the rather, becauſe if he could not reach theſe iſlands, he might go at laſt to St. Jago.

Accordingly he ſailed that evening from Calyete, but the wind not favouring his deſign of reaching either St. Nicholas or Antonio, he bore down to St. Jago, running for the north-eaſt point: where finding a large bay, about two leagues or ſomething more to the ſouthward of the Bikhude. Here he anchored in a little ſandy cove. But the St. Antonio black told him, he did not like the place, for it was the wildeſt part of that quarter, where the banditti inhabited. His words were confirmed by a volley of ſtones, which was ſoon followed by a ſecond ſhower, and ſo continued, by a number of blacks from ſhore: ſo that they had certainly been deſtroyed, had not Roberts thought of mentioning Signore Vharela the Jhuifs to them, as his intimate friend. Upon which, they all ſtarting up, aſked, if that was the veſſel that had been at Signore Jhuifs Porto? and being aſſured it was the ſame, they were immediately pacified, and profeſſed themſelves his friends. However, he did not care to ſtay, but very early next morning got out; and, it being calm, rowed down directly for Porto Formoſa, where he ſtaid to take in wood and water. He was met here on ſhore by Antonio the principal gentleman thereabouts, who was attended by eight ſlaves with lances, two having each a piſtol, which they were obliged to carry, being ſo near neighbours to the Indians, of Terrafal: and when Roberts told him how he had been ſerved, he ſaid, it was the greateſt miracle in the world they had not been all killed; declaring, that, for his part, he would not have been in their place, for the iſland of St. Jago. This gentleman was a white, of the race of Portugal, was extremely civil, and ſent half a dozen of his blacks to cut wood, and carry it to him, and next morning ſent an aſs loaded with proviſion and fruit, and at parting, preſented him with many other things.

Early the next morning, he went from thence, and coaſting along ſhore, with a fair wind, ran down the length of St. Jago town into the bay: and proceeding lower, entered the harbour of Porto Madera. Here he moored with his anchor off, and a rope faſtened on ſhore to a rock, which was like a quay, having twelve feet at low water cloſe to the rock: but there being no inhabitants near, and but indifferent way to St. Jago town. He coaſted along down to Praya Formoſa; and touching there, and at St. Domingo, proceeded to Porto Laba, where he received a letter from the general of all the Cape de Verdes, with a man and horſe to carry him to town. Leaving his boat here, he rode up to it, about twenty miles by land. Here he was in hopes he had met with a chap for his boat, but upon ſight of her, the bargain went off.

The ſickly time of year now approaching, he was reſolved to make for ſome of the windward iſlands, eſpecially St. Nicholas, where there was a better proſpect of meeting with ſome European ſhip to carry him off, the ſeaſon of the year alſo concurring: for they expected a ſoutherly wind in a little time. So he diſpoſed of his ſalt as faſt as he could, to get on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, becauſe from thence he could hope for a westerly wind, and the roads are alſo the ſafeſt. Having got a pretty good cargo of maize, for his ſalt, with ſome cocoa-nuts, plantanes, bananas, &c. He ſailed from Calyete St. Martyn, and getting the length of Porto Laba, intended to touch if poſſible, at Bona Viſta, where he knew there was a good market for his proviſions: but not being able to get thither, by reaſon of the northern ſtream, he ſtood for Porto Madera, where he waited eight days: and then having a ſoutherly wind, he ſtretched over for the iſle of Mayo, and about duſk was a-breast the Calyete, about two leagues offing. From hence, he kept to the eaſtward, coaſting along the iſland by two different ports; the iſlanders making fires at each place as he paſſed, in hopes he would land there. But he held on his courſe, till he thought himſelf paſt the Ghalloon, which is a ledge of broken rocks ſtriking a long way off from the north ſide of the iſland. After this, he ſteered as directly as he could for Calyete St. Jorje in Bona Viſta; but it falling calm, and meeting with variable light airs, he drove in the channel between the two iſlands, near three weeks, and being forced to bear away round the ſouth end of the iſland, he had an opportunity of obſerving the reef, which runs off from the land, at leaſt, a league and an half; ſo far off, he believes he ſaw the ſea break. It is a ledge of funken rocks and great ſtones; and from a mile's diſtance off to the ſhore are ſeveral breaks and channels to go through, having water enough for any ſhip. There was a great rolling ſwell, and the wind freſhened up, veering to the ſouth-eaſt, which made the ſea break there. At laſt he got into Calyete St. Jorje; however, there being no convenient quay or rock to land at, he got up to the Engliſh road two days after: where was a Portuguese launch left by the pirates, and given by them to Domingo Gonſalvo, who lent her to the author. Having launched her, he brought her on board, and ſet all hands to get in ſalt, but this being the rainy ſeaſon, he was three weeks in getting a cargo: At this time, there came a ſail into this road, a ſloop belonging to Briſtol. The captain was very kind to Roberts, and would have had him gone with him, which he was very willing to do, till he came to underſtand the deſign of the voyage; which he adds, would no ways agree with juſtice, neither was it ſafe for the owners.

The author living well on board this ſloop, fell into a fever by change of diet, notwithstanding all his precaution. In his ſickneſs he was carefully attended by the captain, who alſo at parting, gave him ſome medicines out of his cheſt, and ordered ſome bread to be put in the boat, and a dozen of wine, half a dozen of brandy, a piece of loaf ſugar, ſome butter, oatmeal.

oatmeal, flour, and what else he could then think would be necessary for him. He had the bishop of St. Jago, and the visitador general, with their attendants, on board, who were going their visitations round the islands; and after that, the visitador was to visit all the coast of Guinea, under the king of Portugal. The bishop, all the time, observing the friendship and freedom that passed between them, asked the captain, whether Roberts was related to him. He answered, Yes; that he was a Christian, a Protestant, a man, a countryman, and a better man than himself, though he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of pirates, and that his countrymen always used one another so.—After this, he presently set sail. The evening following, Roberts set sail for St. Nicholas, the chief island for asses; which is the first commodity generally traded for in those islands, and that commonly in November or December, those that come in January, usually loading salt. Here he arrived, and turned into a road called Porto Ghuy, there being less sea tumbling than at Paraghisi, whither he went the next day, and quickly disposed of his salt, measure for measure, for maïse, or Indian corn. It beginning to rain the day after his arrival here, Roberts was afraid of a southerly or westerly wind coming, which were all that could hurt him: but the blacks said, he need not fear that, and shewing him a sugar-loaf hill, called Monte Fradre, told him that misty cap, which it was covered with, was always a sign of a northerly wind. But, notwithstanding this mariner's hopes, a storm arose, which soon flaved the Balandra to pieces against the rocks: however, they all first got safe on shore out of her. After this, he went up the town, and having brought letters from the bishop, whom he saw at Bona Vista, to the two traders of St. Anthony, also from the priest, who attended the bishop, (being the same that was at St. Nicholas, when the pirates took him there) to his successor, the present priest there, he was very kindly received by them all; and the priest wanting wood to enlarge the choir part of his church, bought the wreck that was saved, and left here, for the use as abovementioned, for which he gave the author 10 dollars. It seems the priest saved it by charging them all at church, under pain of excommunication not to touch it; and pronounced damnation to every one who should disobey his orders.

Roberts receiving this money soon after, bought a large hog for a dollar and a half, and had it killed, and would not sell the maïse and feshoons, which he got for his salt, (being about 50 bushels) but for a large profit.—Here, falling into a tertian ague, he passed the time, or rather lingered on, till about the latter part of October, when, to his great satisfaction, news was brought of an English ship being arrived at the island, and that she anchored at the port of Terrafal. While he was getting ready a horse to go thither, he received a letter from the captain, whose name was John Harfoot, who happened to know him, at his first arrival, sent that letter to invite him to come on board him, if possible, next day. He accordingly went, and assisted the captain in disposing of his cargo; and when they had finished their business, they weighed, intending for Barbadoes, where Captain Harfoot was bound; but ran first to Bona Vista, where he staid four days; from thence he went to the Isle of May, for two days; and then proceeded for the island of St. Jago, and anchored in Porto Praya: they there met with an English ship, come from the coast of Guinea, with a cargo of slaves, wax, teeth, &c. and bound for Lisbon. The captain's name was Muses Durel of Pool, in Dorsetshire, with whom, on his invitation, Roberts determined to take his passage, as being the most direct course to England.

The Cape de Verde islands, of which Captain Roberts has here given us a particular description, as we have already observed, lie off the cape of that name. They were all desert when the Portuguese first discovered them, and first settled at St. Jago, the

most fertile of the whole cluster, consisting of ten, viz. du Sal, Bona Vista, (or Boa Vista) Mayo, St. Jago, Fuego, Brava, St. Nicholas, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Antonio. But some reckon fourteen, because they include four other little isles, or rather rocks in the number.

They take up a little above three degrees from the south to the north, and the same number from the east to the west, lying between 14 degrees 30 minutes, and 17 degrees 40 minutes of latitude, and between the 4th, and 7th degrees of longitude from Ferro.—Sal, Bona Vista, and Mayo lie most to the east, from north to south; St. Jago, Fuego, and Brava, to the south, from east to west; and St. Nicolas, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Antony, is to the north-west, in a range from south-east to north-west.

The air of these islands is extremely hot and unwholesome, so that they are reckoned to be situate in one of the most unhealthy climates in the world: the soil of some of them is stony and barren, as particularly that of du Sal, Bona Vista, and Mayo: Sal and Mayo, have a great number of wild horses; Mayo, besides wild horses, has a much greater number of wild goats, and a prodigious quantity of salt.—The other islands are more fertile, and produce rice, maïse, or Indian wheat, bananas, lemons, citrons, oranges, pomegranates, cocoa-nuts, figs, and melons; there are some white cotton and sugar-canes, of which they have a double crop. The goats generally bring forth three or four kids at once, and that often in the year; and the vines bear twice a year.

Goats and sheep are their principal care, having few oxen and cows. [Dampier says, "Asses are a commodity in some of these islands, several English ships coming hither purposely to freight with them, and carry them to Barbadoes, and our plantations. Their wealth consists in goat-skins, and salt, sent from Sal, Bona Vista, Mayo, and St. Jago."]

There is such plenty of turtle in those islands, that yearly several foreign ships resort thither to catch and salt them by whole cargoes, for the European colonies in America. In the wet season they go on shore to lay their eggs in the sand, which they leave to be hatched by the heat of the sun. The inhabitants go out in the night, and turn them on their backs with poles; for they are so large, that there is no doing it with their hands. The flesh of them, well cured, is as great a supply to the American plantations, as cod-fish is to Europe. Poultry and rabbits also increase here.

The chief trade of these islands, in 1693, was in salt, (and that at Mayo) which the English loaded for Newfoundland. Some English ships called likewise in their way to the American plantations, at this island, Bona Vista, S. Nicholas, S. Vincent, &c. where they purchased asses very cheap, which as well as all other beasts, go off well at Barbadoes. Captain Roberts observes, that there is found on most of these islands, a sort of vegetable stone.

The first Portuguese settlers, particularly those on St. Jago, provided themselves with negro slaves from Guinea to do their work; and, as it was usual with them to atone for their sins on their death-beds, by giving one or more slaves their freedom; these manumitted blacks being in a climate natural to them, increased apace; and not brooking the lordly and oppressive deportment of the whites, found means in time to get transported to the neighbouring islands, whither some of the whites, seeing their improvement, followed them; but the Portuguese trade in those parts declining, by means of other nations finding out the way to Guinea, and the East Indies, the blacks grew so much superior in number, that they insisted to be put on an equal footing with the whites, who, rather than submit to this, retired to St. Jago or Portugal, leaving but a few poor people behind, who were glad to join with the blacks on their own terms, and intermarrying with them, their descendants, by that mixture, grew from mulattos to be copper-coloured negroes; so that now there is as great variety of negroes on these

these islands, as is to be met with throughout the whole coast of Guinea.

Thus all the islands came to be peopled; which being observed by the court of Portugal, the king bestowed them among his nobles, reserving to himself only St. Jago, (and afterwards St. Philip's.) However, the governor of St. Jago has the title of General of all the Cape de Verde Islands, and the coast of Guinea, from Rio Sanaga, to Sierra Leona, &c. The other lords stocking each his own island, with cows, goats, &c. leave the government to a deputy; their authority not being much, as the sole power of punishing by fine, limb, or death, was lodged at first in the governor of St. Jago: but of late an officer, called an Ovidor, (much the same with the justices of assize in England) has been established; who is vested with all the civil jurisdiction, and has also the inspection and management of the crown revenues, &c. the military part being reserved to the general.

St. Jago is the clearing port for all ships trading from any part of the king of Portugal's dominions, to that part of Guinea; but notwithstanding this, the crown revenues from this island are but small, lying between Cape de Verde and Sierra Leona. However, he is not at much charge in keeping them; for as there is never a fortification but on St. Jago and St. Philip's, and none of any strength, excepting that at the city of St. Jago, which was built by the Spaniards, when Portugal was under their dominion; so they are defended by their own militia, without any of the king's forces.

Our author says, "The sea about these islands keeps a regular influx and reflux every six hours and some minutes; and that the spring and neap-tides, likewise keep their due courses, unless when affected by the shifting winds, &c. which are more frequent here than in other parts; but let the weather be ever so calm, yet the sea runs higher against the rocks, and even in the bays, about the full and change of moon, than in, or near the quarters. At these times the captain has taken notice, that in a strong gale of wind, which caused a great sea to run in the channel between St. Philip's, and St. John's, yet in the Fuarño (a bay in the latter) the sea has been very smooth. On the contrary, near the full or the change, when perhaps it had been calm for three or four days before, and the channel almost as smooth as the Thames, yet against the shore the sea heaved up in such a manner, that even in the Fuarño there was no putting a boat on shore to the beach or strand, without danger of being filled with water by the rolling and breaking of the sea thereon; and although one might at the same time land safe enough at the quay, yet there the waves rose and fell as if a great sea ran without. "The flood sets to the north-east, and the ebb to the south-west, unless checked or turned by the points or sides of the islands, (the effects of which are found on the stream, (which he observed there, and is a rule for judging of the rest.)" A good tide, both ebb and flood, runs between St. Jago's and St. Philip's, and a stronger between this and St. Nicholas to St. Anthony's, especially the narrow channel between St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which, in spring-tides, run very strong, viz. as fast as it does in any part of the Thames, to Captain Roberts's thinking, for he had no conveniencies for knowing exactly.

The isle du Sal, or of Salt, is the most windward of all the Cape de Verde islands, being situated, according to Captain Roberts, in latitude 17 degrees north, and longitude five degrees 18 minutes west, from the cape. It is clear all round of shoals and rocks, and affords tolerable good riding, except in the rainy season. The road before the town of Palmera, is the most noted, looking like two bays, with a rocky point in the middle. This bay lies on the west side of the island, and is easily known by three palm trees, from which the name is taken; they are still standing, and are the only trees of the kind on the island. To the southward of the bay, about a mile, or half a league, there is a little isle, which is always white

with fowls dung, as if covered with snow. Of the five hills that are upon du Sal, that to the north is the highest; and next to this, that to the east, both which appear in the form of sugar-loaves:

This island formerly, was well stocked with goats, cows, and asses: but about the year 1705; not long before Mr. Roberts went on shore, it was intirely deserted, for want of rain, by all the inhabitants; except an old man who resolved to die on it, as he did the same year. The drought had been so extreme for some time, that most of the cows and goats died for want of sustenance; but rain falling, they increased apace; till about three years afterwards, they were again reduced by an odd accident: a French ship coming to fish for turtle, by stress of weather, or some other means, left behind her 30 blacks, which she had brought from Saint Anthony's to carry on the fishery.

These people finding little else, fed mostly on wild goats, till they had destroyed them all but nine old he goats, which was then on the island, and kept generally upon the northern mountain. They killed also most of the cows; so that they were at last forced to eat asses. About 16 months after, an English ship (bound for the isle of Mayo, to take in salt) perceiving the smoke of several fires, which the negroes made, sent her boat on shore, and thinking they might be some ship's company wrecked upon the island, put in there, and compassionating their case, took them all in, and left them on their own island of St. Anthony's.

This story Roberts had from one of the same blacks: The St. Nicholas blacks, whom the captain brought off in 1722, told him, that there were then nine cows and bulls, and that old he goat above-mentioned, which they had several times seen, and a great many asses, but nothing near the number before the drought. At that time, a little feshoon that was sown a few years before in the valley of Palmira, was the only vegetable they had for food. This plant thrives there very well. It sheds in October or November, and the seed finding a soft bed in the valley, lies unhurt till spring, when it shoots up again; and laying hold of the adjacent silk cotton trees, twines round them like hops in England, and is fit to eat about August. The silk cotton itself is of no great use; only in several of these islands the natives stuff beds with it: and the author observes, that it makes the best tinder of any thing he knew in the world: the wood yields a quick blaze, but is not lasting, and when well dried will quickly take fire by friction. The dates here are as good as any on the coast of Africa; but there is only one of the palm-trees that bear fruit.

Quantities of land-crabs and turtles are found thereabouts, like those in the West Indies. And among the fish, with which this place abounds, there is one sort, (by the blacks called Mear) about the bigness of a cod, but thicker and much flatter, which will take salt, and cure as well as cod, which the author says, might be as conveniently salted here as at Newfoundland.

Ambergrease is often found here in greater quantities than upon any of the islands; Captain Dampier takes notice, that while they staid here in 1683, one Coppinger bought a piece of false ambergrease, being of a dark colour, like sheeps dung, very soft, but had no smell. One Read, a Bristol man told him once, that he had taken up a piece that swam by the ship's side at Fogo, which was true ambergrease, and his master had enriched himself by buying it there. At Niquibars, the author had been informed, there was some very good; but both there, and at the gulph of Florida, from whence much of it comes, the natives counterfeits it upon this occasion. The author says, "One Mr. Hill, a man of integrity, shewed him a bit which he (Hill) had from one Baker, whom he vouched to be a man of veracity, who found a large piece upon the shore, a little above high-water mark, in the bay of Honduras. Hill's piece came off this,

and was given him by Baker. It was of a dusky colour, almost black, about the hardness of a mellow cheese, and of a very fragrant smell.

Salt is made here in the crevices of the rocks, without art, by the heat of the sun. Captain Cowley says that the English ships came often thither to load salt for the West Indies, and that the salt ponds were near two miles long.

There is a sort of fowl called the Flamingo: these birds are a large fowl, shaped like a heron, but bigger, and a reddish colour. Here they build their nests, scraping the mud together, to make little hillocks a foot and a half high from the bottom, and standing out of the water: they make them broad at bottom but bring them up tapering to the top, where they leave a small hollow pit to lay their eggs in; and both in laying and hatching of them, they stand with their feet on the ground, and legs in the water, close by the hillock, against which, having very long legs, they rest, covering the nest with their rumps. They never lay more than two eggs, and seldom fewer. The young ones cannot fly till they are almost full grown, but will run exceeding fast, yet he had taken many of them. The flesh of both young and old is lean and black, but very good meat, tasting neither fishy, nor any ways unsavoury. Their tongues are large, having a great knob of fat at their root, which is an excellent dish. The young ones are of a light grey, growing darker, as their wings spring out, but never come to their right colour, or any beautiful shape, under ten or eleven months old. These birds are very shy, and therefore hard to shoot: they keep together in large flocks, feeding in muddy ground, or places where there is little water.

BONA VISTA, or Boa Vista, lies in sixteen degrees ten minutes north latitude; and in five degrees fourteen minutes west longitude from the Cape; its length, from south-east to north-west, is eighteen leagues; and breadth from north-east to south-west, where it is the broadest, about fifteen miles. It was so called by the Portuguese because they counted it a good sight, as it was the first of these islands which they discovered.

About forty years ago this was thought to be the most plentiful of all the islands, for cows, goats, hogs, horses, asses, maize, pumpions, feshoon, water-melons, and potatoes. It seems, that in 1722, there were no potatoes growing here, and very little of any thing else: the cows were likewise all destroyed, except about forty, which belonged to the lord of the soil: but since that, Captain Manuel Domingo got an English ship to bring him a young bull and an heifer; which, when Mr. Roberts was last there, were increased to seven.

Most of the inhabitants have goats, the milk of which, helped out with fish and turtle, supplied them with food after the famine that happened there. For the rest, their whole dependance was on English ships which came there to lade, and often hired some of them to work in the salt-pans, besides their asses, and blacks to drive them, to bring the salt down to the sea-side, for which they pay them in biscuit, flour, old cloaths, or what else they bring with them for that purpose.

The men generally use the European dress, there being few that have not suits bought of the English, and have learned to make up cloaths of their cotton cloths. The women when dressed, wear cotton cloths, wrapped about them like petticoats; and tied with a girdle above the hips, and sometimes without a girdle, the corner of the cloth only tucked in. Their shifts are made like a man's shirt, but are cut off so short, that they do not reach low enough to tie under their girdle. The waistbands, collar and neck of the better sort, especially the younger ones, have figures wrought with a needle in silk of many colours; but the poorer, particularly the older sort, take up with blue cotton thread for this work. Over their shifts they wear a jacket, with sleeves to button at the arms not above four inches deep in the back

part, but long enough before to tie with strings under their breasts: and over all a cotton cloth, by way of mantle, which the married women generally chuse of a blue colour, and the darker the blue, the richer it is reckoned: but the maidens, and gay young wives or widows, wear blue and white ones, some figured, as they call it, others spotted. All this time the women wear no shoes nor stockings, except very few, and those only on holidays; but some of the men are so used to both, that they can as little endure to go bare-foot, as any body. But though they appeared dressed out in such order on holidays, yet on all other days, both men and women are in a manner naked: the women only wearing a small cotton cloth wrapped round their waist which reaches to their knees; and the men nothing but the relics of an old pair of breeches. They are very lazy, both men and women; and though this island yields more cotton than all the rest put together, the shrubs growing in common, yet it is the worst market of all, both for scarcity and dearness of cloths: for they will neither gather the cotton till they know of a ship or vessel to buy it, nor will their women spin, but just as they want; so that when the cotton season is over, there is scarce one hundred weight to be got, although, the author says, he is certain they might gather yearly, more than a good ship's cargo.

This island affords good salt; and the author made a cargo of salt here, in the month of August, during their rainy season, when the road was so wet and slippery, that the asses had much ado to carry it down to the ship. The rain having melted all the salt in the pans, the natives whom Captain Roberts had employed to get him a cargo, cleared the pans of the rain-water, and filled them up with pickle; and in about three week's time he got salt enough made and heaped up. This island likewise yields Indico, which, growing spontaneously, as the cotton does, they can have it only for the pains of gathering. The misfortune is, that they have not the art of separating the tincture, or making what is called the stone blue, as in the West Indies, &c. but only pound the leaves of the shrubs while green, with a wooden pestle and mortar, for want of mills to grind them; reducing it to a kind of pap, which they form into thick round cakes, or balls, and lay it to dry for use.

The vegetable stone is more frequently met with here than in the rest of the islands: it shoots in stems, like the head of a cauliflower, or as the coral does. but is more porous, and of a greyish colour, much like the stones generated from shells. Some little ambergrease was found here, but it was dangerous dealing for it, the inhabitants generally adulterating it with a sort of jelly, or excrement cast on shore there. This island yields to that of Sal, for fish, all about; except at the rock called John Letton, where they are as plentiful as at du Sal, and there is no want any where.

Captain Roberts observed, that the people of Bona Vista naturally love the English, and can speak most of them a little of the language; and even some of the women made shift to understand him in it. The island is for the most part low land, but has some rocks, sandy hills, and mountains.

MAYO lies in the latitude fifteen degrees twelve minutes north, and longitude five degrees twenty-nine minutes west from Cape Verde. It bears from Bona Vista south-by-west westerly, about fourteen leagues. This low land, for the most part is like the former, but is distinguished by three mountains, the south-eastermost, which is the highest, being called Pinosa; the northermost, St. Antonio. This island lies about forty miles east-by-south, from St. Nicholas; it is about seven leagues in circumference, of a roundish form, with many small rocky points shooting out into the sea a mile or more. There are two hills on this island of a considerable height: one pretty bluff, the other peaked at top. The rest of the island is pretty level, and of a good height from the sea. The shore all round has sandy bays between the

the rock and the points. The whole island is very dry, and generally barren, the best of it being but very indifferent soil. The ships that lade last here will be obliged to touch at St. Jago for water; for at the bay there is none, not so much as for drinking. It is true there is a small well of brackish water not half a mile from the landing place, which the asses that carry salt drink at; but it is very bad water. In the general drought, Mayo suffered as much as Bona Vista, yet they have more cows, and these generally the best and fattest on all the islands. They have also most of them goats. They have fewer fish than at Bona Vista, and but a small quantity of turtle. Figs, and water-melons are their chief fruits. They have also calavances (a sort of pulse like French beans) and pompions for ordinary food. There are also some trees within the island, but none to be seen near the sea-side, nothing but a few bushes scattering up and down against the sides of adjacent hills; for the land is pretty high from the sea.

Though the inhabitants of Mayo never had the 10th part of the cotton that Bona Vista had, and lost a great deal of that for want of rain, yet they have still more than enough for their own use, but are very idle in regard to its improvement. There is also a silk cotton found here; it grows on the sandy banks that pens in the salt ponds, on tender shrubs three or four foot high, in pods as big as an apple, but of a long shape, which, when ripe, open at one end, parting leisurely into four quarters, and at the first opening, the cotton breaks out of it. There are many sorts of small birds and fowl in Mayo; as pigeons and turtle doves; miniotas, a sort of land-fowls, as big as crows, of a very grey colour, which are good food; crufias, another sort of grey-coloured fowls, almost as big as a crow, which are only seen in the night, (probably a sort of owls) are said to be good for consumptive people, but eaten by none else. Rabeke, a sort of large, grey, eatable fowls, with long necks and legs, not unlike herons. Here are also great curlews and Guinea hens, which the natives of these islands call Gallena Pintata, or the Painted Hen, called at Jamaica the Guinea Hen, where they love the dry savannahs and woods. They seem to be much of the nature of partridges, are bigger than English hens, have long legs, and will run apace, but cannot fly far, having large heavy bodies, with short wings and tails. They are so strong that one cannot hold them, and are very hardy. They have thick and strong, yet sharp beaks, but pretty long claws: their necks are long and slender, their heads also but little. The cock bird has a small rising on his crown in manner of a comb, of a dry walnut-shell colour, and very hard; he has a small red gill on each side of his head like ears, strutting out downwards, but the hens have none. The feathers of these birds are speckled with dark and light grey, in small round spots, very regular and uniform. They feed either on worms, which they find by taring open the earth, or else on grass-hoppers, which are plentiful here. They are very good meat, sweet and tender, the flesh in some very white, but in others black; however, both sorts are very good. The natives run them down easily with dogs.

The sea is plentifully stocked with fish of many sorts, viz. dolphins, bonettas, mullets, snappers, silver fish, &c. And here is a good bay to haul a line or net in, as the author found often by experience, dragging on shore at one time six dozen of great fish, most of them large mullets of a foot and a half, or two foot long. Here are also porpoises, and a small sort of whales, that commonly visit this road. In May, June, July, and August, says Dampier, a sort of small tortoise come hither to lay their eggs: but these turtles are not so sweet as those in the West Indies. Besides the abovementioned productions, there is some little indico to be met with in this island, and sometimes small quantities of ambergrease are found. We are told, that the inhabitants salt the flesh of goats, and export it in casks, dressing the skins very neatly in the nature of Turkey leather. And it is said,

that 5000 of these skins are yearly carried into other parts. But the chief commodity of this island is salt, and Mayo is the most noted of all the islands for it by the English, many of their ships lading here in the summer.

Mr. Roberts tells us, there are two roads in the island for ships to ride; besides several little coves, where a boat might run in, but not worth farther notice. Dampier says the inhabitants live near the bay, in the middle of the isle, in three small towns, (having a church and priest in each;) which, as he was informed, are six or seven miles from the road, on the west side (or English road) Pinosa is said to be the chief town, and to have two churches. St. John's the next, and the third Lagoa. The houses are very mean, small, low things. They build with fig-trees, here being, as the author was told, no other trees fit for the purpose; the rafters are a sort of wild canes. The natives, even their governors and priests, are all woolly haired like their African neighbours, from whom they probably descended; though being subject to the Portuguese, they have their religion and language. They are stout, lusty, well-limbed people, both men and women, fat and fleshy; they and their children being very round and plump: though at the same time the island appears so barren to a stranger, as scarce to have food for its inhabitants; who, as Dampier upon enquiry was told by one of the people, amounted to no more than 230 persons.

Captain Roberts observes, that these islanders are much the same with those of Bona Vista, but not so well affected to the English, and they dress just as the Bonavistans do; but that few of them have any holiday cloaths at all. When he was there in 1722, their number was computed at something above 200: they were chiefly blacks, and the most hard-featured of all their neighbours; having but few mulattoes, and no whites at all among them.

The people of Mayo live very poorly, yet much better than the inhabitants of any other of these islands, St. Jago excepted. They depend for their trade and subsistence, chiefly on the English, who, in return for their assistance in lading the salt, give them victuals, some money, and old cloaths, viz. hats, shirts, and other things, by which means many of them are indifferently well cloathed; but some of them go almost naked. All the islanders are at that time, fully employed in getting something or another; for they have no vessel of their own to trade with, nor do any Portuguese ships come hither, or scarce any but English, for whom they have a particular value.

When the season for turtles comes in, they watch the sandy bays in the night to take them, having small huts, at particular places on the bays to keep them from the rain, and to sleep in. This is another harvest they have for food; for by report, there comes a great many turtle to this and the other Cape Verde islands. When the turtle season is over, they have little to do but hunt for Guinea Hens, and manage their small plantations. By these means they have all the year some employment or other, whereby they get a subsistence, though but little else. When any of them are desirous to go over to St. Jago, they obtain a licence from the governor, and desire passage in any English ship. The pirates have often landed on this island, and carried off not only cattle, but some of the inhabitants.

(In 1683, there came about a week before Dampier arrived here, an English ship, the men of which going on shore, under pretence of friendship, seized on the governor, with some others, and carrying them on board, made them send to land for cattle to ransom their liberties; yet after this, they sailed away with them, and possibly never brought them back again. The Englishman who did this vile action was one Captain Bond, of Bristol, who, with most of his men, went over afterwards to the Spaniards, and had like to have burnt the ship Dampier was in; in the bay of Panama).

St. JAGO, or St. James's, is by some said to be in length about 45 leagues; in breadth 10; in circumference 95. Others make its length about 20 leagues, south-east and north-west, and its breadth 10, east north-east, and west south-west. It lies four or five leagues to the westward of Mayo, and is the chief, the most fruitful, and best inhabited of all the islands of Cape Verde, yet mountainous, and has much barren land in it. Captain Roberts observes that in the rainy season, this more sickly than the rest, and dangerous to strangers. At that time there were not many places in Guinea, except Cacheu, more sickly than St. Jago; its unhealthiness being such, that it may properly be compared to where the plague rages. The south-east end of this island is flat land, but all the rest, except Campo de Terrafal, rises in mountains. Peak Antonio is the highest, lying near the middle, and at the distance of three or four leagues, but not nearer, shews itself above the rest, on either side of the island. When you make the high hill of Terrafal to the eastward or westward, it shews at first like an island, till you are nigh enough to raise the low land, called the Campo, which joins it to the rest. Here the Portuguese settled first, finding it not only the largest, but the most fruitful of them all; as having the best seasons, and consequently the best pasture, and greatest variety of fruits, and is refreshed with pleasant rivulets. Their chief land animals are their bullocks, which, according to account, are said to be many; though they asked 20 dollars a piece for them. They have also horses, asses, and mules, deer, goats, hogs, and black-faced long-tailed monkeys. There are civet cats here; and that the monkeys are the best proportioned that are any where seen. Roberts says that St. Jago alone, of all the Cape de Verde islands produces this creature, and that they may be had in all parts of it. There are great numbers of small oxen, hogs and goats on the island. The fowls were cocks and hens, both tame and wild; paraquites, parrots, pigeons, turtle doves, herons, hawks, and curlews, abound here. There is plenty of maize, feshoon, Guinea corn, plantains, bananas, and pompions, for necessary provisions; and for delight, there grow good oranges (both sweet and sour) lemons, tamarinds, pine-apples, musk, and water-mellons, and mandyokes, and cocoa-nuts in abundance, besides guavas, custard or star-apple; sugar-canes also grow here, but they make little sugar, contenting themselves with molasses; they have likewise some grapes; and the author thinks, as well as the natives, that vines would do here very well, but for reasons of state, the king of Portugal does not suffer them to make wine. [Ovington says there are but few vines, and no wine made; all they drink coming from Madeira: others say from Lisbon. The same author adds cedars to the trees; and says the European herbs and plants grow very well here, but must be renewed every year.] They have plenty of cotton growing up in the country wherewith they cloath themselves, and send also to Brasil. The custard apple mentioned above, among the fruit, is as big as a pomegranate, and much of the same colour. The outside coat is for substance and thickness, between the shell of a pomegranate, and the peel of a Seville orange, softer than this, yet more bitter than that, and is remarkable for being regularly studded round with knobs. Within it is full of white soft pulp, sweet and pleasant, most resembling a custard of any thing, both in colour and taste (whence it is named by the English.) It has, in the middle, a few black stones, or kernels, but no core, for it is all pulp. The tree that bares it, is about the bigness of a quince-tree; with long small branches, thick set, and very spreading. The fruit grows hanging down with its own weight, at the extremities of the branches upon stalks, about nine or ten inches long, slender and tough, but large trees do not bear above twenty or thirty apples.

This fruit grows in most countries within the tropics. They have been seen all over the West In-

dies, both continent and islands, as also at Brasil, and in the East Indies. The papah is found in all these countries: It is a fruit about the bigness of a musk-mellon, hollow as that is, and much resembling it in shape and colour, both out and inside; only in the middle these have a handful of small blackish seeds; about the bigness of a pepper-corn, tasting hot also, something like pepper. The fruit is sweet, soft and luscious, when ripe; but while green, hard and unfavoury: yet their being boiled, it serves by way of turnips to salt beef, and is equally esteemed. The papah-tree is about ten or twelve feet high; the body near the ground may be a foot and a half, or two feet diameter, and goes up tapering to the top. It has no branch at all, but only large leaves; growing immediately from the body upon stalks, which are longer as they grow farther from the top. The leaves are of a roundish form, with jagged edges. They begin to sprout out about six or seven feet high from the ground; whence upward they grow thicker and larger, and at top are quite close and broad. The fruit grows only among leaves, and thickest among the thickest of them: so that towards the top they are thick, as they can stick by each other; but are no bigger than an ordinary turnip: the larger fruit before described growing lower down, where the leaves are thinner. The fish at St. Jago is the same as at Mayo, and the rest of these islands.

Captain Roberts says, there is abundance of that marcasite, which the Portuguese call Beur d'Ore, which is generally opaque, though some is a little transparent. In the shade it casts a dark blueish or purple colour, but when brought into the sun, it shews the colour of gold, and appears very bright and glittering. The author was informed by some gentlemen, who had resided for a time in several parts of Brasil, and had conversed with people concerned in the mines there, that there was certainly a gold mine, wherever any great quantity of this beur d'ore was found; the same gentleman likewise told him, that the colour made with this marcasite looked as well as gilding. Another fossil is a very curious red stone (or ocher) which is found here in a hill, on the north side: It is very much like chalk in England, but softer and something heavier than powder, when scraped off with a knife, feeling as fine as the finest flour. It runs in veins, and next the surface is a common rock, which growing softer by degrees appears variegated, till you come to a vein of a brimstone colour. This covers one of a fainter yellow, which is succeeded by a flesh colour. The red prevailing in the next, grows fuller in one under it; after which the true vein appears of a deep but bright and lively red. He was shewn at Terrafal, a kind of yellowish, grey-coloured, luminous rock, full of shining sparkles, which glistened in the sun-beams like crystal.

This island enjoys the privilege of being the port of clearance for all ships trading to the northward of Sierra Leona to Guinea. [We are told the island of St. Jago was formerly inhabited by the Portuguese, who were banished to this place for murders, thefts, and other villainies: and Captain Cornwall says, they are no better than transports, who intermixing with a race of people from their plantations in Guinea, have but a very faint resemblance in person, a coarse affinity of language, and a natural indolence to avouch for their original, being grown perfect mulattos, tall, but not well-proportioned, especially the women, who have also large lips, flat bodies, and vicious inclinations, being as infamous for levity as deformity. By this course amongst their slaves, which are Guinea negroes, the people are in general become black, or at least of a mixed colour, except only some few of a better sort, viz. the governor, the bishop, and some of the gentlemen and priests; they are said to be a poor, lazy, ignorant sort of people, and by religion Roman Catholics, as they are told; but that their ignorance and stupidity is such, that they know little more than the name of religion. The negroes here wear only

a roll of linen about their heads, and a waistcoat (or barrafool) made of blue and white striped or check-quered cotton. He was told, these were a good commodity upon the golden coast of Guinea.

A great number of young blacks are brought up at St. Jago for the priesthood; and as soon as they have resolved to be such, they make an interest the usual way, by friends, presents, &c. to one of the dignitaries of the church, who takes them under his tuition; and after some time past, with little or no pains taken in their instruction, presents them with a serious discourse concerning the dignity, importance, and great difficulties of the sacerdotal function, takes a solemn engagement of their tractable behaviour, and gives them his blessing. This entitles them to put on a student's habit, which is a long cassock, and a cloak, both of black bays; and purchasing a Latin grammar, and some catechistical books of the first rudiments of their religion, they labour hard to get all they can by heart, to be qualified for disputing and bandying questions out of them, for which purpose they meet in some shady street in the evening: but their highest grammatical contests seldom rise above the declensions of nouns, few of them ever being so deep learned as to be able to form a verb thro' all the moods and tenses. As soon as they have made a sufficient progress in these books, they pass a second examination before the bishop; who grants a licence to the highest for reading some higher compositions. And after some time spent in the same kind of exercises as before, they are examined out of these books a third time by the palastre, who is vicar-general, and first judge of the inquisition, and dignified with the title of Doctor Theologiæ, though, perhaps, he knows little of it. This officer gives a certificate of the several qualifications of the candidates, the tenor of which depends pretty much upon the size of the presents, &c. made him; and according to this certificate, the bishop gives the ordination of the lowest order, or subdeacon; and takes an oath of secrecy from them, as well with regard to those mysteries (which as yet were none of the highest) they have already learned, as also all those they shall be hereafter admitted to. Here they continue till merit or interest fits them to receive the second degree or order, namely, of the Evangelic. Thus dignified, they have liberty to read and peruse the liturgy, and may officiate in assisting of mass-priests, by reading of epistles and gospels; and when regularly qualified, their chief business is to make all the interest they can to get a benefice.

Captain Roberts, sailed round this island, and visited all the ports, of which we meet with two accounts: one in the journal of his voyage; the other in the description of the islands. We shall insert both here; the first is delivered in the same order that he performed that little navigation. From the Fuarno, on the east-side of St. Philips, he crossed over to the bay of Rivera das Bharkas, in St. Jago. There he recruited his water, and concluded to go about the north-end of the island for Mayo; which though seemingly the longer, he knew to be the shorter way thither. Hence, therefore, he sailed to the bay of Rivera de Prata (or Plata) and stopping there a lee-tide, the next windward-tide got to port Terrafall. Thence, with a windward tide, he reached Porto Faciendo. Next in one tide he made a bay, which having no name, he called Porto Signora Jorge. Hence he met with Signora Ihuis. This is a small bay, with a great many rocks right against it of different sizes; the largest not above two stones cast in length, and most of them above water, extending from the shore about half a league. This made the entrance difficult; but when entered he found a safe, pleasant running-in behind the point, about a good cable's length wide, from which you could see no sea. But was land-locked from all winds, and from five to three fathom water, a sort of sand and ooze mixed.

The same day, getting round the Bighude, or
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north-east point of the island about noon, the wind changing in the evening he saw Monte Pinose on the isle of Mayo. From Calyete in Mayo he returned to St. Jago, and fell in with a large fine bay to the southward of it; which he called Porto Sine Noma. He anchored on the high land on the northern or weather side of the bay in a little sandy cove; where sounding with a stone slung to a fishing line, he found it pretty deep, and was within a stone's cast of the strand before he had ground. There was a large beach of small pebbles, a sign of clean ground, but the land was so high, that it made an eddy wind blow right into the bay; which increased in proportion to the gale on shore, as the sun declined. He rowed out there to get into the true wind, and run down to Porto Formosa, and from thence with the same wind down to the bay of St. Jago, thence down still to Porto Madera. Here he moored with his anchor off, and a rope fast to a rock, which was like a quay, having twelve foot at low water close to it. There being no inhabitants near the port, and but indifferent road from thence to the village, he coasted still down to Praya Formosa; and touching there and at St. Domingo, from thence proceeded to Porto Lobo, from whence he rode to the town, which is twenty miles by land, bad way: where, in discourse with Signor Pedro Balderaveffa, ascertaining, that Porto Lobo, was a more secure port than Calyete, especially in the shifting wind season, that gentleman told him, that Calyete was always reckoned the safest port in all St. Jago.

From Porto Lobo he ran down the coast taking a view of the bay of St. Francisco and Portate, and being short of daylight to go to Calyete, he anchored at Villa de Praya till next morning, and then ran to Calyete: but expecting a southern wind in a little time, he hastened to get to the east side of the island: because from thence he could not only better sail with a southerly or westerly wind, but the roads are safest also, for there is not one road on the lee-side of the island where a man can ride in safety, with a westerly, or south-west wind, except Calyete St. Martin: but then you cannot get out with those winds; which however are the only winds you have to carry you up to the windward islands.

From thence therefore, he went back to Porto Praya, which lies near the south-west point of St. Jago, is the first and most noted port, being distinguished from the rest by its pleasant prospect. The town and fort stands on a pretty high flat land in the middle of the bay, with a valley on each side, diversified with cocoa nuts and palm trees. The best riding is beyond the island on the north-west side of the bay: which however, in the open part, is clean sandy clay from fifteen to five or six fathoms, but within that tough ooze to three fathoms, and then sand again: there is good watering here. About two leagues from Praya, west-north-west, lies Calyete St. Martin, a narrow cove not above a cable's length broad, and runs in from the westernmost point about a quarter of a mile, having sixteen or eighteen foot water within, you moore with an anchor off, and a stern fast on shore to a tree in the middle of the beach, which is full of small stones. there you lie secure all the rainy season, and may water also. You must take a black on board at Porto Praya to shew you the place, being hard to find, although, there is no danger, but what you may see. The author in his voyage observes, that in the rainy season this is the sickliest part of all the island. From Calyete to the city, (that is, Rebeira Grande; or St. Jago) is about four miles by land, pretty level, but very stony way. Before the city, which lies about a league by sea to the north-westward of Calyete is a very ordinary road, being so very foul, that it is much if you lie there any time, but you cut your cable, or hook your anchor in the rocks, and leave it behind. Several vessels have been lost in this road, which is the reason that of late it has been frequented by few, except Portuguese. The Dutch formerly

formerly touched here for refreshments: but lately Porto Praya only hath been used.

River de Plata is a very good bay, all clean ground, in what depth you please, from three and a half to twelve or fourteen fathoms: and it is a better place to water at than Porto Praya, the stream running down to the sea-side, where you may roll a cask into the river, and fill it at the bung, without using bucket or funnel. You have all sorts of refreshments here, as fruit, roots, fowls, goats and cows, much cheaper than at Port Praya, or the city. He had seen a much better cow fold here for 2500 reas, than you could have for 6000, or eight dollars, at Porto Praya; and maize is as dear again there as here.

The next considerable port is Terrafal, but yields no commodities for trade; and though it is a good road when in, excepting in the shifting wind season, yet the turning up into it is very troublesome. The next is Porto Faciendo, a large bay there, right opposite the beach, from ten to four fathoms water.

There are several coves and little bays betwixt this road and the Bikhude, which is the northernmost point of St. Jago. This town is known by its churches, which are white-washed, and covered with red pantiles, and stand opposite the middle of the bay, on a rising ground, with a valley in its south and north side, well planted with cocoa-nut and palm-trees. The bay is clean sandy ground, and affords safe anchoring in ten or twelve fathoms water. A little to the northward of the church there commonly runs a great sea along shore, which is sandy. This is one of the most plentiful places of St. Jago, for whatever the island produces; and the people are very free, like those of St. John's. In coasting along he met with several very good bays and harbours.

Captain Roberts saw all the places abovementioned, except one of the St. Domingo's, which is a village 12 miles within land from St. Jago. The city of St. Jago (or Ciudad de Rebeira Grande) lies three leagues to the westward of Praya. Dampier puts it on the south-west part of the isle, and in the latitude of 15 degrees north: but Captain Cornwall observed it to lie in 15 degrees five minutes. This town stands scattering against the sides of two mountains, between which there is a deep valley, about 200 yards wide against the sea: but within a quarter of a mile it closes up so as not to be 40 yards wide. With regard to the river in the valley by the sea, there is a straggling street, with houses on each side, and a run of water in the bottom, which empties itself into a fine small cove, or sandy bay, where the sea is commonly very smooth; so that there is good watering and good landing at any time, though the road be rocky and bad for ships.

The town consists of two or three hundred houses, all built with rough stones, having also one convent and one church. Philips makes the number of houses about 200, and says there is a convent, a nunnery, and a good large church near the castle. This doubtless, is the cathedral, which Roberts tells us is a fine building: besides which, there was a convent of Cordelier friars, who, it seems, are the only men on these islands who constantly eat fresh-baked and fermented wheaten bread, the flour being sent them yearly from Portugal. They had very fine gardens stored with salading, and the best fruit on the island; and made a cut from the rivulet of Rebeira Grande, to bring the stream through their gardens, from whence the water was likewise conveyed almost to every part of the house, which was next to the cathedral, formed the best prospect in or about the city.

Dampier observed when he was at St. Jago, that just by the landing-place, there was a small fort, almost level with the sea, where was always a court of guard kept. On the top of the hill above the town, there was another fort, which, by the wall that is seen from the road, seems to be a large place. They had cannon mounted there, but how many he knew not, neither what use that fort can be of, except for salutes.

Another author says, the number of guns is about 12, that the castle stands on the hill, on the east side of the town, and makes a pretty good shew at sea. After this, he surveyed the garrison more leisurely; and observed about eight small houses in it ready to tumble. On the brow of the hill was a little breast-work, thro' which peeped six small iron minion guns; so much out of order, that they were ready to drop out of their carriages. These are the half dozen small pieces near the water-side, on the brow of a precipice overlooking the haven.

St. PHILIPS's island was discovered by the Portuguese on the first of May, being St. Philip's and Jacob's day; and as St. Jago took the name of one saint, this island took the name of the other; Mayo, receiving its denomination from the month, all three having been discovered at the same time. However, St. Philips commonly goes by the name of the island of Fuego, or Fire, being so called by all the English voyagers, except Roberts. The north east point of it lies about 16 leagues, from the point of Terrafal in St. Jago, which mutually bear west south-west, and east north-east. It is in the latitude of 15 degrees, 20 minutes, north, and longitude six degrees 54 minutes west, from the Cape de Verde. The island of St. Philip and St. John, being very little, or not at all used by the English shipping. The sea draughts give but a very imperfect description of them; that the waggoners and pilots of those parts are every whit as much or more defective, making them both very dangerous; and the island of St. Philip in particular to have few or no inhabitants, and the roads or anchoring place very bad, which the author found to be false.

This island is much higher than any of the Cape de Verde islands, and is, as it were, one continued mountain up to the top; neither can those who sail along it perceive any valleys, for it seems to be one single mountain, the valleys appearing only as gutters made by the waters, which run off the hills in the time of rain; but when a man is on shore, those gutters then appear to be deep valleys, and their banks great high mountains. The chief mountains in St. Philip's are the peak, which is a volcano, and a great high mountain which runs along it from south-east, to north-west, and is little inferior in height to the pike. The peak or volcano, (from whence the island takes the name of Fuego) is a very high hill in the middle thereof. The top of it is ranged above two stories higher than the clouds, which are ranged each below the other on its sides. This volcano burns continually, flames of fire issuing out of the top, which Dampier says are only to be discerned in the night, and then may be seen a great way off at sea. Froger says, they saw the flame all night:—says Buckman, "What prodigious flames and vast clouds of smoke it vomits up continually, which we could perceive afterwards in a clear day, though we were above sixty miles distant."—Captain Roberts says, "It is incredible what huge rocks are cast out, and to what a vast height; the noise of which in falling again, breaking and rolling down, may very easily be heard eight or nine leagues off in a still air, as he had experienced. The explosion, when they are blown up, is like the report of a great gun, or rather thunder. He says, often in the night-time, the stones roll down the peak all of a flame; and the inhabitants told him, that they had seen brimstone stream down its sides like a torrent of water, and that sometimes they might gather what quantity they pleased. They likewise gave him several pieces of it, which he says was like common brimstone, but of a much brighter colour, and in the burning gave a much brighter flame." Sometimes this volcano casts out such quantities of ashes mixed with cinders, that they cover the adjacent parts, and smother some of their goats. Yet, when this island was first discovered, it had no peak, nor was there any burning upon it, the peak growing but since the fire broke out; and by report of the ancient people, has visibly increased in their time,

Considering that this island has no running brooks, and that fresh water is to be had in very few places, (inasmuch that the inhabitants in some parts are forced to go six or seven miles to fetch it) yet it is very fertile for pompion, water-melons, feshoon, and maïse; but for want of water, or low vallies, produces no bananas, plantains, or hardly any fruit trees, save wild figs. They have some few Guava trees planted in some of their gardens; also a crab orange and lemon; likewise lime, and a sort of crab-apple. But they have here and there some good vineyards, whereof they make little quantities of an indifferent good small wine, but they generally drink it all before it clears, or has done fermenting. The land is all taken up at present; only about the peak, and that great high mountain already mentioned, which runs oblique across the island. The Portuguese, who first inhabited it, brought negro slaves with them; and a good stock of cows, horses, asses, and hogs; the king placing goats there, which run wild on the mountains (particularly the said great one :) the profit of the skins was reserved for the crown, and he that had the management of them, was called Captain of the Mountains, none daring to kill any of them but by his license.

Captain Roberts tells us, That this island stood uninhabited a great many years after it was discovered, but the king of Portugal (some time after the fire had been extinguished every where, but the peak) granted it to his subjects, who were willing to settle there, all the land to them and their heirs for ever. In consequence of which, a great many went over and settled there: but as the custom of St. Jago is in use here to free blacks at their death, they at present exceed the whites an hundred to one. It is probable also, that some free blacks from St. Jago, might have settled here, and that when trade decayed, some of the Portuguese might have left this island, as they had done the other.

The free blacks, for the most part, are tenants to the whites, who have taken up most of the land, especially near the sea-side, some whites having 30 or 40 slaves, and some of the free blacks have slaves, whom they purchase for cotton cloths, which pass there instead of money, a cloth being valued, and passing current among them, for one thousand reas.—Most of the inhabitants of St. Philip's, are of the Romish religion; some pagan superstition being mixed with it by the mountaineer blacks.

The natives formerly planted cotton in abundance, and this was the greatest market for cotton cloths of any of the Cape de Verde islands: here also the Portuguese European ships used to trade for cargoes of barrafaols for Guinea; but, by the last drought, all their cotton shrubs, in a manner were dried up; so that what was the chief product of their island, is now a good commodity to carry there. On account of this scarcity of cotton here, and at St. Jago, the European Portuguese understanding that the French ships were at St. Jago, they procured an order, that no persons on either of those islands should, under a penalty, sell cloth to any but subjects of Portugal, which orders are strictly observed by the officers of customs at St. Jago, though not much minded at St. Philip's, by reason there are no duties paid at this island, and consequently no custom-house or office.

Since the trade of cotton cloths failed, they have sold a great many slaves of the Portuguese ships trading thither. But they are endeavouring to revive this branch again, by planting cotton; though for want of sufficiency of rain, it does not thrive so well as it used to do. They had formerly a pretty good trade with the French for mules, a number of which they bred, and sold cheap, but the dry season destroyed almost all of them; so that they told Captain Roberts, that six years before, there were but two mules on the island. However, they began to breed them again. They had a great desire to trade with the English, and would reserve their commodities for them; saying, "That notwithstanding the prohi-

bition above-mentioned, yet they would sell their cotton cloths to them, in case they would trade thither. The chief and only man for trade, when Roberts was here, was Captain Thomas Santee; but there was not one on the island, who could either speak or understand English.

St. Philip's has but few places to anchor at; and but two where a ship can ride: for excepting at the Villa la Ghate, and two or three other places, the whole coast is such steep, high, rocky cliffs, that there is no getting up to it. Captain Roberts sailing from the Fuarno, in St. John's, got over to St. Philips, falling to the windward of the Villa, and ran down till he came to Fonte de Villa, a sandy bay; thence proceeding along shore, he doubled the point of Nuestra Signora, another sandy bay; and anchored a little to the northward of the church. Here captain Thomas Santee came down with the horse of the island, by order of the governor, who was alarm'd at the author's arrival. A little lower down he ran his boat into the bay of Laghate:

Fonte de Villa is the most noted road, which is opposite against the town, and is sandy, except when a strong north wind blows, which at particular seasons sweeps away the sand, and leaves the rocks at bottom bare: and then it is not so safe riding as about the sandy bay of Nuestra Signora, which is to the southward of the town, to the southward of which, on the cliff, stands the church of Nuestra Signora: From whence the bay and point took their name. This church appears something like a barn: The outside of the walls were seemingly as white as if they had been just white-washed, and the roof was covered with red pantiles. At the point, there is good riding with a northerly wind; and better, when the true north-east or north-east by-north trade-winds blow; being clean and sandy at bottom, except when a southerly wind blows strong, or sometimes by a southerly sea, which now and then runs here in the months of June, July, August, and September, when these winds do not reach home to the island, although our author believes they blow in the offing, and clear the sand from the bottom of the rocks, as the northerly wind and sea do at Fonte de Villa. Most of the whites, with the governor, live in the Villa; though most of them have their country houses abroad in the country, on that part of their estates which they keep in their own hands, and manage by their slaves, which supplies them with food; and the rents of those plantations, which they let to the blacks, are commonly paid in cotton cloths. The governor of St. Philip's was a Portuguese, and formerly had been governor of a fort or factory belonging to the king of Portugal, on the Guinea coast.

It is to be observed, that the island of St. Philip was taken by Sir Anthony Shorley, in September 1596; who was a long while finding a proper place to put in at, and then could not land his men without extreme difficulty. The author of the voyage observes, that besides water, they got nothing else here but infection.

St. JUAN's, or St. John's, which is also called Braven, is situated in the latitude of fifteen degrees, twenty-five minutes north, and longitude seven degrees, two minutes west, from Cape de Verde; and the Villa of St. Philip lies east from Fuarno, about six leagues.

This island is very high land, the mountains rising one above another, like pyramids, yet being so near the island of St. Philip, it seems, in comparison of that, to be low. It is fertile for pompions, water-melons, potatoes, bananas, maïse, and feshoon, as any of the Cape de Verdes, as likewise for cows, horses, asses and hogs. Franklin told the author, that the whole island was a barren rock, having only a few cliffs of valleys spread with a thin coat of earth, where bananas, pompions, and potatoes grew pretty well. That they had plenty of feshoons and wild figs, which served them as food; that there grew many papa, and there the planters had maïse enough, but they were very lazy;

lazy, which kept them very poor; that some of the inhabitants had cows, horses, asses and hogs; of which last especially they had most plenty, because they seldom used any, except their public feasts: and that there had been a considerable number of wild goats; but most of them were destroyed.

The privilege of killing these is entirely reserved to the governor. This was done to prevent the breed from being destroyed. None are allowed to keep hunting-dogs here but the caudors, who are licensed by the governor. When the governor has a mind to make a general hunt, all the islanders are summoned, and all the hunting-dogs are got together: these are between a beagle and a greyhound, but shorter legged, and clumsier, with large flapping ears. After the chase, they meet all together, and the governor parts some of the venison among them as he pleases, sending home the rest; which he afterwards distributes among the old and necessitous; as also some of the skins, reserving the remainder for the lord of the soil.

The flesh of the goats, as well as the other cattle of St. John's, is very lean, for the author wanting tallow to pay the seams of his boat, the governor (who encouraged the work) caused a general hunt to be made, in order to supply him therewith. On this occasion forty goats were killed; which however, (it being a bad season) yielded only four or five pounds of tallow, and that not clear of skin.

The island abounds most with saltpetre, of any of the Cape Verde islands: and the governor offered to procure Roberts a cargo sufficient to load with it, a bigger sloop than that he left there, (which was of sixty tons.) It grows in several earthy caves there, covering all the inside like a thick hoar frost, and in some places like icicles; also in some hollow rocks, they hang in strings as thick as a man's thumb.

From some experiments made on certain acid waters, Roberts concluded that the place abounded with copper. And one time climbing the rocks on the south side of the island, he perceived a rock which at a distance glittered in the sun like burnished gold: and near to it, looked as if it was all thick gilt. He rubbed his hand against it but nothing came off; and when he scraped it with a knife, found it so thin that he could scarce collect any of it. He observed the rock underneath of a blackish colour; and that it was gilt only where the water run down from the mountains when it rained. Seeing another rock which glittered with golden spangles; he went, and found it full of gold fibres, some as fine as hairs, and others as thick as an ordinary needle. With his knife he picked out near a drachm weight, which was solid gold, as far as he could perceive by the eye. He got one little bit like a small flattened wire, about half an inch long, by cutting and raising the end up. Not being able to get any more out of the rock, the vein running deeper in, he was forced to break it off, by bending it backwards three or four times; and breaking his knife with the experiment, he desisted, and came down again to his black mates, without taking notice to them of what he had seen. However, a little before he left the island, he told the governor of it; but avoided going to shew it him, and as it never was observed by any of the natives, he questions whether they ever found it. Here one meets with the *Beur de'Orre*, already mentioned, but not in such quantities, though altogether glittering, and of a golden aspect.

Here is plenty of fishes, especially about the little islands; where also some tortoise resort at the season for laying their eggs: but they are not much regarded for food here, any more than at St. Philip's or St. Jago, and yet at all the other islands they are accounted their most delicious food: as Roberts says, indeed they are. Angling was the chief employment of the natives: that for this reason they missed no opportunity of wrecks, or when ships touched there, to procure and save all the bits of iron wire, and the like, they could meet with, and that there was

an old man, a native of St. Philip's, upon this island, who had a hammer and three or four files, with which and the help of charcoal, made of the wild fig-tree, he could bungle up a fish-hook out of an old nail, for which in exchange he had another nail, and a present of fish, from such as had plenty of them. He added, that the fish were so eager, that a crooked nail would take them.

Almost all the fish thereabouts, have large and sharp teeth, rather like ravenous land animals, than the fish on the coast of England: so that the inhabitants take care to hook them in the mouth, to prevent their cutting their lines, as they do in case they swallow their hook: their baits are crabs, limpets, or any other rock shell fish; and when they catch a fish, they make a bait of that; but crab is the surest.—As Roberts often went out upon this sport, he had an opportunity of seeing how the natives got their salt, which he observed was made by the heat of the sun, on the sea water lying in holes among the rocks, some thrown up by the spring, others filled at high water, which if not too deep, would be all turned to salt before the next tide. He had seen it even two feet thick of salt, and to the quantity of four bushels, in a cavity not above five or six yards square.

The natives used to get the salt first, and then gut, split, and put it in heaps all night, in the morning spreading them in the sun to dry, and they were ready to dress whenever they wanted, which was seldom oftener than once a day, towards night when they had done fishing. At the most usual fishing-place, they generally left an earthen-pot, for they boiled their fish for the sake of the broth, which they liked better than any made of flesh.

Formerly a great deal of ambergrease was found about this island, but very little at present. Roberts was told, that about 30 years before, one Juan Carneira, a Portuguese, who was banished from Lisbon, for some crime, having got a little sloop, traded among the islands, and lighted on a piece of ambergrease, of almost an incredible bigness, with which he not only procured his liberty to return before the term of his exile was expired, but purchased a plentiful estate, and that the rock (between the two islands) near to which he found it, is at present called by his name.—Captain Roberts tells us, the number of the inhabitants did not amount to 200 souls. The natives are blacks, and the most innocent and harmless, as well as ignorant and superstitious, of all the islands.

While the author lay sick here, they supplied him with all kind of necessaries; every day some or other of the inhabitants would come and see how he was, and seldom or ever without a fowl, or some fruit for him. The governor himself used to visit him almost daily, and every two or three days would send him a quarter of a wild goat, a side or a whole one. All this time he was lodged by one of the chief inhabitants, and when he was recovered, he found fifty-one fowls left of the presents which had been made him.

Fish, as we have observed, makes a great part of their food, especially the broth, which they look on as the best diet in a fever. They make bread called *caskus*, of Indian corn pounded and boiled over the steam of fresh water, to a pudding; then cut in pieces and dried in the sun. The author represents the natives as equally ingenious and good natured.

The island has not been peopled above two centuries. It was for several years inhabited only by two black families, till about the year 1680; a famine raging at St. Philip's, some of the poorer sort of negroes got themselves waisted over to the island of St. John, by a Portuguese ship. These were joyfully received by their fellow blacks, who having much increased the stock of goats, cows, and especially hogs, which the Portuguese had placed on all the islands when they first discovered them; and understanding that the new comers were brought hither by the Portuguese, purely to prevent their being starved, freely offered to load their ship with hogs, as a reward

reward for their charity. This drought so thinned their hogs, that finding, by the time the ship was loaded, there were but few left, they caught the remainder, killed some, and tamed the rest. For the St. Philip's blacks soon introduced the notion of property, so that he who could kill, catch, or tame most, had most, by which means all the cattle on the island soon became divided among them, except the goats, which still remain wild, but are claimed as the property of the lord of the soil, as are all the wild goats on the other islands. These new comers taught the rest to spin cotton, which grew naturally there, and to make cotton cloaths of it to wear, they going quite naked before, as most of the negros on the Guinea coast do. They had likewise informed him, in conversation, of the principles and notions, as far as they knew themselves, of the Romish religion; a priest from St. Philip's perfected the work of their conversion.

Here, as in all these islands, the people are persuaded, that whatever is given to the priests, is given to God, unless they dedicate it to some saint, on whom, in such case, they think they lay an obligation to stand their friend, and for whom all the priests are also the receivers, as well as for God.

The governor of this island is justiciary, and decides the little differences that arise among the natives, and if they are refractory, can send them to prison, which is an open place, like the pound for cattle in England, only a stick laid across the entrance serves for a gate.

"Here, says the author, these innocent criminals will stay without attempting to get out, unless very rarely, in which case the prison-breaker, when caught again, is tied hand and foot, and a centinel set over him, and remains in prison till he has satisfied his antagonist, and asked the governor's pardon, who can keep him in hold during pleasure. This is the whole extent of the governor's power, even in case of murder: however, the delinquent's friends are bound for his appearance, when a proper judge shall come from Portugal: but this had never happened, as far as could be learned. Sometimes for a small crime, especially if he be an elderly person, he is only confined to his own, or some other house, which is reckoned a great favour: for to be imprisoned is such a scandal, that Tyburn itself is hardly so much dreaded by the criminals in England. The governor of St. John's, in 1722, was named Leuonal Goncalvo, and was made such by Thomas Santee, the procurador of this island.

The author observes, this island has but one good road, and that is rather difficult of entrance. "Here, says he, it is best mooring with a fast ashore, and not to swing, but have a small hawser ashore, from the stern to the northward. In case a vessel happens to come from the eastward, to this island, she must take care not to run about to the south end of St. Philip's; for then, with a common trade wind, she cannot fetch the Fuarno, and hardly any point of the island. On the north side is another bay, called Faciende, de Agna, known by the banana trees, no valley but this being visible from the sea. The bay has a shingly beach, and vessels may anchor near the middle, towards the north side in eight, nine, and 10 fathoms, clean ground and a fresh running water almost down to the beach. Farther down to the leeward on the south-west side of the island, about a smooth, low point, but rising high suddenly, is the Farrier bay, which is a double one, a high rock, dividing in two the beach, which is large pebbles, looking at a distance like shingles. This is a good bay, with a smooth landing-place, and a lake or basin of fresh water behind the eastermost beach, which is constantly fed by the water from the mountains. This bay all over is clean ground, in some places sand, but generally a stiff ooze, or clay, and commonly the sea runs smooth on the beach.

There is a rock, on the north-west side, to which you may put the boat; and it would be a

good riding place; were it not for the strong flows which come down the valleys, which happen mostly in November, December and January, and come so violent, if there be a gale of wind, that a ship cannot turn into it, or always stay there at anchor, if she be in, as happened once to a Portuguese vessel; nor is the road safe in the rains and shifting wind seasons, when the south-east and south-west winds, to which it lies open, bring in a great sea, enough, if strong, to drive a ship on shore. For the rest of the year it is good riding here; and in fine weather, especially March, April and May, you have a southerly sea-breeze in the evening, and land breezes all night, and till ten in the morning. This road is most used; very few being acquainted with Fuarno. Scio is a fine sandy bay, and difficult to come into, and without any water. There is likewise de Sal Point Bay; where Roberts lost his ship. The rest of the bays here are scarcely worth notice.

ST. NICHOLAS (or San Nicholao) is the longest of all the Cape de Verde islands, except St. Jago: Ilka Parta Paraghisi lies from Palmora, in the isle of du Sal, southerly, about 30 leagues, and in north latitude 16 degrees 45 minutes, and west longitude six degrees 52 minutes, from Cape Verde.

This island is mostly high land, the highest being a flat sugar-loaf-like mountain, terminating at top with a rounding, not a sharp peak. It is called Monte Gourda, and lies on the north-west side, but a good way up in the land, and may be seen on any side of the island at nine or ten leagues distance. The coast of this island is so clear from rocks and shoals, that a ship may run along from the east point, till within half a league of the south-west point, within call of the shore: yet, in the shifting-wind season, no road on this island is good or safe; but when the true trade wind is settled, there are three or four indifferent ones. That which is near the town is Paraghisi, where there is a bay, in which vessels may ride off, single, or moored, the wind always blowing from the shore, or may haul into the cove of Paraghisi, and moor between four land-fasts.

The next is the road of Porto Lappa, which one cannot miss finding, because it is in the very midst of the great bite, on the south side of the island: the ground here is foul, and several anchors have been lost by the cables being cut with the rocks. To the eastward of Porto Lappa, about half way between that and the east point of the island, is the road of Currisal, where is a river of fresh water, close to the beach, very commodious for watering: The best anchoring is to the eastward of the beach, almost short in. Then you are a-breast of Patra de Looma; or the Firy Rock, over which, being sunk flat, the sea always breaks, whence the author supposes it has its name.

This road is not so convenient for trading, being 16 or 18 miles from the town, and the way rocky, with many high and steep ascents and descents.

The road most resorted to, is Terrafal (or Trefal) on the west side of the island: it is best known by the great boats of the natives, some of which are always hauled up on shore there. A high, sharp, rocky point rises near a quarter of a mile short of the sea-side, in which space it is low, sandy, and in some places shingly ground, the shore being a pebbly beach. On each side of this point is a very deep gully, out of which come violent gusts of wind; and therefore when it blows a strong gale, it is hard to turn up into this bay. To avoid these flaws, vessels must anchor just against the point, between the gullies, where they may ride very easy under its lee, in from 16 to three fathoms. Water is to be had here by digging a well, almost any where on the low land, except the rainy season has failed. But there is always good water in a valley about half a mile from the sea, from whence the natives will bring it down. The town belonging to St. Nicholas, is the most populous and most compleat of any on all the islands, and although not built so large, nor the walls cemented with

lime or mortar, as the houses of the city of St. Jago were, nor covered, not even the church, with any thing but grass thatch; yet, for number of houses, as well as regular streets, it rather exceeds that city; but some time ago, Captain Avery, the pirate, touching here, the inhabitants some way disgusted him so, that he burned their town.

The inhabitants, according to Captain Roberts, were computed to be about 2,000 souls before the famine, but when he was there, he says they did not exceed above 13 or 1400. They have mostly an European Portuguese priest, and it is as much as he can do some times to manage them. They are blacks, or copper-coloured, with frizzled hair, except a few of the French race, left there by the pirate, Maranghwin, and three old Portuguese, and two or three old women.

The women here are by far more housewifely and ingenious at their needles, than in the other islands. They are also more modest, never appearing out of their houses, nor within bare before strangers, as is common at St. John's, and except when they are abroad planting, weeding, or gathering in their harvest, they are always at their needles, or spinning, if they have any cotton. The best Portuguese is spoken here of all in the Cape Verde islands, and as the natives resemble the Portuguese most in their language, so are they like the vulgar sort of that nation, errant thieves to strangers, and very dangerous when they take an antipathy. Some who came on board Captain Roberts's sloop, when upon this coast in 1722, and stole all his liquor, may be produced as an instance; for having observed the place from whence the boy brought a bottle of rum, which he sent for to treat them, they made bold, seeing only those two belonging to the ship, to fetch it themselves, though Roberts forbade them, saying, that the least they could expect, was to participate of what was in the vessel; and that he shewed himself very ungrateful as well as niggardly, to think much of any thing they could eat and drink that was on board. At last, they had the assurance to tell him, that the sloop and every thing that was in her, was as much theirs as his, since he was in distress, and must certainly have perished if they had not come from shore, and brought him and his boy some water; which after all, was false, Roberts being then safe at anchor, and as for the water, they had drank it all themselves.

Captain Roberts observes, that there are the same sort of sands and stones here as at St. John's, and the natives have a tradition, that there is silver and gold in them, but cannot tell how to extract it; however, it is to be met with here only in a few places, but at St. John's almost every where.— There is good nitre also on this island, and beurdore, but not in such quantities or so glittering, as what is to be met with at St. Jago, or St. John's.

The soil, according to Roberts, is fruitful for maize; and the best feshoon on all the Cape Verde islands he says is here, both white and black, likewise plantanes, bananas, pompions, water and musk melons, lemons, limes and oranges, sweet and sour, they have a few sugar-canes, of which they make molasses. They have vines also, of which they make a tartish wine.

This island was once very full of dragon-trees, which, when cut at a proper season, yields the gum called *sanguis draconis*, much used in medicines. They have a way of cutting off the branches, and boiling them in water, from which, they have an art to separate the gum; but it is not near so clear, nor he believes, so good as the other sort. It is a loose grained wood, and hollow in the middle, the cavity going tapering upwards, something like the bore of a pump. But when the pirate Avery had burned their town, for want of other wood, (most of their wild fig-trees, the only wood fit for that use, having been destroyed in building their boats) they were forced to cut down the dragon-trees to roof their

houses again; and most of them having chambers, they floored them with the boards of this wood; which made it so scarce, that Captain Roberts questions whether above twenty or thirty pounds of gum might be made yearly on this island.

They had great plenty of goats, hogs and fowls, before the late famine, which although it held there but three years, yet, while it lasted, was severer than in any of the other islands. For St. Nicholas having but little trade, as it afforded no commodity for foreigners, but asses, which are likewise common to other islands, they are seldom visited by more than one or two ships in a year; and there not being so great a demand for those animals of late, in the West Indies as formerly, they sometimes have not had a ship for two years, which has obliged them to be more industrious than any of their neighbours.

It used to abound most with wild goats, as well as cows, which all belonged to the land proprietor; but this was before the famine had diminished their stock; for since that, the people first ate their own hogs and tame goats, and afterwards destroyed the proprietor's stock of cows and wild goats; so that when the author was last upon this island, there were not above forty head of great cattle, and the stock of wild goats was so diminished, that the governor told him, it would not be worth while to send a ship for the skins this three years to come.

Captain Roberts carried over to it, in his boat, a yearling heifer, from Bona Vista, (which Captain Manuel Domingo bestowed on him to kill on board for food) and would have given it to his landlord, Nicolau Goncalvo: but the then governor would not let him keep it, under pretence that the lord of the soil had reserved the liberty of keeping cows solely to himself; but, in reality, because he was related to his predecessor, whom he did not like. Roberts therefore made a present of it to a relation of the governors, who, after making some difficulty, allowed him to keep it, under colour, that it was to be kept for the author against he came again.

The natives make cloaths of cotton, and buttons to imitate almost every pattern shewn them. They knit cotton stockings, tan goat and cow-hides, and make tolerable shoes, besides the best cloths and cotton quilts of all the islands, which are too good for the Guinea trade. But as they do well for that of Brasil, the Portuguese used to touch here for them, but the drought made that commodity scarcer. The chief trade seemed to be for turtle; the inhabitants being much addicted to catch them, as well as fishing. This they mostly did in their boats at the islands of Chaon, Branca, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, being the only people who built and used boats in these islands. They sold their fish for ready money, or what else they stood in need of; and the Portuguese, who traded with them for cloths and quilts to carry to Brasil as well as Portugal, used often to pay cash for them, not having such commodities as pleased the inhabitants. These latter were generally supplied by the English and French who traded thither; and either exchanged their goods for asses, or sold them for money, till the latter, as well as commodities, decreased them. The old Marquis des Minhas was formerly the lord proprietor of this island, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Antonio: but after his death, the king resumed the three first into his own hands, the latter only being the hereditary estate of that nobleman.

CHAON, St. Branca and St. Lucia, are three islands destitute of either inhabitants or water, and the two first of cattle. The island, or rather the rock Chaon, lies from Terrafal west by north about three leagues.

ILHA BRANCA (or Blanca) White Island, is a high, steep rock, lying lengthways east-north-east, and west-north-west about two or three miles. The St. Nicholas men come here as well as to the road to fish. On the south side there is a place where boats may ride, but so dangerous, when it blows from the strong flames that come down the rocks, that the St. Nicholas

cholas men care least to resort thither, though there is so good fishing about it. The author supposes it took the name from a vein of white rocks, which runs under the high, dark, rocky land on the south side, and appears at a distance like white sand-hills. Between this and St. Lucia there is broken ground, with several rocks above or under water. This island produces the guana, a creature in shape like a lizard, well known in the West Indies, but found on no other of the Cape Verde Islands.

St. LUCIA lies three or four leagues west-north-west from the north-west part of St. Nicholas. There is a good clean, sandy bay on the south-west side, and another on the south-east side. The island produces goats and asses, but no inhabitants. The channel between this and St. Vincent is very foul, and so full of rocks, that it is as unsafe to venture through it as the former.

St. VINCENT on the north-east side is low and sandy: but the rest is mostly high land, with sandy bays, and several roads to anchor at: one of these is Bahia des Ghat, is on the north side; it goes in north-east, between two low, sandy points; and the water is so smooth, that a vessel may be safe on shore: but it is so difficult to come out with a trade wind, which blows right into the bay, or rather small gulph, that no ships frequent it. In the north-east bay, on the north-west side, over-against St. Antonio, is Porto Grande, a large bay, where ships may ride safe from all winds in six or seven fathom water, and anchor any where, for it is all clean sand. It is easily known by a high rock, like a tower, off the bay, and clean all round. This is called the bay of St. Vincent; and the rock or island that lies at the mouth of it, The Sugar-loaf Rock.

Porto San Pedro is a clean bay or a road, about the south-west point, where vessels may anchor in what depth they please, in sandy ground; but it is hard riding there, unless in moderate weather, on account of the flaws that come from the valleys. More turtle and fish were caught about this island, than any of the Cape Verde, except du Sal. Here is also a good stock of goats and asses, and almost as great plenty of nitre as at St. John's, but not so good. The author tried both by fire, and found the first always best, some fixed salt, but the latter burnt clean away, except what was generated near the sea-side.

[Those of Mr. Genne's fleet who touched at the first port in 1695, caught great numbers of good fish there: one sort of which, called a bourse, or purse was very beautiful, having rays darting round from its eyes like a glory, and speckled all over with hexagonal spots of a very bright blue colour. The whole refreshment of the St. Joseph's crew, while Frazer was there in 1712, was fish, of which they took plenty in the bay: but there is only one creek lying between two little points towards the east-south-east, where the seine can be used; in other places the shore is rocky: but they made amends with the hook. There are mullets, rock-fish, pilchards, grunners, white-tooths, long-beaks, and another sort which have a bat's tail, and round spots all over them. He describes one which was six-feet long, and very like the petinbuabs of Brasil. He says likewise, that there were sometimes taken bourses, or purses described by Froger. The coasts of this island abound with turtle of different sorts, some weighing between three and four hundred pounds weight. These creatures lay their eggs on shore, covering them with the sand, which alone hatches them in seventeen days; but it is nine more before the young ones are able to crawl down to the sea, by which means three fourths of them become a prey to the birds. This island is very mountainous, and has very little fresh water or wood.

The crew of an English vessel, after being disappointed of water at the rivulet, penetrated a little farther, and met with several salt-marshes, and, at length, upon the south point of the bay, found a little gut of water, which ran down from the craggs

to the sea. They dug to make it run the better, but had much trouble to get it on board, the sea being very rough, and tho' perfectly fresh water; yet it turns in seven or eight days. About two hundred paces from this they got wood, which was a sort of tamarind, easy to fell, and near the shore. Mr. Gennes found about twenty Portuguese from St. Nicholas, on the isle of St. Vincent, who had been there two years employed in tanning skins of goats, with which the island abounds. They have dogs trained up for the purpose, which kill a dozen or fifteen each every night. Frazer tells us, that they found at the bay a few cottages, the doors of which were so low, that there was no going in but upon all fours; all the furniture here was only some leather budgets and tortoiseshells, which served for seats, and vessels for holding water. The black inhabitants had quitted them on sight of the French, though they put out English colours. They saw two or three of them stark naked in the woods, but could not come to speak to them.]

They found no game there, not so much as a beast, except wild asses and goats on the mountains, hard to come at: some few pintadoes, and no other birds. The soil is so barren it produces no fruit, only in the valleys there are some little tufts of tamarind-trees, besides a few cotton and lemon trees: However, there were some curious plants, as the tythinallus, arborescens, or branched spurge; the male southern-wood, of a most sweet scent, and a very beautiful green, a yellow flower, and the stem of it has no leaves; the Palma Christi, or Ricinus Americanus, called Pillerilla by the Spaniards in Peru: the seed of it is exactly like the Indian pine-apple kernel: in Paraguay they make oil of it. They found house-leek of several sorts, some of which had thick round leaves like a hazle nut; colocintida apples, limonium maritimum very thick; lavender without any scent, dog-grass, &c. And near the little rock was found very good ambergrease, some of which the Portuguese had sold to French ships, particularly the St. Clement.

St. ANTHONY lies in 17 degrees 19 minutes north latitude and eight degrees two minutes west longitude from Cape Verde. It is both the western and northern of all the Cape Verde islands. It is a very high island, and considering the very high mountains and low valleys, it contains as much ground, or rather rocks, as St. Jago, and has plenty of fresh water-brooks. There are in St. Anthony but two ports or roads where ships anchor; the best, called Terrafals, is to the south-west end. It is a sandy bay, and affords good riding; the way from thence to the town, and inhabited parts of the island, is so very long as well as difficult, that a ship might lie there a long time undiscovered by the inhabitants. The other is a sandy coast rather than bay, called Praya Simone, it affords no shelter from the wind, which generally blows strong through the channel between St. Anthony and St. Vincent; so that a ship is often forced from her anchor before she can finish trading. However, it is tolerable good riding in fine weather and light winds, as well as pretty smooth landing. About half a league to the northward of the Chapple, near the Village, there is a little bay or cave, called Rivera des Trafo, where a boat may lie. It has a very good quay to land or load at, the water being smooth, and is sheltered by the north-west point: there is also a stream of fresh water, and wood enough in the valley. The plenty of streams that water this island, fertilise the valleys so, that St. Anthony yields to none of the Cape Verde islands, for maize, feshoons, bananas, plantanes, potatoes, pumpions, water and musk-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, guara's, &c. and the greatest of wine. A great deal of indigo grows here, and several great plantations are walled in and cultivated. The indigo shrub (or plant) grows something like broom, but not so large, having small, pale, green leaves, very juicy, in form resembling that of box. These leaves are stripped off in October or November, and

pounded

pounded into pap, which, when made up into cakes or balls, changes in dying, from green to a dark blue.

Cotton plantations are likewise cultivated, and cloaths made for the owners. The cotton shrub grows about the size of a rose-bush, but spreads more. The leaves are of a grass green, something like those of spinnage, but broader and smoother; the flowers are of a pale yellow, which, after they blow away, are succeeded by round pods, inclosing the cotton, commonly in three cavities, wherein are also contained the seeds, which are black, and of an oval form, and in size much about the bigness of a French kidney-bean.

The valleys in this island are very woody. The dragon trees are very numerous, so that the dragon's blood is produced in great quantities.

They have asses and hogs, which are very large, as well as plenty of them, and a numerous flock of cows; besides, the mountains are crowded with wild goats. On one of the mountains is found a transparent stone, called by the natives, Topaz; but whether the true topaz or not, the author could not tell. The Portuguese of this, like the rest of the Cape de Verde islands, are all of a dark swarthy colour, but yet a good-natured sort of people, and very sociable. Captain Roberts observed, that this island was then made a kind of storehouse for slaves. He supposes that when the Portuguese had the Spanish trade, the then Marquis des Minhas, whose hereditary estate it was, ordered a cargo of negros to be brought from Guinea, and placed there, who were supplied at his expence, till they could maintain themselves by planting, which they soon learned from the free blacks inhabiting there before. These slaves, (says he) increased so fast, that, notwithstanding the great numbers of them who have been transported both to Portugal and Brasil, by the marquis's order, they make four fifths of the inhabitants. They have plantations, houses, wives, &c. as the free blacks have, and some of the best places are cultivated by them for cotton, indigo, &c. which are all wrought by them, under the inspection and management of a steward (or overseer) placed there by the marquis. He is generally an European Portuguese, and has the title of Capiteen Moore.

Thus they are divided into two parties, and very often difference happens between them, which sometimes end in blood-shed. The free blacks valuing themselves upon their freedom; and the slaves telling them they are only tenants at will, and in a worse condition than themselves, as being liable to be turned off the island, without knowing where to go, and will therefore be necessitated to yield themselves slaves whenever called upon."

St. Anthony is a good place for taking in provisions, they being very plentiful here. [Froger observes, that sending their canoe from the bay of St. Vincent to St. Anthony's for provisions, the men went to some country houses near the road, where they got some fowls, with plenty of fruits, such as figs, grapes, bananas, oranges, and water-melons. A few days after, they sent again, by direction of the inhabitants (who promised to give notice of their coming) and brought from hence 1200 fowls, 100 pigs, and above 25 beeves, and a great quantity of fruit, for which they bartered old linen, beads, small looking-glasses, ribbands, knives, and some other trifles: these the islanders preferred to money, because but few ships touch there; and even the king of Portugal, to whom the profits and produce of the island belong, does not send for three years together sometimes to fetch them home.]

Captain Roberts, from whose account the chief part of this description of the Cape Verde isles is taken, seems to have been a man of sense and ingenuity.—When here he found no likelihood of getting a passage home from the island of John, he applied to the governor to let him have an old boat of his to fit up, for going over to St. Philip's, offering to be the car-

penter himself, and to find nails and sails; the first he had saved out of the wreck of his sloop, and the latter he proposed to make out of his jib: but the boat having now lain above two years on the dry land, and being fallen in a manner to pieces, as well as rotten, the governor, out of regard for his safety, would not grant him his request, alledging the danger of the channel between the two islands, from violent winds and strong currents. He told him, however, that if he understood how to build a vessel, he might build one new, large, and strong, there being wood enough on the island, and that he did not doubt but all the inhabitants likewise would assist him as much as they were capable of: saying, that *they* would do all the laborious work, while he and Franklin might be employed in that part only, which *their* ingenuity he said could not reach to. He added, that besides the adz, which Roberts saved, they had three or four hatchets, and that they could handle them so as to cut down fig-trees, split and hew boards out of them, and he engaged to supply him with boards and timber enough, of any sort he would have. "My brother, continued the governor, who has been at St. Jago, is a good carpenter, he can work very well, and makes almost all our doors on the island, and has besides made stools for the priests, which also several others in the island can do; and the chairs which you have seen at the priest's house shews he is a workman."

Roberts telling him he was afraid he should not have nails enough (having only six or seven thousand broken and whole, besides a great many large spikes, some bolts, and other iron-work they had saved) the governor said he was the best judge in that case; but that if he wanted, he might instruct the old farrier, who was also ingenious of himself, to forge some out of the old iron. But first, he would have the author promise to make a boat large enough to carry him over the channel of St. Philip's safely, without any danger, and that he thought, could not be less than twice the size, at least, of his own boat.—Roberts said, that to make a boat twice the length, breadth, and depth of his, would be to make one a great many times bigger than his boat; but he could not any way convince his excellency how that was possible.—

They now took a general survey of the island, to find what tools were on it fit for the occasion. They mustered up three small hatchets, a thing like a butcher's cleaver, two gimblets, one about the size of a twenty-penny nail, the other a very large gimblet, with a small pin-mall, one claw hammer, and one like a cobbler's hammer, and a double-headed hammer, about three pounds in weight, over and above what the smith had.

All the inhabitants were now summoned to meet before the governor's house, who made a speech to them, setting forth the cause for which they met, how charitable an act it was to assist their guest. They answered, That he could not be more ready to ask than they to grant, that they were wholly at Roberts's call, and that he might always command them.—They said, they were very sorry to think of his leaving them; but when they considered how unable they were to supply his occasions, to his wishes, they could not desire him to continue among them in misery. They added, that they wished their island produced those necessaries, as well as pleasure and delights which his country did, and then, perhaps, they would keep him with them by force, and think they did not wrong him: saying, when he talked on a retaliation, that they desired nothing but his good opinion, and that for the continuance thereof, they would do any thing for him in their power. After this, they observed that those who could use hatchets, would take their turns day by day, that the three hatchets might never be idle, and that the rest might carry down the boards and timber, after it was hewed, and a little dried, to the place where he intended to build the boat. This was accordingly performed, and by the time they got a good quantity made, a large

piece of a ship's quarter was thrown on shore near Scio, which came luckily to help out the design. There being no convenient place there to haul it on land, because of the rocks, thirty or forty of the natives fastening linen to tow it by, swam with it, and got it, though with great difficulty, into a little cove between Scio and Piscoarce Picuana. This wreck being broke up, afforded a quantity of boards, timber, nails, spiking bolts, with a mizen-mast, and standing rigging, of which mast he proposed to make the keel.

But now our voyager began to be in doubt of his ability to perform what he had undertaken; yet reflecting on the disgrace it would be to desist, after giving so much trouble about it, he resolved to proceed. Accordingly he went down with six or eight of the best carpenters, having several more hands to help as labourers, and some to fish for provisions for the rest. But just at they were going to begin, a new objection arose, which was likely to have put an end to the work; for next day the governor coming down, told Roberts he was informed, that he (the author) intended the boat to be but a little bigger than his, which was 20 feet long, and that in case this was true, he would forbid all his people to assist him; for that both he and Signor Carlos were of opinion, he would only cast himself away through eagerness to get off the island. Roberts thanked him for his care, and assured him he intended to make her twice as large as his own boat; and agreed, if she did not carry above twice as much, as his, to give her to the governor, and stay upon the island till a ship came.

As soon as his back was turned, Roberts measured out twenty-five feet for the length of the keel, instead of thirty, which he had measured before the governor; and, at his request, his assistants promised to say nothing of it; but in going on with the work, being at a loss for a saw, they furnished out an old rust-eaten one, and a file, with which he sharpened it; while they stood over, admiring his ingenuity. In order to make the sweeps, Roberts had contrived a pair of wooden compasses, and his workmen were greatly astonished at seeing him fix the stern and the stern-post, because he used a plummet to set them upright. He employed the wreck boards along the body of the boat, as they would not bend for any other part; but the nails began to diminish apace, so that having nailed her tolerably secure at the bottom, he was forced to fasten only the butt-end; and here and there, where necessity required, was obliged only to pin or trunnel them with the large spike gimblet. He had a half-deck abaft, a little above eight feet long, a fore-castle from the stern aft, something above seven feet. He laid in four beams that he double kneed, fastening the knees of each end, one of which was a standing knee; he bolted them with some of the smallest bolts, pointed, and boring the length of the pike gimblet, forced the rest, by driving the bolt red hot.

After all this, there were left boards enough to deck her; but for want of nails, being forced at the latter end to make use of all the broken points, he frequently took the point of a nail, which was but little more in length than the thickness of a plank, and after he had driven it up, he drove it farther with a broken stump of a nail, till the latter had entered half way into the plank, that the point might the better take hold of the timber. How to make her tight was now to be considered. For this, he had some spare ropes, of which he made oakham, but he found that cotton and moss did better. His method to try how the caulking held was; in the evening, after they had all left off work, to heave water against the seams within side; and where he perceived it went through, he caulked it over again. He finished his mast, and fixed the rigging, and the pieces of the jib of his former sloop, made him a main-sail. It was too narrow by a breadth and an half, but there was no help for it. His fore-sail and jib were patched out of the pieces of the main-sail, and of cotton cloth, given him by the natives.

His boom was made of his old gaff, by scarfing a hand-spike to it. His rudder was made thus: he got three eye-bolts, and sharpening the points, drove them into the stern-post up to the eyes, which served in the room of braces or gudgeons. Two or three days before she was launched, four of the blacks with Nicolau Verde, went, and fastening a rope to her anchor, which lay in Salt-Point bay, hauled it out from under some rocks: then floating it about a stone's throw, let it go again. When they saw it quite clear of the rocks, they brought it up to the surface, and then floated it away. This he was very much surprised to see them do, believing it impossible for four times the number to have sustained the weight of the anchor, no less than two hundred and three quarters; besides the stock, which, then being so much water-soaked, could not weigh much less than one hundred weight.

The governor, priest, and several women came down to the launching, which was performed very well, but the boat made as much water as two hands could keep clear by constant baling. Roberts stopped several places where it went in, but could see nothing of a constant leak, only under three of the floor timber heads, which he could not come at: however, he tightened it as well as he could, and went down to Ferrier to fish up an anchor with a hauser, left there lately by a Portuguese ship in a storm. In the mean time he made a wooden hillock, which he fastened to a stone, as the New-found-land fishing sloops used, by means of his shrouds which he saved, and now spliced together, to the quantity of about twenty-five fathoms.

Leaving the boat till the governor, by a general hunting, had killed goats to supply him with tallow to pay the seams of her, he went down to Ferrier for the anchor; where a black, called Fum-Fo-Roen, who had been on board the said Portuguese, playing in the water with some others at their usual game of plunging and striking with their feet in imitation of the thrasher and grampus-fish, and diving from him who struck at him, he happened to hit against the buoy, which was about a fathom under water. The ground being a tough, clammy, stiff ooze, or clay, covered over with soft ooze and sand mixed, they were a long time getting out the anchor, which they afterwards brought to shore about a mile distant: and thus the whole was compleated.

Captain Roberts at length set sail, and having visited all the lower islands, came about to St. Nicholas; where stopping first at Porto Ghuy, and then at Paraghisi, the people came down to welcome him, and bought all his salt, which was a good commodity then, it being their turtling season. At Paraghisi, there came a young man, who said his name was George; that he was born in Devonshire, and that he had been taken by Loe in his way from Virginia; and some months past had escaped from him at the island of St. Vincent, while that pirate was there refitting the Merry Christmas, of London; which he had taken also coming from that plantation. This young fellow said, he would lie in the vessel all night, as it was likely to prove bad weather; which being agreed, and the boat secured. Roberts being very ill, was carried directly back again, where the blacks nursed him, and the little boy being somewhat better than in the morning, chose to be on board with George.

About eight that night, the wind blowing hard from the south-west, with much rain, Roberts came down again from the quay, and hailed the boat to veer more upon the anchor cable; saying, otherwise it would be lost, but could not make George hear: upon which, a black of St. Anthony (who was very faithful to him) said, rather than the boat which had carried them through so many dangers should be lost for want of veering the cable, he would try to swim on board at the hazard of his life, and (notwithstanding all the dissuasions of the other blacks, who told him the sea ran so high, that he would be dashed in

pieces against the rocks) watching an opportunity of the smoothest water, he darted himself from the edge of the rock, which was fifty feet above the surface; and got on board the boat: just before he jumped, a sea washed over the bow of the boat, and frightened both George and the boy.

Perceiving Roberts chiefly concerned for the boy, they undertook for his safety at all events: but the cable breaking, the sea carried the boat up so high on the beach, that she lay undisturbed for above a quarter of an hour. They had thus all time to get out of her. After the first fright was over, George went on board to save what he could, but presently a great sea rolling over her, so terrified him, that he made what haste he could out of her again, with only a bottle of the Bona Vista wine. Soon after another sea flaved her to pieces.

The author, by sitting out all night in the wind on this occasion got a cold, which was one great cause of the tedious sickness that held him till after his arrival in England, and gave him leisure to write his history. The morning clearing up, gave him a full view of the ruins of ten or twelve months labour, which had been destroyed in one moment, and lay piled up on the shore.

The letters brought from the former priest of St. Nicholas to his successor, and from the bishop of the two priests, who governed St. Anthony, for the Marquis des Minhas, procured him great respect when he was there. Going to wait on the governor, as soon as he went up to the town, dinner was brought to table; which consisted of fish, fowls, goat's-flesh, Indian corn-bread, plantanes, bananas, boiled pompion, &c. The fowls were baked in a pot, and looked very well, and as brown as if they had been roasted; and the venison, or wild goat's-flesh, and fish were boiled. There was also a calamow, which is a calabash cut in two, and serves instead of basons and porringers: this was brought to him full of fish-water, being reckoned by them the daintiest mess they can give a sick or weak person; but the author could not touch it. He lay at one Signor Gonfalso's, who had been formerly governor, where all imaginable care was taken of him.

[When Captain Harfoot arrived (as has been already mentioned) Captain Roberts was very serviceable to him as a linguist, and having spoke to him in behalf of George, (who he said, he believed would be glad to work for his passage to get off these islands). Harfoot consented to take him on board, although he did not want more hands. At this, when Roberts told George, who was then at the town, he seemed rejoiced. Being come down, he hailed the brigantine, and Captain Harfoot sent the boat for him; as soon as he was brought on board, Roberts observed his countenance change, but could not imagine the reason: however, Captain Harfoot soon made him sensible of it: for it seems, the year before, Loe took Capt. Harfoot at Bona Vista, where this fellow was on board the pirates; and having been as active as the

rest in plundering his vessel, was so daunted at the sight of him, that he had no courage to speak. The Captain, as soon as he had recovered memory enough to convince him, that he was the man, said, in a passion, "You impudent rascally villain, I admire how you dare come to ask a favour of me?" The fellow looked very dejected, and by way of excuse, alledged, that he was a prisoner on board with the pirates, and constrained to do what he did, as not daring to refuse whatever they thought proper to command him. The Captain bade him hold his tongue, and tell them so who knew no better: saying, "That if he had not the impudence of the devil, or his master Loe, he would not come to ask him any favour. He added, that if he was sure to find a man of war to put him on board of, before he went from the islands, he would give him his passage to it." Then turning to Roberts, "If a man, said he, should take that villain on board, to carry him to justice, and should meet any of his brother villains (meaning the pirates) he could expect nothing but death." After this, turning to George, who, to all this, replied not a word, he told him he should go on shore again, and that if he met with any of his majesty's ships, before he left those islands, he would give them an account of him, and persuade them all he could, to come and give him a passage to Tyburn: adding, that he hoped before long, to hear of his master Loe's receiving the same reward at some such place."]

On the 15th of September, they left Porto Praya, and anchored at the city the next day, where they filled the remainder of the water they wanted, and took in the rest of the necessary provisions. About the 19th of November, they sailed for Porto Cidade, and stretched away to the northward, but the ship proving leaky, were forced to put in at St. Lucia: where the captain letting go the anchor too soon, (there being only the fore-top-sail handed) a gust of wind came off the bank out of the Soundings; and being in a very bad condition, Roberts advised the commander to bring her down to Barbadoes, as the shortest, and the easiest run.

There were on board her about 180 slaves, a Portuguese supercargo, Scrivan, Cooper, and Signor Antonio de Barra, late governor of Cachca: which last objecting to Barbadoes, as being but an island. Roberts told him, true, it was an island, but he doubted whether he could have any thing at Lisbon, which was not at Barbadoes, except a king, a patriarch, a nobleman, and a bishop: at which the governor smiling, they all agreed to go thither; the supercargo, Scrivan, &c. signing a paper to testify, as was necessary, their free consent. Accordingly, making for Barbadoes, they arrived there in Carlisle bay, Christmas day, 1724: and in less than three months, sailing from thence, they came to Lisbon, where, meeting with Alexander Baxter, master of the Bricket Brigantine, who generously gave both him and the boy a passage: where they arrived the latter end of June in the port of London.

VOYAGES TO THE ISLANDS AND COASTS OF AFRICA, FROM 1420, TO 1730.

THE Portuguese, who as we have already observed, were the first great discoverers of navigation, claim the honour of discovering the islands on the coast of Africa, and among them the Canaries, which are seven, or as some reckon eight in number, Madeira being generally accounted one of them. However, it appears that this was really discovered by accident by an Englishman and his beloved fair one.

It was in the reign of king Edward the third that one Robert Machin (or Masham) falling in love with

a beautiful young lady called Anne d'Arfet, had the mortification to find that her relations were resolved to marry her to a nobleman whose distinguished rank and fortune had biased them in his favour. Vexed at this disappointment (having been discharged from a confinement he was under, at the instigation of his mistress's relations) he contrived to take the lady from her new spouse and put off to sea with her, in order to render a pursuit fruitless.

The lovers intended to shape their course for France; but

but Machin and his associates being ignorant of the art of navigation, were driven out to sea by a strong gale, and were greatly terrified at finding themselves exposed to winds and waves upon the boundless ocean.

However, after wandering for 13 days, they had sight of an unknown coast, and the adventurer, on falling in with it, carried his mistress on shore. He found the country agreeably diversified, with hills and vales, and it is said that several wild beasts came about him, without offering to do him any violence. Proceeding farther up the country, he came to a round meadow incircled with laurels, and watered with a small rivulet, which in a bed of fine sand, ran down from the mountains through it. On an eminence here they found a beautiful tree, under which they took up their abode, and afterwards built themselves huts in its neighbourhood. They now passed their time very agreeably, till a storm arose which drove their vessel from her anchor, and threw her on the coast of Morocco, where all the crew were made slaves.

Here our historians and voyagers differ. Some say, that the lady dying, her lover soon followed her, whilst others, as we have already observed in a former part of the work, assert that he went over to Africa, from whence the Moors sent him as a present to the king of Castile; however that might be, we find authority sufficient for supporting the fact, that the island was first discovered by one of our own nation.

But the complete discovery of the island of Madeira, hitherto known only by report, and confirmed by some of Machin's associates, redeemed from the Goals of Morocco, was left to the enterprising genius of Prince Henry of Portugal, that light of a gloomy age, who awakened the spirit of discovery, and was himself the great genius of navigation. This illustrious prince fitted out a fleet, the command of which was given to Juan Goncalvo Zarco, who was ordered at all hazards to land at this island, which was rendered famous only by the death of the English lady above-mentioned.

The voyager in his way touched at Puerto Santo, where he was given to understand that an impenetrable darkness hung over the sea, to the north-east of the island. This however did not discourage him; he resolved to proceed, and penetrating the mist, which De Morales his pilot, who had been a slave in Morocco, assured him, was occasioned only by vapours arising from thick woods, happily landed according to his destination.

Doubling a point, to which Goncalvo gave the name of S. Laurence: they sent on shore to reconnoitre the island, and found the tomb of the English lady. They saw no inhabitants nor any cattle where they landed, but saw birds, of various kinds, so gentle, that they suffered themselves to be taken by the hand; nor were there any venomous animals discovered upon the whole island.

Returning with this account to Portugal, in the month of August, 1420, it was resolved that Goncalvo should return to Madeira, (as it was by this time denominated) in quality of Captain of the Island.

Accordingly he set out again in May, 1421, with his wife and family, and arriving safe in the road then called English Port, he named it Puerto del Machino, in honour of the first English discoverer.

In a fruitful valley, where there was the best harbour adjoining, and a sufficiency of water, this adventurer founded the town of Fonchial, and his wife Constantia dedicated there the first altar to St. Catharine.

After the death of King John, his son and successor, in consideration of the great sums expended in discovering and peopling the island, by his brother Prince Henry, he gave him the revenues of it for his life; and, as a reward for his indefatigable endeavours, he gave to Juan Goncalvo Zarco the title of an Earl, with a new coat of arms, which the family bear to this day.

“Some (says our author) comprise two islands under the name of Madeira, viz. that properly so called, and Puerto Santo; and it is common with us, as well as the Portuguese and Spaniards, at this day, to say the Madeiras. It is true, we do not at present, include both those islands under that denomination; but a former custom might have brought that mode of expression into use.

“This isle, which took its name from the great quantity of wood or timber growing on it, lies between 32 deg. 12 min. and 32 deg. 50 min. of north latitude. Dr. Fryer, in his account of the East Indies, &c. says, This is the largest island in the Atlantic ocean; but Teneriffe may dispute the advantage for size. Some moderns make this island 140 leagues, and others 160 in circuit; While Cado Mosta, more near the truth, allows it to be 140 miles. The same author observes, that it has good roads, but no ports. Puerto Santo, which is about 12 leagues distant, may be seen from it in clear weather.”

Don Henry first sent letters thither, about the year 1431, under Trifan Teflora, and Juan Gonzales Zarco, whom he appointed governor, who had then shared the whole between them; the first having that half where Machino port lies; and the other the district of Fonchial. He also relates that the settlers, in order to clear the land, set fire to the woods, which happened to spread with such fury, as he had been told, that several persons, with their families, among whom was Gonzales himself, to save themselves from the flames, were forced to take to the sea, where they stood up to their necks for two days and nights, without sustenance. It was then inhabited in four places, viz. at Manchino, Santa Cruz, Fonchial, and Camura de Lobos. There were some other settlements, but these were the principal; which, in the whole, could muster about 180 men, including 100 horse. Their number is much increased since: for Mr. Atkins informs us, that in 1720, the island mustered 18,000 militia, which were kept in good order; and proved very faithful since the revolution in Portugal, in 1640, when it then shook off the Spanish yoke.

In 1601, when Moquet was at this island, it had two cities, the principal of which had two fortresses, the stronger was garrisoned with Spanish, and the other with Portuguese soldiers. This city, which he calls Madeira, and must be Fonchial, is situated in a valley and at the foot of a mountain; from whence he says, comes water in such abundance sometimes, as to cause inundations, which do much damage, carrying away bridges, houses, churches, and other edifices. The city has been as big as St. Dennis, (near Paris) but very populous, to which a great number of slaves contributed, who worked upon the sugar, without the city. The whole island was scattered over with pleasure houses. Ican de Chux, who married the niece of Don Christoval de More, viceroy of Portugal, was then consul for the French, who, as well as the English, Dutch and others, had many factors there. Fonchial is situate in a bay, on the south part of the isle, close to the south side, next to which, it is walled, and defended by cannon. Fresh water comes running into the sea in the middle of the bay, from under an arch in the wall. The shore consists of great pebble stones in the bay, and of rocks in other places. The eastern part of the road is foul ground, and ships ride at anchor within reach of the cannon.

The city is about an English mile in length, and three quarters in breadth. The bay lies in the latitude of 32 degrees 10 minutes north, and 10 degrees one minute west of the Lizard. The adjacent rural places are very mountainous, but, however, they rival the vallies in fruitfulness and delight. The town is refreshed by seven or eight rivers, and variety of rivulets, descending from the mountains, which, notwithstanding their height and steepness, are planted and improved as well as the most champaign in England. At the utmost top of the hills, the corn thrives well,

well, but the abundance of clouds that gather here, are prejudicial to the grapes.

Captain Uring, who was at Fonchial in 1717, says, "It is defended by two large forts, and a third upon a rock at a little distance from the shore, which is very strong by nature. On the back of the town, the ground rises gradually to the mountains, which spread several miles in form of a semicircle, the whole space being full of gardens, vineyards, and gentlemen's country-seats, which make a very agreeable prospect likewise. There fall from the mountains behind the town many fine rills of water, that are conveyed by aqueducts for several miles, with which the inhabitants water their gardens and vineyards; it being let in at pleasure by means of cocks.

"The port is dangerous, especially in west and south-west winds, on which side the road lies open, and there is no anchoring under forty fathoms above a mile off shore, and that no where, but at the west end; so that when a swell from these quarters gives notice of a gale's coming, there is no remedy but to slip cable and to sea. The surf too is generally so great on the beach, that the common method of lading is to swim off the pipes to the launch, or also lade on the beach, and then run her into the water; for the same reason, the only good time for watering is before the season breeze comes on. There is a high rock, called the Loo; with a fort upon it, where small vessels may moor pretty safe from the westerly winds. But if the wind veers so as to turn their heads to seaward, all hands immediately take to shore, and leave the ship to make the best of it against the storm by herself. Nor are the lodgings on shore much easier than the road at sea: there are three towns in it, all on the southern side, viz. Marafylo, a small place, with a bay or harbour in the south-west end of the island, where there is good anchorage, in twelve, fifteen, seventeen, and twenty fathoms; Fonchial, in a large bay, near the middle, and Santa Cruz in another open bay or road beyond the former, toward the eastern point of Madeira; between which, and Santa Cruz, Machino, or Macham's town, must be situate, where we are told by our geographers, that there is a handsome church and cloister of Bernardines.

The air of Madeira is generally allowed to be very good and temperate and seldom disturbed; the heavens being commonly smiling and serene. On this occasion he observes, that as those climates which be between the thirtieth and fortieth degree of latitude, are generally free from excess of heat or cold; they therefore seem to best suited to the delights of human life, as well as accommodated to the constitution of mankind.

According to the best authors, this island is mountainous, interspersed with fruitful valleys. The highest parts, woods; which are haunts for wild goats: the middle, kitchen-gardens; and the bottom, vineyards. The roads are bad; for which reason the wines are brought to town in Hog-skins upon asses.

Though the country is mountainous, yet the soil is rich: and it produced, yearly, thirty thousand Venetian staves of Bread-corn: and the land yielded at first seventy to one increase; but is now reduced to thirty or forty for want of good husbandry.

It abounds every where with fine springs, besides which, there are eight rivers. This great plenty of water first suggested the idea to prince Henry of sending sugar-canes hither from Sicily; which being removed into a warmer climate yielded greatly, and four hundred cantaros (each an hundred and twelve pounds large weight of Venice) of sugar had been made to one boiling, and were likely to improve. They had likewise good wines for the time since their settlement, and plenty, so as to export large quantities. Among other vines some Malvasia (Malmsey) plants from Candia were brought hither, which succeeded very well. This soil proved so well-suited to the vine, that in general there are more grapes than leaves, the bunches very large, from two to four spans long. They had like-

wise the black Pergola grape, in perfection. And they began their vintage about Easter.

The main product of the island is grapes brought hither from Candia, of which there are three or four kinds, which make so many different wines: one is coloured like Champagne of little esteem: another is more strong and pale, as white-wine; the third sort is rich and delicious, called Malmsey; the fourth is Tinto, equalling tint in colour, but far inferior in taste; it is never drank unless in other wines, with which it is mixt, to give them a tincture and to preserve them. And for fermenting and feeding them, they bruise and take a certain stone, called Jefs, of which nine or ten pounds are thrown into each pipe. The Madeira wine has in it this peculiar excellence, that it is meliorated by the heat of the sun when it is pricked; for this end it is necessary only to open the bung-hole and expose it to the air.

The product of the vine is equally divided between the proprietor and him who gathers and presses the grapes: yet for the most part, the merchant thrives and is rich, whilst the grape-gatherers is but poor. Among the merchants the Jesuits are none of the least considerable; they have here secured the monopoly of Malmsey, of which there is but one good vineyard in the whole island, which is entirely in their possession. Twenty thousand pipes of wine, by a moderate computation, may be reckoned the annual increase of the grapes; which number is thus exhausted and spent. Eight thousand are thought to be drank upon the island; three or four are wasted in leakage, and the remainder is exported mostly to the West-Indies, especially to Barbadoes, where it is drank more liberally than other European wines.

The ashes of the trees burnt by the discoverers gave a vast fertility to the sugar-canes, at their first planting, till a worm getting into the canes spoiled the increase; so that it was then intirely planted with vines brought originally from Candia, which yield the strongest wines: that called Malmsey is a rich cordial, the best made at the Jesuits garden in Fonchial. Their vintage is in September and October; and the yearly produce is about twenty-five thousand pipes. This wine is of two sorts; one brownish, and the other red, called, (as we have said) Vintinto, from a general opinion that it is stained, which, however, the inhabitants firmly deny. They are almost all limed; a preservative against the heat of the West-Indies, where no other wines keep so well.

This island affords peaches, apricots, plums, cherries, figs, and walnuts; and the English merchant allowed to reside and traffic here, have transplanted from England currants, gooseberries, filberts. All these are more kindly entertained in this soil, than many of their fruits are in ours, which is too cold and moist for rearing those of hot climates. The banana is with them in singular esteem, and even veneration, being reckoned for its deliciousness, the forbidden fruit; oranges and lemons abound in such plenty that they drop into their dishes, while people dine under their shade.

Citrons also grow here, of which the natives made a delicate sweetmeat, called Sucket, and load with it yearly, two or three small ships for France. The sugar, which in candying them, they make use of, and is often effectually prescribed against consumptions, is but rarely exported, because of its scarcity, which hardly supplies the necessities of the Island.

Among the trees, the cedar and nasso excelled; the first, is very tall, thick, and freight; and has a rich scent, it makes the finest boards, and is chiefly used for building, the nasso wood is of a very bright red-rose colour; and besides boards they made both long and cross bows which had a just spring, and were extremely beautiful, which were sent to the west. And they supplied all Portugal besides other places with boards.

The provisions here, are chiefly kid, pork, with sometimes a lean heifer, cabbages, lemons, oranges, walnuts,

walnuts, figs, yams, bananas, &c. the country sending in what quantity they guess will be taken off, there being no fixed markets.

The ordinary food of the poorer sort is little else in the time of vintage, than bread and ripe grapes. Were it not for this great abstemiousness, the danger of fevers, in the hot season, would be rarely avoided, and the venereal excesses to which they are strangely addicted, joined to the immoderate heat of the place, would be apt to put nature under various disorders. Therefore men of the greatest consequence and fortune, seldom exceed the allowable bounds of drinking, and accustom themselves to a very spare diet.

The people affect gravity (says the author) and wear black, in compliance with the clergy, who claim so much authority among them. But they cannot live without the spado and the dagger; those inseparable adjuncts, even of servants waiting at table, who proudly strut with the dishes in their hands, and a basket hilt to a sword, at least, a yard long, even in the midst of summer. Their houses too are plain; for they are at no great expence either for building or furniture; some of them shoot up a little in height; in general they are flat-roofed; the windows are unglazed, and kept open all day, and closed by wooden shutters at night.

The fertility of this island is much abated from what it was in the time of its first plantation, and the continual breaking up of the ground has in many places impoverished its productions, so that they are obliged to let it lie fallow for three or four years, after which time, if there springs up no broom, they conclude it quite barren.—The husbands, set their wives an ill example, and the latter make no scruple to indulge their inclinations, when they find an opportunity, especially with strangers. This is imputed in a great measure to the parties marrying without a previous knowledge, or even an interview of each other.

“In treating about marriage, their principal inquiries are into the family, and descent of the lover, for preventing alliances with Moors or Jews, who are very numerous. To join in matrimony with any of them, is esteemed a debasement, especially in a woman. Neither must any of them marry any English merchants (whose persons are very acceptable to the best of families) unless the latter first change their religion. Sometimes indeed, an objection is made on account of fortune; for it has been known, that an inequality that way has been deemed by their subtle casuists, a just plea for dissolving the contract. Murder here has a kind of reputation; and it is made the characteristic of any gentleman of rank or fashion to have dipped his hands in blood. The chief source of this execrable crime is the protection it receives from their churches; which sort of sanctuaries are very numerous, Fonchial being full of them; besides many more dispersed through their country plantations. The indulgence given to such malefactors is the greatest reproach to religion and humanity. It is enough if the criminal can lay hold of the horns of the altar; and the utmost penalty they inflict is banishment or confinement, both which, by large presents, may be bought off. The clergy here are very numerous, and daily increase. Near the chapel belonging to the Jesuits, is a certain hospital, much frequented by the natives, erected for the entertainment and care of such as are infected with the venereal disease. Their churches are most commonly made use of for repositories of the dead. The corpse is curiously dressed and adorned; yet in the interment, they mix lime with the earth to hasten the consumption of it, by which means there is room made within a fortnight for a fresh body.”

Puerto Santo was discovered about the year 1418, by the Portuguese, on All Saints day, whence it takes its name; and Prince Henry of Portugal, first sent inhabitants to settle there under Bartholomew Perestrello, whom he appointed governor. It is about 15 miles in circumference.

This island bears good bread corn, and oats enough for its own use; but abounds with oxen and wild hogs, and there are rabbits out of number. Among other trees it produces the dragon tree, the sap or juice of which is drawn out at certain seasons only of the year, when it issues into clefts, made with an ax; near the bottom of the trunk the year before. These are found full of a kind of gum, which decocted and depurated, is the dragon's blood of the apothecaries: the tree bears a fruit that is well tasted, and round like a cherry, but yellow. Here are the best honey and wax in the world, but not in any great quantity. There is also plenty of good fish about it, such as dentali, gilded fish, and others. It has no port; but good mooring in the road, which is sheltered on all sides, but between south and east, the winds blowing from this quarter, make it unsafe riding here.

In April, 1595, Captain Amias Preston, with only 60 men, took the island and chief town, which was very handsome and large. The inhabitants fled with their goods to an exceeding high hill near the same, which the English durst not attack. The enemy would have ransomed the town, but it was burnt down in revenge of former ill treatment. The like was done by the villages on the island, which was at that time inhabited by old soldiers, whom the king of Portugal used to place there, to reward their former services. In 1681, when Barbot sailed that way, Puerto Santo had then on it some villages and hamlets.

Of the Canary islands in general, we have the following account. They mostly abound in the necessaries of life, except water, which not being good, the inhabitants strain it through filtering stones. The harvest is commonly in March or April at farthest, and in several places they have two each year; and the author had seen a cherry-slip produce fruit in six weeks after grafting. Here also grows the Orifelle, a plant that bears the Canary seed, and requires a great deal of care and management here, but grows in Holland, and other parts of Europe, without any trouble. The Canary birds which breed in France, neither sing so sweet, nor have they such a variety of beautiful plumage, as here on their native soil. Besides many other vegetables, there were beans, peas, and caches; a grain like maize, used for improving the land; papaus, cherries, guavas, pomkins, and extraordinary fine onions, with all sorts of garden greens, and roots, pot-herbs, and sallading, as well as variety of flowers. Of fish they have mackarel in plenty, besides sturgeon, which the poorer sort feed on. They are likewise well stocked with deer and horses. These are the products of the islands in general, but in particular, Lanzarota excels in horses; Grand Canaria, Palma, and Teneriffe, in vines; Forteventura for common dunghil fowls; and Gomera for deer.

GRAND CANARIA is the principal of all the rest of the islands, not in fertility, but as being the seat of justice and government among them. There is a governor for the island only; besides whom, here are auditors, who are superior judges, and act jointly in commission as the lord chancellor of any realm; receiving and hearing appeals from other islands. The city is called Civitas Palmarum. It hath a beautiful cathedral, with all the usual dignities. For the administration of civil affairs in the island, there are several aldermen who have great authority, and a council house to themselves. The city is beautiful, and the inhabitants dress very gay and rich. After any rain or foul weather, a man may go clean in velvet slippers, because the ground is sandy. The air is very temperate, and free from the extreme of heat or cold. They have two wheat harvests, viz. in February and May. The grain is exceeding good, and makes bread as white as snow. There are in this island three other towns, named Telde, Galder, and Guia; also 12 sugar houses, called Ingenios, in which a great quantity of good sugar is made. The growth of sugar is in this manner: A good soil yields nine

crops

in 18 years: First, they take a cane, which is called the *Planta*, and laying it along in a furrow, cover it with earth, so that by a sluice they can let the water run over it. This plant, in the nature of a root, brings forth sundry canes, which grow two years before they are fit to cut. They are cut even with the ground, and the tops, with the leaves called *coholia*, being chopped off, the bodies are tied into bundles like faggots, and carried to the sugar-houses, called *Ingenio's*. When they are ground in a mill, and the juice conveyed by a gutter to a great vessel where it is boiled till it comes to a due thickness, and then put into earthen pots; of the mould of a sugar-loaf, and placed in a purging-house to purge and whiten, which is done with a certain clay laid on the top. Of the remainder in the vessel is made a second sort, called *escumes*; and of the purging liquor, that drops from the white sugar, is made a third sort, the remains of which is called *panela*, or *netas*: the refuse of all the purging, is called *molasses*; and of that is made another sort, called *refinado*. When the first crop is thus finished, the canes of which, are called *planta*, then the straw, (or withered leaves of the canes) lying all over the field, (or cane piece) are set on fire, which likewise burns the stumps of the canes close to the ground: and thus, with good husbandry, and watering, at the end of other two years, it yields the second crop, called *zoca*; the third is called *tertia zoca*, the fourth *quarto zoca*; and so the rest, till age causes the old canes to be planted again.

This island produces very good wine, especially in the town of *Teyde*, and many sorts of good fruits, as melons, pears, apples, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, peaches of several sorts, and many other fruits; but especially the *plantane*. It is no timber-tree; it grows near the sides of brooks, is very straight in the body, and has surprisingly thick leaves: which grows not on the branches, but out of the top of the tree, every leaf being two yards long, and almost half a yard broad; each tree has but two or three branches; and on them grows the fruit, which are thirty or forty in number, more or less; it is shaped like a cucumber; and when ripe, is black, being then more delicious than any conserve. The *plantane* bears fruit but once, and then is cut down, another springing up from the same fruit, and so on continually.

This island yields enough of oxen, camels, goats, sheep, capons, hens, ducks, pigeons and large partridges. Wood is the thing most wanted. It stands in twenty-seven degrees north. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues each way, and about forty in circuit: according to the common opinion, it is the same which the ancients, particularly *Ptolemy*, called by this name. It is the most particular of all the islands, and its chief city, called *Canaria*, and *Civdad de las Palmas*, the capital of all the rest.

TENERIFFE, stands in twenty-seven degrees and an half north, and is distant from *Canaria* twelve leagues to the northward. It is seventeen leagues in length, and lies high, in form of a ridge of plowed land in some parts of England. In the midst of it stands a round hill, called the *Pike*, or *Peak*, which is in height, to ascend, fifteen leagues and more, and about half a mile in compass at the top; out of which, oftentimes proceed fire and brimstone, being in form of a cauldron. Within two miles of the top, are nothing but ashes and pumice stones, and, beneath that two miles, is the cold regions, covered all the year with snow. Somewhat lower, are prodigious large trees growing, called *vinatico*, which are exceeding heavy, and lying in water will never rot. There is likewise a wood called *Barbusano*, of the same quality with many *savine*, and pine-trees.—Beneath these are woods of bay-trees, of ten or twelve miles long; where it is pleasant riding among the great number of small birds, that sing exceedingly sweet, especially one sort of them. This bird is very little, and coloured in all respects like a

swallow, only it has a little black spot on its breast as broad as a halfpenny: he hath a more delightful note than all the rest: but if he be imprisoned in a cage, lives but a short time.

Teneriffe produces all the fruits that *Canaria* doth, and hath in common with the other islands, a particular kind of shrubs or rushes, out of which issues a milky juice, which standing a little, thickens, and is very good bird-lime: but the tree called *drago* is peculiar to *Teneriffe*, grows on high rocky land, and by incision at the bottom, yields a juice like blood. This island abounds in corn more than all the rest: and in fact, is a mother or nurse, to all the others in the time of scarcity. There grows also upon the high rocks a kind of moss, called *orchel*, which is bought for dyers. There are also twelve sugar-works, called *Ingenio's*; but above all, there is a small plot of land, about a league in compass, the like of which, perhaps cannot be shewn in all the world besides. It lies between two towns, the one called *Larotava*, and the other *Rialejo*. This single league of ground produceth sweet water out of the cliffs, or rocky mountains; corn of all sorts; all kinds of fruits; excellent silk, flax, wax, and honey; and very good wines in abundance: with great store of sugar, and plenty of fire-wood. This island exports great quantities of wines for the West Indies, and other countries. The best grows on the side of a hill, called the *Ramble*. The city, called *Laguna*, stands near a lake, and three leagues from the sea. It is handsomely built, and has two fine parish churches. This is the residence of the governor, and also of the aldermen, whose places are purchased of the king. Most of the inhabitants of this city, are either gentlemen, merchants, or husband-men. There are four towns more, called *Santa Cruz*, *Larotava*, *Rialejo* and *Garachuz*.

This island, before its conquest, had seven kings, who, as well as the people, lived in caves, and used the same diet, and goat-skin cloathing, like those of *Canaria*. The manner of burying their dead was thus: they carried the corpse naked to a great cave, and there fixed it upright against the wall: and if he were of any authority among them, they put a staff in his hand, and set a vessel of milk by him. The author had seen three hundred of these bodies in a cave together, the flesh of which was so dried up, that the body remained like parchment. These people were called *Guanches*; and had a peculiar language, quite different from the *Canarians*, and so in the rest, the inhabitants of every island had a distinct tongue, besides the language common to all. The king of Spain receives from the isles of *Canaria* 50,000 ducats yearly, for custom and other duties. All the three are joined into one see, worth to its bishop 12,000 ducats yearly.—

Teneriffe, though but the second island, in point of precedence, is the chief, with respect to its extent, riches or trade. Sir Edmund Scory, says, this island has been called *Nivaria*, from the snow that encloses the neck of the *Peak* of *Teyda*, like a collar: the name of *Teneriffe* being given it by the inhabitants of *Palma*, in whose language, *Tener* signifies snow, and *Iffe*, an hill.

At *Santa Cruz*, the best riding is not above half a mile from shore, in thirty, forty, or fifty fathoms, black, slimy ground: if there be many ships, they must ride close by one another. The shore is generally high land, and in most places steep to the water. Between this and the watering-place, are two little forts; which, with some batteries scattered along the coast, command the road, which is still farther secured by two other forts, that defended the town; being a small place without walls, and fronting the sea.

[The houses, (in number about two hundred) are all of stone, three stories high, built strong, and covered with pantiles. The best buildings in it are the churches and two convents. But all could not secure the Spanish galleons when here from Admiral Blake, though they hauled in close under the main fort, the wall

walls of which, then carried the marks of his shot. Wrecks of the galleons lay there in fifteen fathoms, with the greater part of the plate. He cannonaded the town also, and did it a great deal of damage.]

About three miles off, up a pretty steep hill, lies Laguna. The land on each side the road is rocky, yet relieved with some spots of green flourishing corn. These were terminated with small vineyards on the side of the mountains, intermixed with abundance of waste rocky land, producing nothing but wild bushes and poisonous canes.

The town exhibits a very agreeable prospect, as it stands upon the side of a hill, and stretches its skirts on the plain behind. It is pretty large, and well compacted. There are several gentleman's houses handsomely built: as also two nunneries, an hospital, four convents, (of their Saints Austin, Dominic, Francis, and Diego) some chapels, and two parish churches; both with pretty high square steeples, which top the rest of the buildings. The streets are spacious, and tolerably handsome, though not regular, and the whole is set off with a large parade in the heart of the town, surrounded with good buildings. Many of the houses are rendered more agreeable by gardens, laid out in parterres of fallading and flowers, bordering round with oranges, limes and other fruits.

As the town stands high from the sea, and open to the east, it has the benefit of the true trade-wind, which is commonly fair, so that they seldom miss the refreshment of a brisk cooling breeze all day long, which comes over the plain, that lies on the back of it. — This is bounded to the west with mountains, from whose foot issues out a spring of fresh cool water, which is conveyed over the plain in stone pipes raised upon pillars, to a conduit on the side of the town. And near the other side to the east stands a natural lake, or pond of fresh water, half a mile in circuit; which not only supplies the cattle, but is covered in the winter time by several sorts of wild fowls, affording plenty of game to the inhabitants of the town, called Lagune from this lake. Upon the whole, considering the situation, its large prospect to the east, (from hence you see the Grand Canaria) its gardens, pleasant plains, green fields, the pond and aqueduct, and its refreshing breezes: it is a very delightful habitation; especially for such as have not much business far from home: for it is very troublesome travelling in a stony uneven road, amongst steep and craggy mountains, upon mules or asses, which are used also for carriages. The road from the port of Santa Cruz, to the Ciudad de Laguna, lies up a steep hill. The city is beautifully situated in the middle of a plain, ten miles in compass, inclosed with high mountains on all sides, except the north-west, lying upon a flat seven leagues in length to the sea. The vapours exhaling from thence, being circulated among the intricate mountains, raise a wind, which often refreshes the city from this quarter; beginning at twelve o'clock at noon, and holding till night, though it blows at the same time full south-east at sea. This north-west breeze usually comes on at twelve o'clock at noon, and holds till night, which is cool enough on account of the great dews then falling. Their houses are built with ordinary rough stone, two or three stories high at most, and generally but one, in the skirts of the city, and they have no chimneys, not even in their kitchens, in which, they make only a flat hearth against a wall, and thus roast their meat. The town is well laid out, and the streets very strait. It has no walls round it, but is well supplied with water.

The famous Peak of Teneriffe, may be seen sixty miles at sea: it can be climbed only in July and August, being full of snow all other months, although there is no snow in other places thereabouts. It is three days journey up; and from the top, which is flat, all the other islands may be seen: from it much brimstone is carried into Spain, of which the

author had a piece given him by a skipper. Beckman says, it stands towards the middle of the island, rising like a pyramid, or rather sugar-loaf; but that he could not see the top because of the clouds. It has the appearance of a heap of rough rocks, piled thus (it is thought by naturalists) from some subterraneous conflagration which had formerly burst out.

There are three relations of this famous mountain, written by eye-witnesses, and Englishmen, who all seem to have made the journey up it: the first was written by Sir Edmund Scory, Knt. a learned gentleman, who wrote observations of the peak, and other curiosities of the Island of Teneriffe. He says, "This great mountain of Teyda, commonly called the Peak of Teneriffe, strikes one with amazement, both near and at a distance. It extends its base to Garrachuz, from whence it is two days and a half journey to the top, which, though it seems from below, as sharp as a sugar loaf (which it most resembles) is yet a flat, the breadth of an acre; and in the midst of that there is a gulph, out of which are cast great stones with a prodigious noise, flame, and smoak. Seven leagues of the way up, may be travelled on asses or mules; but the rest must be climbed on foot; and that not without difficulty; every one carrying his own victuals and wine with him. The ascent of the hill for ten miles upwards from the foot, is adorned with the finest trees in the world, of divers sorts; the ground being well watered with ripplings running from springs, which joining at length descend in large torrents (especially when swelled by the violent winter rains) into the sea. In the middle it is intolerably cold; through which one must contrive his journey out so as to travel on the south side, and in the day-time only. This region ends within two leagues of the top, where the heat is no less extreme than at the bottom. By the same rule the best way is to keep on the north side, and travel only by night. The proper time of the year is about Midsummer, as avoiding the torrents caused by the snow. And if the top is reached by two o'clock in the morning, a passenger may stay there some hours, but not after sun-rising, a little before which there issues a stream of heat from the East, not unlike the steam of a hot oven.

"It is remarkable, that from the top the sun appears much less, a little after it has ascended the horizon, than when viewed below, and seems to clear, serene, and defecate; it never rains near the top, nor was there ever any wind upon it. Though the island is full of sharp ragged rocks, to the number of twenty thousand, yet from hence the whole appears as a plain, laid out in portions by borders of snow, which, however, are nothing else but the white clouds, that are many furlongs beneath.

"All the upper part is barren and bald, without tree or shrub upon it; out of which, on the south side, there issue streams of brimstone into the neck or region of snow, which lies interveined as it were with brimstone in several places. The fire from the volcano in the top of the mountain, breaks out ofteneft in the summer time; and when a stone is thrown down, it resounds like a vessel of hollow brass, struck with the greatest force by a prodigious weight.

"The Guanches thought it was Hell, and that the souls of their ancestors, such as were wicked, went thither to be tormented, while the good and valiant retired into the pleasant valley, where the great city de Laguna now stands, with other towns about it, and indeed there is no place in the world that has a more delicate temperature of air, nor any country which affords a more beautiful prospect than is beheld from the centre of this plain: which is fertilised by abundance of water falling along the crannies of the rocks, in little streams down the mountains, till several joining, form rivers, which run along the plains into the sea.

"The original of the Guanches are not certainly known, they were, and are, merely barbarous, and without

without letters; their language, which remains to this day among them in the town of Candelaria, has great affinity to that of the Moors in Barbary. Betancourt, the first discoverer of these isles, represented them as mere pagans, ignorant of God; on the contrary, Sir Edmund assures us, what they held, there was a supreme power which they called by divers names; as, Achurahan, Achuhuchanar, Achguay-axerax; signifying, The Greatest, the Highest, and Maintainer of all. When they wanted rain, or had too much, or in any other calamity, they brought their sheep and goats into a place appointed, and severing the young ones from their dams, raised a general bleating among them, which they imagined would appease the wrath of the Supreme Power, and incline him to send them what they wanted. They had some notion of the immortality and punishment of souls hereafter; since they thought there was such a place as hell; and particularly, that it was in the peak of Teyda, as before-mentioned. They called hell, Echeyde, and the Devil, Guayotta, but had no commerce with him, that the author could observe.

"In civil affairs they had something of order; they acknowledged a king, and themselves his vassals, which they confirmed at marriage. They rejected bastards, owned a right of succession in the race of kings; made laws, and yielded subjection to them. The king held his residence in natural caves, or hollow rocks. For many years the island was subject to one king, called Adexe, who growing old, his sons formed a conspiracy against him; and, there being nine of them, divided the island into so many kingdoms. All their wars were made only to steal cattle one from another, and especially the spotted goats, which are in great and sacred esteem among them. There is very little difference either in body, colour, or smoothness, betwixt the English fallow-deer, and their goats. With regard to marriage, the men used to ask the consent of the intended bride's parents, which being obtained, there was little more ceremony observed before consummation, as far the author could learn; and what was so easily done, was as easily undone; for whenever they had a mind, they might separate, and marry with others at their pleasure; but with this restriction, that all children begotten after the divorce, were illegitimate, and esteemed as bastards; the kings alone, for succession's sake, being exempt from this custom; for whom also upon that account it was lawful to marry with his own sister. At the birth of a child, water was poured upon its head by a woman appointed for that purpose, who was, from that time taken into affinity with the family; nor was it lawful for any of that race to marry or cohabit with her. The young men used the exercises of leaping, running, throwing the dart, throwing a stone, and dancing, in which, to this day, they much pride and delight themselves; and so great was their native virtue, and honest simplicity, that this was an inviolable law among them, if any of their soldiers, either openly or in private, offered any rudeness to a woman, he was assuredly put to death. They were handsome in stature, well formed, and of a good complexion.

"On the south side the people were of an olive colour; but on the north side fair, especially the women, having bright smooth hair. Their common dress was a short coat, made of lamb skins, without plait, collar or sleeves, being fastened together with straps of the same leather. This was used equally by men and women, and was named their Tomarce; but the women, for modesty's sake, wore another covering under it like a long cassock, made of skins, which reached down to the ground, holding it indecent for a woman to have her breasts or feet uncovered. In this garment they lived; and in this they died, and were commonly burnt in it. For provision they sowed barley and beans; wheat being utterly unknown to them. They roasted their barley by the fire, and, grinding it in hand-mills, wet the flour with water, milk or butter: this they called Giffio,

which they used for bread, and was their chief sustenance. However, sometimes they eat the flesh of sheep, goats, and hogs, but not commonly; for this was regulated on certain days, which they keep like the festival wake days in England. At these meetings, the king, with his own hands, distributed to every twenty of them, three goats, and a proportion of giffio, after which, every company came before the king, and shewed their agility in leaping, running, wrestling, darting, dancing, and other sports. During these times, the men had liberty to pass to and from the enemy's country, and the enemies sometimes would feast one with the other. When the season for sowing their seed came, the king laid out the land in lots to every man, which they ploughed up with goats horns, and uttering certain words, threw their seed into the ground. All other works were done by the women.

They had a kind of fruit called Mozan, about the bigness of a pea. At first it is very green, grows red as it ripens, and being full ripe, turns black much like a blackberry in England, only the taste is exceeding pleasant. They suck only the juice of them, which they call Joya; and they make a kind of honey of them called Chacerquem. They gather these mozans very ripe, and lay them in the sun for a week, then breaking them to pieces, they are boiled in water to a syrup. This is their physic for a flux, and pains in the back: in both cases, they use bleeding also in the arm, temples, and forehead, with a flint stone.

The second journey up the peak was performed by some English merchants.—They set out from Oratava, a port town on the north side of Teneriffe, two miles from the sea. They travelled from 12 at night till eight the next morning, and then got to the top of the first mountain, towards the Pico de Terroira. Here, under a very great and conspicuous pine-tree they broke their fast, dined and refreshed till two in the afternoon, and then proceeded through much sandy way, over many lofty mountains, but naked and bare, and not covered with any pine trees, as their first night's passage was. This exposed them to excessive heat, till they arrived at the foot of the peak, where they found many large stones, which seemed to have fallen down from some part above. About six this evening they began to ascend the peak; but after they had advanced a mile, finding the way no longer passable for horses, they dismounted, and left them with their servants. In this mile's ascent, some of the company grew very faint and sick, disordered by fluxes, vomitings, and aguish distempers; and the hair of the horses stood upright, like bristles. Calling for some wine which was carried in small barrels, they found it so very cold, that they could not drink it till it was warmed, although as yet the temper of the air was very calm and moderate; but when the sun was set, it began to blow with such violence, and grow so cold, that having taken up their lodgings under some large stones in the rocks, they were forced to keep great fires before the mouths of them all night. About four in the morning, they began to mount again, and being got about a mile up, one of the company was not able to proceed any farther. Here began the black rocks. The rest pursued their journey, till they came to the Sugar-loaf, where they again met with white sands. To encounter this difficult and dangerous passage, they were provided with shoes, whose soles were made a finger broader than the upper-leather. At last they gained the summit, where they found no such smoak as appeared a little below, but a continual breathing of a hot and sulphureous vapour, which made their faces extremely sore. In this passage they found no considerable alteration of air, and very little wind; but being at the top, it was so impetuous, that they drank the king's health, and fired each his piece. Here also they eat. But their strong water had quite lost its force, and was become almost insipid, whilst their wine was more spirituous and brisk than before. The top on which they stood, being not above a yard broad, is the brink of a
pit

pit called the Caldera, which they judged to be about a musquet-shot over, and near 80 yards deep. It is shaped like a cone, hollow within like a kettle, and all over covered with small stones, mixed with sulphur and sand. From amongst these there issue divers spiracles of smok and heat, which, when stirred with any thing, puff and make a noise, and are so offensive, that the merchants were almost stifled with the sudden irruption of vapours upon the removing of one of these stones, which are likewise so hot, as not easily to be handled. They did not descend above four or five yards into the Caldera, on account of the ground slipping from under their feet, and the difficulty of getting down; but some have ventured to the bottom. They observed here nothing remarkable, except a clear sort of sulphur, which looks like salt upon the stones.

From this famous Peak, they could discern the Grand Canaria, 14 leagues distant; Palma 18, and Gomera, seven leagues; which interval of sea seemed to them not much larger than the river Thames at London. Their view extended also as far as Ferro, above 20 leagues, and a great way beyond, over the surface of the ocean. As soon as the sun appeared, the shadow of the Peak seemed to cover, not only the island of Teneriffe and Gomera, but even the sea to the very horizon, where the top of the Sugar-loaf or Peak, distinctly appeared to turn up, and cast its shade into the air itself, at which they were much surprised; but the sun was not far risen, when the clouds began to rise so fast, as to intercept their prospect both of the sea and Teneriffe, excepting only the tops of the adjacent mountains, which seemed to pierce them through. Whether these clouds surmounted the Peak, they could not say; but such as were far beneath, seemed to hang above, or rather to wrap themselves about it, as they constantly do when the north-west wind blows: this they call the Cap, and is a certain sign of ensuing storms. One of this company, who made this journey two years after, arrived at the top of the Peak before day, and creeping under a great stone to shelter from the cold air, after a little space, found himself wet, and perceived it to come from a particular trickling of water from the rocks above him. They saw many exuberant springs, issuing from the tops of most of the mountains; and gushing out in great spouts, almost as far as the large pine-tree before-mentioned. Having staid some time upon the top, they all descended by the sandy way, till they came to the foot of the Sugar-loaf, which, being steep, almost to a perpendicular, they soon passed. Here they met with a cave about ten yards deep, and 15 broad, in shape like an oven, having an hole at its top near eight yards in diameter: into this they were let down by ropes, fastened round their waists, and held by their servants at top, swinging themselves in the descent, till being over a bank of snow, they slid down upon it; they were forced to swing thus, because in the middle of the bottom of the cave there is a round pit of water, resembling a well, the surface of which is about a yard lower than the snow, but as wide as the opening at top, under which it lies, and is about six fathoms deep. They supposed this water to proceed not from a spring, but dissolved snow blown in, or moisture trickling through the rocks. About the sides of the grot, for some height, there was ice or icicles hanging down to the snow; but being quickly weary of this excessive cold place, and drawn up again, they continued their descent from the mountains, by the same passages they went up the day before, and about five in the evening, arrived at Oratava, their faces being so red and sore, that to cool them, they were forced to wash and bathe them in the whites of eggs, &c. [The perpendicular height of the Peak is commonly esteemed to be about two miles and a half.] They found no trees, herbs or shrubs in all the way, but pines, and amongst the whiter sands a sort of broom, being a bushy plant; likewise at the side, where they lay all night, there was a kind of cordon which had stems

eight feet high, and the trunk near half a foot thick, every stem growing as four-squares, and shooting from the ground like tufts of rushes; upon the edges of these stems grow very small berries, which, being squeezed, produced a poisonous milk: this lighting upon any part of the horse, or other beast, fetches off the hair from the skin immediately. Of the dead part of this they made their fires all night. This plant is also universally spread over the island.—

On Tuesday, August the 13th, 1715, at half an hour past ten at night, Mr. James Eden, in company of four Englishmen and a Dutchman, with horses and servants also made this journey.—They set forward from the port of Oratava, having a guide who had conducted all who made this journey for years. They came to the town of Oratava, at half past eleven, which is about two miles from the port. Here they got walking-sticks to help him in ascending the steep of the peak. At one, on Wednesday morning, they came to the foot of a very steep rising, about a mile and a half above the town of Oratava, where it began to clear up, and being full moon, they saw the Peak, with a white cloud, covering the top like a cap. At two, they came to a plain place in the road, which the Spaniards called Dornajito en al Monteverde, the little Trough in the Green Mountain, so called, he supposes, because a little below this plain, on the right as they went there, is a deep hollow, at the upper end of which is a wooden spout set in a rock, and a descent a little lower, with a trough to receive the water, which comes from the mountains through the spout, and is very clear and cool.

After travelling a road sometimes rough, and sometimes smooth, they came at three o'clock to a little wooden cross, on the left hand, which the Spaniards call La Cruz de la Solera, The Cross of the Solera, being made with a piece of Solera, which is a long pole, having a hole at each end, which the Spaniards used to draw wood with, fastening one end to the timber, and the other to the oxen. But why they were set up here, the author could not tell, unless somebody was killed thereabouts. At this place they saw the Peak before them; and though they had come up hill quite from the port, yet, in their opinion, it seemed almost as high here as there, the white cloud hiding the greatest part of the Sugar-loaf. About half a mile farther, they came to the side of a hill, which was very high, rough and steep, the place being named Caravalla, so called, he supposes, from a great pine tree on the right hand, (there being many on both sides of the road) which the guide desired them to observe, having a great branch growing out, which, with the boughs upon it, looked like the forepart of a ship. Amongst these trees, not a great height in the air, they saw the sulphur discharge itself like a squib, or serpent, made of gunpowder, the fire running downwards in a stream, and the smok ascending from the place where it first took fire. They saw the like next night, as they lay under the rocks at La Stancha: but he could not observe whether either of them gave any report. Three quarters after four, they came to the top of this mountain, where grows a large tree, which the Spaniards call El Pino, de la Merinda; that is, The Pine-tree of the afternoon's meal. The fires made by travellers baiting here, had burned it at the bottom, from whence the turpentine had issued out. At a few yards distance, they had a fire made, where they refreshed themselves, and their horses. A great many rabbits breed there among these hills, which are sandy. There is also much sand a great way up the Peak itself, and not far below the Sugar-loaf.

At three quarters after five they set forward again, and at half past six came to the Portillo, in Spanish, a Breach or Gap, from whence they saw the peak still covered with a cloud at its top, about two leagues and a half before them, and the Spaniards said, they were about the same distance from the port. At half an hour past seven, they came to Las Faldas; that is,

The Skirts of the Peak : from whence to La Stancha, which is a quarter of a mile up from the foot of the peak. They rode upon little light stones, not much bigger than one's fist, and a great many not broader than a shilling, which, out of the beaten track, went almost over the horses' hoofs. They cover the ground a great depth : for the author alighted, and made a hole, but could not find the bottom of them.

There are a great many large rocks, some of them two miles or thereabouts from the foot of the Peak ; which, the Peak-man told them were cast out from the top of the Peak, at the time it was a volcano. Many of them lie in heaps about sixty yards long ; and they observed, that the farther these rocks were from the foot of the Peak, the more like they were to the stone of common rocks : but the nearer the Peak, the more black and solid ; and some of them, though not many, glossy like flint, and all extremely heavy. Those, which shone, the author supposes retained their natural colour : but some looked like drops out of a smith's forge ; which, he makes no doubt, was occasioned by the extreme heat of the place they came from. Some of these great rocks were thrown out of the Caldera, or kettle, on the top of the Peak, and others from a cave or cistern, which is a good way up the side of the Peak, and has by some been thought to have no bottom.

They arrived at La Stancha, at nine o'clock, about a quarter of a mile above the foot of the Peak on the east side, where are three or four large, hard and solid black rocks : under some of these they put their horses, and lay down themselves to sleep under others, having first refreshed with a little wine. Meanwhile their cook dressed them a dinner, both roast and boiled, which, (after reposing) they ate about two in the afternoon.

Eastward from the Peak, at four or five miles distance, there are several mountains, called the Malpesses, and one lying a little more to the southward, called la Montano de Rejada ; all which were formerly volcano's (though inferior to that of the Peak) as appears by the rocks and small burnt stones that lie near them, just in the same manner as about the Peak.

After they had dined, they lay down as before to take a nap under the rocks : but not sleeping very well, they got up again, and while the rest spent the afternoon at cards, the author made it his business to admire the strangeness and vastness of that great body, " It is (says he) very wonderful : Inasmuch, that it is impossible to express to one, who never saw it, in what manner that confused heap of rubbish lies : " about six at night, they saw the Grand Canaria from La Stancha, bearing from them east-by-north. About nine, after supper, they retired to their former lodgings ; where, laying stones for their pillows, and their cloaks for bed-cloaths, they endeavoured to sleep for a great while, in vain. Some lying pretty high a fire, complained of being burnt on one side, and frozen on the other : others were sadly tormented with fleas ; though it were somewhat strange that they should be found in a place where the air is so very sharp and cutting in the night time. The author thinks they were brought thither by the goats, which sometimes get under these rocks ; and the rather, because they found a dead goat in a cave at the top of the Peak. He supposes this goat straggling up by chance, was benighted, and feeling the cold, got in there for warmth ; where, meeting with too much of it, and a very strong sulphureous vapour, he was suffocated : for they found him almost dried to powder. Between eleven and twelve they got to sleep, and awaking at one, their guide told them, it was time to prepare for their journey ; upon this they arose, and in half an hour were all upon the march, leaving their horses and some of the men behind.

Between La Stancha and the top of the Peak, there were two very high mountains, besides the Sugar-loaf,

each of which, is almost half a mile's walk. On the first the rubbish is smaller, and they were apt to slip back in stepping forwards : but the uppermost was nothing but a monstrous heap of hard, rocky, great stones, which lie loose, and are thrown together in a very confused manner. After resting several times, they came to the top of the first mountain, where they refreshed with a little wine and ginger-bread. Then they began to ascend the second, which is higher than the first, but better walking, because of the firmness of the rocks. Having laboured up this for about half an hour, they had sight of the Sugar-loaf, which they could not see before, on account of the interposition of these great hills. At the top of this second mountain they found a way almost level, but bearing some small matter up-hill : and about a furlong further, came to the foot of the Sugar-loaf, where, looking upon their watches, they found it to be just three o'clock. The night was clear, and in that place the moon shone very bright, but over the sea they could see the clouds, which looked like a valley of a prodigious depth below them. They had a brisk air at south-east-by-south, in which point it stood for the most part, during their journey. While they sat at the foot of the Sugar-loaf, resting and refreshing, they saw the smoke break out in several places, looking like little clouds, which quickly vanished, and were as soon succeeded by others. At half and hour past three, they set forward to ascend this last and steepest part of their journey ; and after refreshing twice or thrice. Mr. Edens, with others, by running, completed it in a quarter of an hour : but the rest, with the guide, did not reach the top till four.

" The top (says he) is partly oval, the longest diameter, lying north-north-west, and south-south-east, and is, as high as he could guess, about 140 yards long ; in breadth, about 110 ; within the circuit, is a very deep pit, called the Caldera, or Kettle, the deepest part of which lies at the south end : it was, he thought, forty yards deep from the highest side of the Peak, but a great deal shallower from the side towards Garrachico. It is very steep all round : and in some places not less so, than the descent on the outside of the Sugar-loaf. They went all to the bottom, where lay a great many very large stones, some of them higher than their heads. The earth within the kettle being rolled up long, and put to a candle, burned like brimstone. Several places within-side the top were burning, as on the out-side has been already observed ; and in some parts, turning up the stones, they found very fine sulphur sticking to them. At these holes, where the smoke issued out, it was so hot, that they could not endure a hand there long. At the north-east-by-east, within the verge of the top, was the cave where they found the dead goat : in which cave sometimes the true spirit of sulphur distils, as they were told ; but none dropped while Mr. Edens was there. Before the sun rose, he thought the air as cold as he had ever known it in England in the sharpest frost : he could scarcely endure his gloves off. A great dew fell all the while till sun-rising, which they found by the wetness of their cloaths : yet the sky looked thereabouts as clear as possible a little after sun-rising.

They saw the shadow of the Peak upon the sea, reaching over the island of Gomera : and the shadow of the upper part, or Sugar-loaf, they saw imprinted like another Peak, in the sky itself, which looked very amazing : but the air being cloudy below them, they saw none of the other islands, but Grand Canaria.

At six o'clock, on Thursday morning, they came down from the top of the Sugar-loaf, and at seven they came to the cistern of water, which is reported to be without bottom. This the guide said was false : for that about seven or eight years before, when there was a great volcano in this country, the cave was dry, and he walked all about it : and the deepest part of the water when the author was there,

here, was not above two fathoms. Mr. Edens guessed this cave to be in length, about thirty-five yards; in breadth twelve; and its ordinary depth fourteen, which the Peak-man told them was salt-petre. There was both ice and snow in it at that time; and the ice was of a great thickness, covered with water, about knee deep. They let down a bottle at the end of a string for some of the water, which they drank with a little sugar: but it was the coldest the author ever tasted. The ice being broken under the mouth of the cave, they could see the stones lie at the bottom, as it was very clear. A little to the right-hand, the ice had risen up in a high heap, spiring like a sugar-loaf, and there he judged the water came in. In their way back, three or four miles from the Peak, they passed by a cave, where there were a great number of skeletons and bones of men: and some say of giants: but they knew not how many bodies lay there, nor how far the cave extended. On the 15th of August, about six o'clock in the evening, they came home to the port from whence they set out, having thus satisfied their curiosity.—

The island is full of springs of fresh-water tasting like milk, which, in Laguna, where the water is not clear, they depurated by filtering stones. The author confirms the account which Mr. Nicols gives of the manner of the interment used by the natives of these islands. He tells us, "That he went from Guine, to a town for the most part inhabited by such as derive themselves from the antient Guanches, in company of some of them to view their caves, a favour they seldom or ever permit to any, having the bodies of their ancestors in great veneration, and being likewise extremely averse to the disturbing of the dead. But having endeared himself to them, by several cures which he had performed out of charity, for they are very poor, (and yet the poorest think themselves too good to marry with the Spaniards) he obtained the privilege to visit those caves and bodies: otherwise, an attempt might have cost him his life. The corpses are sewed up in goat's-skins with thongs of the same, in a very curious manner; particularly as to the seams, which are remarkably even and exact. The skins are made very tight to fit the corpse, which for the most part, are entire: in those of both sexes are still found the eyes, (but closed) hair on their heads, ears, noses, teeth, lips and beards; likewise the pudenda all perfect, only discoloured, and a little shrivelled. The doctor saw about three or four hundred in several caves, some of them standing, others lying on beds of wood, so hardened by an art they had, that no iron could pierce or hurt it.

Being one day a hunting, a ferret, (which is much in use there) having a bell about his neck, ran after a coney into a hole, where they lost the sound of the bell. The owner being afraid he should lose his ferret, seeking about the rocks and shrubs, found the mouth of a cave; and entering in, was so affrighted, that he cried out. It was at the sight of one of these bodies, very tall and large, lying with the head on a great stone, the feet supported with a little wall of stone, the body itself resting on a bed of wood (as before mentioned). The fellow being now a little out of his fright, entered in, and cut off a great piece of the skin that lay on the breast of his body; which, the doctor says, was more flexible and pliant than ever he felt any kid-leather glove: yet so far from being rotten, that the man used it for his flail many years after. These bodies are very light as if made of straw: and in some that were broken, the nerves and tendons were observed, as also the veins and arteries, like strings, very distinctly.

By the relation of the most antient among them, there was a particular tribe that had this art only among themselves; which they kept as a thing sacred, and not to be communicated to the vulgar. These, who were also their priests, mixed not with the rest, nor married out of their own tribe. But when the

Spaniards conquered the place, most of them were destroyed, and the art perished with them; only they had preserved by tradition a few of the ingredients used in this business, viz. they took butter mixed (some say) with bear's grease, kept for the purpose in skins. In this they boiled certain herbs, as a kind of wild lavender growing plentifully on the rocks; likewise an herb called Lara, of a very gummy and glutinous consistence, found under the tops of mountains: thirdly, a kind of cyclamen, or sow-bread: fourthly, wild-sage, of which there is plenty here: and some others unknown, rendering it thus a perfect balsam. This being prepared, they first unbowed the corpse, and washed it with a lixivium, made of the bark of pine trees; drying it in the sun in summer, and in a stove in winter. This was repeated very often. Then, they began their unction both without and within, drying it as before. This they continued till the balsam penetrated into the whole habit, the muscles in all parts appeared through the contracted skin, and the body became exceeding light. After this, they sewed them in the goat-skins, as above mentioned. It is observable, that in the poorer sort, to save charges, they took out the brain behind; they sewed them up also in skins, with the hair on: whereas the richer sort were put up in skins so finely and exactly dressed, that they remain extremely pliant and supple to this day.

Their ancient people say, that they have above twenty caves of their kings and great personages, with their whole families; yet unknown to any but themselves, and which they never discover: lastly, this author observes, that bodies are found in the caves of the Grand Canaria in sacks, quite consumed, and not intire as these in Teneriffe.— They have earthen pots so hard, that they cannot be broken; of these, some are found in the caves, and are generally used by the poorer people that find them to boil their meat in. In order to give all the light we can into the embalming used by the Guanches, we shall subjoin what Sir Edmund Scory says of the matter.

"The ancient Guanches had an appointed officer, or embalmer, answerable to each sex, whose business was to make a certain preservation compounded of the powder of furzes, and a kind of rough stones, the rinds of pine-trees, and several herbs incorporated together, with goat's butter melted; and, after washing the dead corpse, they stuffed it with this balsam for fifteen days successively, laying it in the sun to dry: the friends of the deceased keeping these as days of mourning for them. This done, they wrapped the body in goat-skins, sewed together with great nicety, and carried it, thus made up, to a deep cave, to which none could have access."

It is observed that Teneriffe abounds with wheat, and barley, and excels the rest in plenty of all such kind of provisions, fruits and flowers, as grow upon any of the islands. Captain Roberts saw here a great coral tree, "perhaps the largest (says he) yet known in the world." Another voyager, besides the dragon-tree and Aloes plant, mentions the pine, a native of Teneriffe. This tree yields a certain gum or pitch, which they extract in this manner: they lay the cleft wood cross-ways over a pit, and then set fire to them at top, which forces the pitch to run out below.

The island produces three sorts of excellent wines, Canary, Malmsey and Verdone, which may all go under the denomination of Sack. The vines which yield the Canary, are said to have been transplanted hither from the Rhine by the Spaniards, where meeting with a better soil, instead of sharp Rhenish, they produce that delicious wine, vended all over Europe.

We are told by Captain Roberts that there is a gold mine lying within the Point de Negos. On which occasion he observes, that a poor man, more hasty to get rich than his neighbours, was taken up on one of these golden mountains, with such tools and instruments

struments about him, as plainly shewed what he had been searching for, and that some gold also being found upon him, he was hanged but a few days before the author's arrival.

The vines, which produce the excellent wines peculiar to this island, all grow about the city, within a mile of the sea, such as are planted farther up in the land not being esteemed, nor will they thrive in any of the other islands.

In some places of this island grows a shrub called Legnan, which is brought to England for sweet wood. Here are likewise apricots, peach and pear-trees, that bear twice a year; and the Pregnada lemon, which hath a small one within it, from whence it takes its name, is found here. They have some cotton and colocintida. — The roses blow at Christmas; here are good carnations; but no tulips will thrive. Samphire covers all the rocks, and the ground abounds in clover. Another grass grows near the sea of a broader leaf, so luscious and rank, that it will kill a horse, yet is not so pernicious to other beasts. Eighty ears of wheat have been found to spring from one root; the grain of this kind is transparent like the purest yellow amber; and in a good year, one bushel of seed had yielded a hundred.

The Canary birds, which are brought to England, breed in the channels, made by the water pouring down from the mountains, and are very cold. Here are also quails and partridges larger than those in England, and very beautiful. Great wood-pigeons, turtles in the spring, and crows;—and sometimes the falcons fly from the coast of Barbary. Bees prosper in the mountains exceedingly.

Of fish, there is the cherna, very large, and of a finer relish than any in England. The mero, dolphin, sharks, and lobsters, which have no great claws, which are reckoned the very best shell fish in the world; they grow in the rocks five or six under one great shell, through the top holes of which, they peep out with their heads; by which, the shells being a little more broken open, they are drawn out. There is also another sort of fish like an eel, which has six or seven tails, of a span long, pointed to one body, and a head about the same length. Besides these, they have turtles, and cabrido's, which are better than turtles.

Santa Cruz is a haven lying on the north-east side; besides which, there are three fine cities. St. Christoval de la Laguna, Oratava, and Garrachico, already noticed.

The island is parted in the midst with a ridge of mountains, and looks, in this respect, not much unlike the roof of a church, having the Peak for a steeple. The land is divided into twelve parts, ten of them are taken up in impassable rocky hills, woods, or vineyards, the remainder only arable land. In 1582, 5200 hannacks of wheat were gathered, besides infinite store of rice and barley. Four hannacks and a half make one quarter English. It is a rich soil, and with proper tillage would bare every thing that is valuable and rare. The vineyards are chiefly in Bona Vista, Dante, Oratava, Tigueste, and especially the Ramble, which last produces the best wine of all. There are two forts, viz. Vidonia, and Malmsey. Vidonia comes from a long grape, and is a heavier wine; the Malmsey from a large round grape; it never sours with heat, nor freezes into ice with cold. For fruits there are no where to be found better melons. Pomegranates, pomecitrons, figs, oranges, lemons, almonds and dates, honey, and consequently wax, and silk of an excellent quality.

The north side abounds with wood as well as water. There grow the cedar, cypress, and bay-tree, the wild olive, mastic, and savine, with beautiful palm and pine-trees, very tall and strait. There are abundance of them all over the island; and all the wine-casks and wooden utensils are made of this wood. Besides the straight pine, there is another sort which grows spreading like English oaks; this they call The immortal Tree, because it never rots either

under ground, or in the water. It is almost as red as Brasil wood, and as hard, but not so unctuous as the other pine. Here is also the dragon-tree; the trunk is very thick, and rises vastly high, the bark being like the scale of a serpent, whence he supposes it had its name. The branches all issuing from the top are all wove in pairs like the mandragora; they are formed as round and smooth as a man's arm, the leaves about two feet long, growing as it were out of the fingers. It is not of a woody substance within the bark, but consists only of a light spongy pith, with which they commonly make bee-hives. Towards the full of the moon, it sweats out a clear vermilion gum, which they call Botter, and far more astringent than what comes from Goa, and the East Indies, which the Jews adulterate.

Teneriffe is the best peopled, for its bigness, of any island in the ocean, containing about 15000 inhabitants. According to some, it was reported the island could raise 12,000 men with proper arms and accoutrement.—As to the Spanish inhabitants, the people of quality are very affable and courteous, but the vulgar sort, like those in Spain, very proud and lazy.—

GOMERA stands to the westward of Teneriffe, at six leagues distant. It is but a small island, being no more than eight leagues in length, yet an earldom; but in case of controversy, the vassals of the earl of Gomera, have an appeal to the king's judges, who reside as above-mentioned in Canaria.

Here is one good town, called Gomera, which has an excellent port or harbour for ships, where the Indian fleet often take in refreshments for their voyage. There is also grain with fruit sufficient for support of its inhabitants; and one sugar-work; with great plenty of wine, with several sorts of fruit, such as Canaria and Teneriffe produce. This island yields no other commodity, but Orchel. It stands in 27 degrees north latitude.—

PALMA is 12 leagues distant from Gomera, north-west. It lies round, being in circuit near twenty-five leagues. It abounds in wine and sugar. It has a handsome city, called Palma, where there is a great trade in wines for the West-Indies, and other parts. The city has one church, and a governor, and an alderman to administer justice. This island had also another pretty town, called St. Andrew's. Here are four works, where they make excellent sugar, two of them are called Zauzes, and the other two Tassacort; but the land yields but little corn, with which the inhabitants are supplied from Teneriffe, and other places. Their best wines grow in a soil called the Brenia, where there is made yearly 12,000 butts of wine, like Malmsey. It has great plenty of every sort of fruit, as Canaria and Teneriffe have, and plenty of cattle.

About the year 1652, there broke out a volcano on this island, with so violent an earthquake, that it was felt at Teneriffe, where the noise of the flaming brimstone was heard like thunder by the gentlemen who gave the account, as well as others; and the fire was seen for six weeks together, as plain by night as a candle in the room. A great quantity of ashes and sand were also carried so far as to that island.

FERRO, or the Isle of iron, stands two leagues distant from Palma, north-west. It is but small, about six leagues in circuit, and belongs to the earl of Gomera. It is situate in the latitude of 27 degrees.—The chief commodities of this place are goats flesh, and orchel. There was never a vineyard upon the island but one, which was planted by an Englishman of Taunton in the west, whose name was John Hill. It has no fresh water but what comes by rain, which is gathered in the following manner: In the middle of the island grows a great tree, with leaves like an olive. This tree is constantly covered with clouds, and they say the leaves drop very sweet and wholesome water into a great cistern, which is built under the tree. The water thus caught not only serves all the wants of the people, but there is enough also for the

the cattle. Some observe that this tree is about two fathoms thick in the trunk, 40 feet in height, and extends its branches round to the diameter of 120. Dapper writes that the mists or clouds which cover the tree at all times, except the hottest part of the day, cast so great a dew upon it, that the leaves continually drop clear water, to the quantity of 20 tons in the day, which falls into two stone cisterns, each twenty feet square, and 16 hands deep, made for that purpose, on the north side of the tree. He adds, that the inhabitants call this tree Garoc, and the Spaniards, Santa, or Holy; that it is of a competent size, and has leaves always green, like the laurel, but not much bigger than those of a nut-tree, and a fruit like an acorn in the shell, with a very sweet and spicy kernel. For better preservation, it is inclosed with a stone-wall.—This account is indeed extraordinary.

When the Spaniards, at the conquest of this island, found no springs, wells, nor rivers of fresh water, the natives told them, that they preserved the rain-water in vessels; for they had concealed the tree, covering it with canes, earth, and other things, in hopes the Spaniards, by this means, would be forced to leave the island. But this did not long remain a secret, for a woman discovered it to her Spanish gallant.

There is generally supposed to be but one tree concerned in collecting the water; but Sir Richard Hawkins introduces a great number to serve that purpose. He tells us, that the tree stands in a valley, surrounded by a thick wood of lofty pines, which, being shaded from the sun a great part of the day, by the high mountains to the south-east, the vapours and exhalations rising out of the valley gather into a cloud or thick mist, which falls in dew upon the pines, and from them to this tree in the bottom, and so into a cistern or basin built round the foot of it. This affords great relief to the people as well as the cattle. But, however the main supply in this article depends upon the rain, which they catch with great diligence, and reserve it in cisterns for that purpose.

Le Maire treats this account, which others have delivered so seriously, as a fiction. As he had formerly heard of this tree, when he was there he inquired into the truth of it, mentioning the particulars as above related; and the inhabitants he tells us, confirmed him in the opinion he had before entertained of it, that it was a mere fable. It may be objected, perhaps, to the account of Le Maire, that the inhabitants, he had made his inquiry of, were those of Teneriffe, and not of Ferro itself, and that what follows seems to prove the fact in the main, viz. That some of the inhabitants informed him, that there was such a sort of trees in the island, but that they never furnished such a prodigious quantity of water as was pretended.

A traveller, called Lewis Jackson, said he saw this tree in 1618, when he was upon the island; that it is as big as an oak, and has a bark as hard as timber, fit for beams; that it is six or seven yards high, with ragged boughs, and a leaf like a bay-tree, but white on the under side. It bears neither flowers nor fruit, is situate on the side of a hill, looks withered in the day, and drops in the night, (a cloud then hanging upon it) yielding water enough for the whole island. The water is conveyed in leaden pipes from the tree to a large reservoir, which is intirely walled round with bricks, and floored with stones, from whence it is conducted (being carried up hill in barrels) to several lesser cisterns all through the island. The great basin is filled every night.

The matter is thus left doubtful in regard to this circumstance. Linschoten indeed, says, "There is water to be had in some places towards the sea-coast, but that it is so hard to come at, that it is of little use to the inhabitants; and that the soil is so dry, that there is not a drop of water to be met with all over the island besides, except at the said tree. He says also, that the island is unfruitful and barren." However, others, since he wrote, informs us, That this island produces corn, and sugar-canes, plenty of fruit

and plants, besides great plenty of cattle, which furnish the inhabitants with milk and cheese. There is a volcano upon it, which sometimes has irruptions: it was seen for five days in November, 1677, and again in 1692, six weeks together, when it broke out with earthquakes.

LANZAROTA lies in 26 degrees of latitude, 19 leagues from Grand Canaria, south-east, and is in length 12 leagues. The only commodities here were goats flesh and orchel. It is an earldom, and belongs to Don Augustino de Herrera, as earl of Forteventura and Lanzarota; but the vassals of all those earldoms have, in case of any grievance, an appeal to the king's judges, who reside in Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, where are boats laden with dried goats flesh, which is a very good meal.

This island is about 13 leagues from north to south, nine in breadth, and forty in circuit. Gramaya, in his description of Africa, places the city Cayas here, which, together with the island, was pillaged by the Algerines, who carried away captive 1460 men.

Here is on the island a city of the same name, and lower down, on the eastern coast are two ports, one called Puerto de Navos, or the Port of ships. The other, Puerto de Cavallos, or of Horses. They are bad havens, and about a cannon shot asunder. The first of them, which is deepest, goes between two ledges of rocks, the channel being uneven and rocky, so that if the ship should strike, it would presently be dashed to pieces. There are no houses near the ports; only at Cavallos there is a little church. They go from thence, between the mountains to the town; which is three leagues.

This place was taken by the earl of Cumberland in 1556, who setting forward on this expedition on Thursday the 13th of April, 1596, had sight of Alegranza, the most northerly of the Canaries, and soon after they descried three hills or islands, called the Grange, leaving all to the west, in the afternoon they came up with Lanzarota; and next morning anchored in a road, which bears east south-east of the island, near a dangerous ledge of rocks.

The earl having been informed that the marquis, who was lord both of this town and Forteventura, resided here, and was possessed of riches to the value of one hundred thousand pounds; dispatched Sir John Berkeley, his lieutenant-general, being himself a little indisposed, with a force of between five and six hundred men; to attack the town, which was ten miles at least from their landing place. The way they went, in their opinion, was the nearest, but a very bad road, full of stones and sand. When they arrived at the town, they found it deserted by the inhabitants, who had carried off almost every thing: they found, however, some excellent wine and plenty of cheese.

From hence Sir John sent a detachment to the castle, a strong fortress lying up hill about half a mile off the town; where eighty of an hundred Spaniards and islanders, who were in and about it; flying on their approach, they entered, and found above a dozen brass guns, the least bases; but most culverins, and demi-culverins all dismounted: and great heaps of stones laid in the most advantageous places. It was built of hewn stone, and flanked very strongly and skilfully, both for offence and defence: with this remarkable contrivance; that the part or entrance into it, was raised about a pike's length from the ground, so that if they drew in their ladder, twenty might have kept it against 500. The town consisted of upwards of 1000 houses, all poor buildings, generally but of one story, covered only with canes or stones laid upon a few rafters, and over all a coat of dirt, which hardened by the sun, became rain proof. There was a church without a window, the light coming in at the door only. There was no partition for a chancel, but stone seats along the sides, and at one end an altar, with the proper furniture;—the people quite full of the Romish superstition.

"The inhabitants (says the author) were of a black complexion, very strong and active, tall, and as swift in that mountainous country, almost as their camels, nor could the English, whom they attacked in their march, ever come up with any of them. Their arms are pikes and staves; and when a piece is presented to fire at them, as soon as they perceive the cock or match fall, they throw themselves immediately flat upon the ground; and no sooner is the report heard, but they are up again, and fling their stones out of their hands, and charging with their pikes in a scattered way, each by himself, they very much annoy a regular battalion.

"The isle stretches north north-east and south-west; it stands in 28 degrees and some minutes north, and is parted quite through (as the Appenines mountains part Italy) by a bridge of hills, serving only to feed goats and sheep, which they had a pretty store of; as also of asses. But there were few cattle, fewer camels, and less gennets, and these too of no great stature. The valleys were very dry and sandy, somewhat like rye fields in England; but yet they yielded tolerable good barley and wheat; and they had two harvests every year."

FORTEVENTURA stands in the latitude of 27 degrees, 50 leagues from the promontory of Cabo de

Guer, on the continent of Africa, and 24 leagues distant from Canaria, eastward. It is 15 leagues long, and ten broad, and belongs to the Lord of Lanzarote. It produces great plenty of wheat and barley, also of cows, goats, and orchel. But neither this nor Lanzarote have any quantity of wine of their own growth. On the north side lies a little island called Gratiofa, about a league's distance. The gut between is navigable for ships of any burthen. Its length, from south-west to north-east, is about 25 leagues; but the breadth is very irregular; for it consists of two peninsulas, joined in the middle by an isthmus, no more than four leagues broad, across which formerly there ranged a wall. The circuit is near 70 leagues, by reason of the two gulphs made by the isthmus.

It has three cities on the sea-coast, viz. Langala, Tarafalo, and Pozzo Negro. On the north side there is a haven, called Chabras; and another very commodious one on the west. And between this island and Lanzarote there opens a fine sound, big enough to receive the largest fleet on a rendezvous; but the coast, at the north-east end, is very foul, with many reefs that lie out, on which the sea breaks exceedingly.

THE VOYAGE OF ALUISE DA CADA MOSTO, IN 1455, ALONG THE COAST OF AFRICA, AS FAR AS RIO GRANDE.

WE have two voyages of Cada Mosto, one of which was that to Gambia, and Rio Grande, the other to the Cape Verde islands, as has been already described.

The author informs us, that he was twenty-two years of age when he set out upon this voyage; and had, before that, sailed in some parts of the Mediterranean, under the jurisdiction of the republic, and had been in Flanders, whither his intention was to have returned, in order to better his fortune; for his whole thoughts were bent on employing his youth in the acquisition of riches, that afterwards, with the experience he should have of the world, he might attain to some degree of honour.

Having resolved to return to Flanders with what little money he had, embarked on board the Venetian galleys, commanded by Captain Marco Zen, knight; they departed from Venice on the 8th of August, 1454. Being detained by contrary winds, near Cape St. Vincent, it happened, that Prince Henry of Portugal, was at that time lodged in a village called Reposeira, near the Cape, having retired from the noise of business to this agreeable retreat, for the sake of his studies. Hearing of their arrival, he sent Antonio Gonfalez, his secretary, accompanied by one Patricio di Conti, who said he was a Venetian, and consul from the republic in Portugal, as appeared by his commission. He had likewise a salary from Prince Henry. These gentlemen brought some samples of Madeira sugars, Dragon's blood, and other commodities of the countries and islands belonging to that prince. They asked those on board the galleys several questions; and informed them, that Prince Henry had caused some desert islands lately discovered, to be inhabited, and that as a proof thereof, they had shewn them the said valuable productions. They added, That all this was nothing in comparison to greater things which that prince had performed, declar-

ing, that since such a year, he had discovered seas which had never been sailed through before, and lands of divers strange nations, where wonderful things were found. That the Portuguese, who had been in those remote parts, had made great advantage by trading with the inhabitants, and gained 700 or 1000 per cent. They related so many things on this head, that the Venetians were very much astonished, and Cada Mosto in particular, being inflamed with a desire of visiting these places, asked, if the prince would suffer any person to go who had a mind? They answered in the affirmative, and likewise acquainted him with the terms required of the person who should undertake such a voyage, which was either to be at the whole expence of fitting out and freighting a vessel, or else at the charge of freight only; the prince providing him with a caraval. That, in the first case, he should, on his return, allow the prince one fourth part of his cargo, as a duty, the rest to remain his own property; and in the second case to divide whatever was brought from those places equally with the prince; and in case of no returns at all, then the whole expence to be defrayed by the prince. They declared, however, that it was impossible to make a voyage without great profit. They added, That the prince would be very well pleased with any Venetian who should undertake such a voyage, and shew him great favour; because he was of opinion, that spices, and other rich merchandize, might be found in those parts, and knew that the Venetians understood those commodities considerably better than many other nations.

Cada Mosto went along with the secretary and the consul to see Don Henriquez, who confirmed what they had told him, and encouraged him by promises of honour and profit, to go. The author being young, and of a constitution able to bear fatigue, as well as desirous to see those parts of the world, never before

before known to any Venetian, and also to advance his fortune, accepted of the invitation. After this, he informed himself concerning the merchandise proper for such a voyage, and then returned to the galleys: where having disposed of all the goods which he had shipped for the low countries, he brought on board such things as he thought necessary for the expedition, and then landed; leaving the galleys to proceed on their voyage for Flanders. The Prince shewed great satisfaction at Cada Mosto's resolution, and entertained him very handsomely at Cape St. Vincent, where having waited a great many days; at length, the prince ordered him to rig a new caraval of about 90 tons burthen, of which one Vincent Diaz, a native of Lago, (a place about 16 miles distant) was commander. The caraval being ready, and furnished with every thing necessary, they began their voyage on the 22d of March, 1455, with a full wind at north-east, and by-north, steering their course towards the islands of Madeira. On the 25th, they came to the island of Puerto Santo, about 600 miles southward from the Cape whence they set out.

From Puerto Santo, which was discovered near twenty-seven years before; they sailed on the 28th of March, and the same day came into Monchrico, one of the islands of Madeira, forty miles distant.—As we have already described this and the seven Canary islands: we shall not trouble the reader with the voyager's observations on them, but shall only quote one of his observations on the customs of the nation, when he was in those parts. "These islanders, (says he) have the following remarkable customs. when their lords first enter on their new possession, some offer to die, in order to do honour to the feast. On which they all repair to the brink of a certain deep valley, where, after having performed some ceremonies, and said a few words, he who is willing to die for love of the new lord, throws himself into the valley, and is dashed to pieces. The lord, in return, is obliged to do great honour and service to the relations of the deceased. This account was confirmed by the Canary Christians, who escaped from among them.

"They are very active and nimble, great runners and leapers, being accustomed to traverse the cliffs of the mountains. They skip barefooted, from stone to stone, like goats; and sometimes take leaps, which are scarcely to be believed. They throw a stone with great strength, and exactness; so as to hit where they please. Both sexes know how to paint their bodies, green, red, and yellow, with the juice of herbs; and they look upon such colours as ornamental, as Europeans do fine cloaths." Cada Mosto was in two of the Canary Islands, viz. Gomera and Ferro: he also touched at Palma, but did not land.

Holding on his course towards Ethiopia, Cada Mosto, in a few days arrived at Cape Blanco, distant from the Canaries about 870 miles. It is to be observed, that in this passage, steering south, they kept a great distance from the African Coast, which was on the left hand, the Canaries being advanced far into the sea towards the west, the one more than the other. Thus they sailed till they had run two thirds of their way from the islands to the cape; and then kept closer to the left, till they got sight of land, that they might not pass the cape without seeing it; for afterwards no land appears for a considerable while. The coast runs in from this cape, and forms a gulph, called the Forna of Argin, from a little island situated in the gulph; and so named by the inhabitants of the country of Argin. The gulph enters about fifty miles; and has three other islands, to which the Portuguese gave names. The first they called Blanco, or White, on account of its sands: the second, the Island of the Garze, or White Herons; (for there they found as many of these birds eggs as filled two boats): the third, they called Cuori. They are all small, sandy, and uninhabited islands. In that of Argin, there is plenty of fresh water: but in the rest none.

It is said, that southwards from the Straights of Gibraltar, the coast, which is that of Barbary, is inhabited no farther than Cape Cantin: from whence to Cape Blanco, is the sandy country of Defart, (separated from Barbary by the mountains on the north) called Sarra by the natives; but on the south confines with the negro coast, and would require fifty or sixty days to cross; in some places more, some less. This defart reaches to the ocean, and is all sandy, white, and dry; the country low, and so plain, that it does not seem to be higher in one place than another, till Cape Blanco appears. It is a most beautiful cape, as being triangular, that is, having three points in front, about a mile distant from each other. Various forts of large fish and exceeding good, are found on this coast: the Gulph of Argin is all over shallow, being full of shoals, both of rocks and sands. There are great currents in this gulph; and no safe failing but by day, with the lead in hand; and that according to the stream: two ships had been already lost on these shoals. Cape Blanco lies south-west of Cape Cantin.

Behind Cape Blanco, on the continent, there is a place called Hoden, six days journey on camels, from the shore. This place is not walled; but much frequented by the Arabs, and the caravans, which come from Tombuto, and other places belonging to the negroes to this side of Barbary. Their provision consists of dates and barley; of which they have plenty. They drink camels milk, and that of other animals; for they have no wine. They have cows and goats, but not many, because the land is very dry. Their oxen and cows are very small in comparison to those of Italy. The inhabitants are Mahometans, and great enemies to Christians. They are never settled, but wander continually over the defarts. They frequent the countries of the negroes, and visit that side of Barbary which is next the Mediterranean. They travel in great numbers, with a numerous train of camels, on which they carry brass, silver, and other things from Barbary to Tombuto, and the country of the negroes: from which they bring gold and malhegetle. They are of a tawny colour. Both sexes wear a single white garment, with a red border, without any linen underneath, next their skin. The men have turbans on their heads, in the Moorish fashion; and always go barefooted. There are, in the sandy defart, many lions, leopards, and ostriches.

Prince Henry had made an ordinance, which was to be observed for ten years, on the island of Argin, viz. that no person should enter into this gulph, to trade with the Arabs, except such as were there described, and had habitations and factors on the island, who dealt with the Arabs that came to the coast and sell them several sorts of goods; such as cloth, stuffs, silver, frocks, tapestry, and other merchandise; and take in return, negroes and gold. The prince also caused a castle to be built on the island to secure the trade, and caravals from Portugal arrive there every year.

They have many Barbary horses, which they carry to the country of the negroes, and there barter with the great men for slaves, having from ten to eighteen for each horse, according to its goodness: they also bring wrought silks of Granada and Tunis; silver, and a great many other things; for which they receive plenty of slaves, and some gold. These slaves are brought to Hoden, from whence they are sent to the mountains of Barteia, and from thence to Sicily; part of them are also brought to Tunis, and along the coast of Barbary; and also the rest to Argin, and sold to the licensed Portuguese; every year between seven and eight hundred slaves are sent from Argin to Portugal.

Before this trade was settled, the Portuguese caravals, (sometimes four, and sometimes more,) used to come to the gulph of Argin, well armed, and, landing by night, surprised some fishermen's villages: they even entered into the country, and carried off

Arabs

Arabs of both sexes, which they sold in Portugal. They sailed in this manner along the coast to the river Senega, which is very large, and divides the Azanaghi (or Azanghi) from the negros.

The Azanaghi are tawny, or rather of a deep brown complexion, and live in some places on the coast, beyond Cape Blanco. They range the deserts, and confine with the Arabs of Hoden. They live on dates, barley, and camel's milk. But as they are nearer the negro countries, they carry on a trade with them; from whence they have millet and pulse, such as beans for their support. They are but small eaters, and suffer hunger patiently.

These Azanaghi have a custom of wearing a handkerchief round their heads; a piece of which covers their eyes, with part of the nose and mouth. They reckoned the mouth to be a thing should be always kept out of sight. They have no lords among them, but the rich are respected something more than the rest. The people are very poor, and egregious liars; the greatest thieves in the world, and very treacherous; lean, and of a common stature. They wear their hair, which is black, frizzed over their shoulders, like the Germans, and oil it every day with the fat of fish, which makes them smell very strong, yet they repute it very modish. The Azanaghi never heard of any Christians except the Portuguese, with whom they had war for thirteen or fourteen years; in which several of them were carried off and sold for slaves. Cada Mosto affirms, that when they first saw ships at sea (a thing never beheld by any of their ancestors) they took them for large birds with white wings, that had come from foreign parts. When the sails were furled they concluded that the ships were fish by their length; others believed they were spirits. The truth of what the author relates was certified by many Azanaghi, who were then slaves in Portugal, as well as by the Portuguese, who frequented those seas at that time in their caravels.

About six days journey by land from Hoden, there is a place called Tegazza, which signifies a chest of gold; where large quantities of rock salt are dug every year, and carried on caravels of camels by the Arabs and Azanaghi in separate companies to Tombuto, and from thence to the empire of Melli, belonging to the negros. Being arrived here, they dispose of their salt in eight days, at the rate of between two and three hundred mitigals (the value of a ducat each) the load, according to the quantity thereof; after which they return home with their gold.

"This empire (says the author) affords very bad nourishment for beasts, insomuch that out of one hundred which go with caravans, scarce twenty-five return. Neither are there any quadrupeds in this empire, for they all die. Several of the Arabians and Azanaghi sicken and die likewise, through the excessive heat. They reckon it to be forty days journey on horseback, from Tegazza to Tombuto; and from Tombuto to Melli, thirty. Cada Mosto having inquired of them, what use the merchants of Melli made of the salt? was answered, first, that a small quantity of it was consumed in their own country; for, that as they lay near the Line, where the days and nights are of an equal length, at certain seasons of the year the heats were excessive, and putrified the blood; so that but for that salt, they would certainly die. There is no art in preparing it; they only take a piece every day, and dissolve it in a porringer of water, drink it off; and by this means preserve their health, as they imagine. The remainder of the salt is carried a long way in pieces, by men, on their heads, every piece being as much as a man can bear. The salt is brought to Melli in large pieces taken out of the rocks, each camel being loaded with two. There the negros break them in smaller pieces, for the convenience of carrying on the head; and muster a large number of footmen for that purpose. These porters have a large fork in each hand; which, when fixed, they fix in the ground and rest their loads on. The negros are hired to carry it in this manner, for

want of camels or other beasts of burden, as before mentioned: and from what has been related, it is easy to see, that the number, both of the carriers and consumers, must be very great.

"When they arrive at the water-side, the proprietors of the salt place their shares in hoops together in a row, every one setting a mark on his own: this done, those of the caravan retire half a day's journey. Then the negros they went to deal with, who will not be seen nor spoken to, and seem to be the inhabitants of some islands, come in large boats, and having viewed the salt, lay a sum of gold on every heap, and then withdraw. When they are gone, the negros, who own the salt, return: and if the quantity of gold pleases them, they take it, and leave the salt, if not, they leave both, and withdraw again. The other Modts then come on, and the heaps they find without gold, they carry with them, and either advance more gold to the other parcels, or leave the salt. In this manner they trade, without seeing or speaking to one another; which has been a very ancient custom among them." This account, the author owns, appears somewhat improbable; yet affirms, that he had it from several Arabs, and Azanaghi-merchants, as well as other persons, who were worthy of credit.

The same merchants being asked why the emperor of Melli, being such a great lord as they reported, did not find means, by friendship or force, to discover who these people were, that would not suffer themselves to be seen or talked to? On this they told him, that not many years before, an emperor, having determined to get some of these invisible beings into his hands, held a council on the occasion: wherein it was ordered, that before the salt caravan returned from their half-day's journey, some of his men should go and make pits by the water-side, near where the salt was left, that they should hide themselves; and that when the negros came to leave the gold on the salt, they should attack them, and make two or three prisoners. This project was executed, and four were taken; the rest having fled; three also of those who had been surprised, were set at liberty by the captors; who judged that one would be sufficient to satisfy the emperor's desire, and that the negros would be less provoked. But after all, the design miscarried, because the prisoner would neither speak (though talked to in various languages) nor eat any victuals; so that at four days end he died. This cross accident was much regretted by the negros of Melli, because their lord was thus prevented from obtaining his ends: and the captain having brought the emperor an account of the man's death, he received it with great displeasure, and asked, of what stature they were?—He was answered They were exceeding black, well shaped, and a span taller than themselves: that their under lip was thicker than a man's fist, and hung down on their breasts; that it was very red, and something like blood dropped from it; but their upper-lip was as small as other peoples. The form of their lips exposed to view their gums and teeth, which were larger than their own; and that they had great teeth in the corner of their mouths: that their eyes were large and black, in short, that they made a terrible figure, blood dropping from their gums as well as teeth. Thus the succeeding emperors were prevented from making any farther attempts of this kind; because, on account of the negro's death, his countrymen, for the space of three years, forbore coming to buy any salt, as they used to do. Yet the emperor does not regard whether those blacks speak or not, if he has but the profit of their gold.

The gold brought to Melli is divided into three parts; the first, sent by the Melli caravan to Cochia, which lies in the road to Syria and Cairo; the other two shares are sent by another caravan from Melli to Tombuto, from whence the gold is sent by divisions; first to Toet, and from thence along the coast to Tunis in Barbary, within the Streights of Gibraltar; and

and to Fez and Morocco, Arzila, Azafi, and Moffa, towns without the Streights, where the Italians and other Christians had it from the Moors, in return for divers merchandises. In short, this is the best commodity that is brought from the Azanaghi's country; for of the gold sent to Hodeu every year, as before observed, they bring some to the sea-coast, and barter it with the Portuguese at Argin. In this district no money is coined, nor do they ever use money any more than in the neighbouring countries, but all their trade is carried on by bartering one thing for another, and sometimes two for one, while in their towns within land, they use little white shells, which are brought to Venice from the Levant, of which they pay certain numbers, according to the goodness of what they are to buy. They give the gold they sell, by Mitigal weight, which is about a ducat in value.

The inhabitants of this desert, have neither religion nor sovereign, only those who are the richest, and have the largest retinues, are lords, as is customary in many places. The women are tawny, and wear cottons that come from the country of the negros, and some of them frocks, which are called Alchezdi, but no smocks; and she who has the largest breasts, is reputed the greatest beauty.

The men ride horses in the Moorish fashion, but have not many, for the barrenness of the country will not allow them to keep any, neither could they live long in such great heats. The deserts throughout are very hot, and have but little water, which makes the country dry and barren. It rains here only three months in the year; that is in August, September, and October.

The author was also informed, that in some years, large swarms of locusts appear in this country: they are like grass-hoppers, the length of a man's finger, and of a red and yellow colour. They appear sometimes in such clouds in the air, as to obscure the sun, covering the horizon as far as the sight can reach, which is from 12 to 16 miles, and where they lodge they strip the ground quite bare, which they look upon as a great pestilence, but providence has so ordered it, that they seldom come above once in four years.

After doubling Cape Blanco, they continued their course to the river called Senega, which divides the desert and the Azanaghi from the fruit lands and negros. Five years before Cada Mosto made this voyage, this river was discovered by three caravals belonging to Prince Henry, which entering it, made peace, and settled a trade with the Moors, since which time, ships have been sent every year to traffic with them.

This river is large, above a mile wide at the mouth, and sufficiently deep. A little farther, it has another entrance. Between the two there is an island, which forms a cape running into the sea, and at each mouth there are sand-banks and shoals, reaching about a mile from shore. From Cape Blanco, which is 380 miles of the river, it is called the Coast of Anterota, and belongs to the Azanaghi, or tawny Moors. The author was surprised to find so great a difference in so narrow a space; for on the south side of the river, the inhabitants are exceeding black, tall, corpulent and well made; the country is all green, and full of fruit trees, and on the other side the men are tawny, meagre, and small of stature, and the country dry and barren.

The kingdom of the negros lies in the river Senega, and those who inhabit the banks of it are called Jalofs; all the country is low, not only to that river, but also beyond it, as far as Cape de Verde, which is the highest land on all this coast, and 400 miles distant from Cape Blanco. The king, who reigned in Senega, in Cada Mastato Irine, was called Zucholin, and 20 years of age. This kingdom is not hereditary, but commonly three or four lords (of which there are many in the country) chuse a king to their own liking, (yet always of noble parentage) who reigns as long as he pleases them. They after dethrone their kings by force, and the kings many times render themselves so powerful, as to stand on

their defence, which makes the government unsettled; as that of the sultan of Cairo is, who is always in fear of being killed or banished. These kings are not like those of Europe; for their subjects are savages, and very poor. They have no walled towns, but only villages, with thatched houses. They use neither lime or stone for building, not knowing how to make the one or form the other. The kingdom is small, extending (as the author was informed) no more than 200 miles along the coast, and the same within land. The king has no certain revenues, but the lords of the country to court his favour, make him presents every year of horses (which are very much esteemed here, being scarce) together with furniture, and other beasts, such as cows and goats, also pulse, millet, and such like things. He likewise lives by robberies, and forcing some of his subjects and those of neighbouring provinces into slavery, part of which he employs in cultivating the lands assigned him, and sells the rest to the Azanaghi and Arabian merchants, who trade with horses, and other things, as well as to the Christians, since trade has been open between them.

Every man here may entertain as many women as he pleases. The king has always upwards of thirty, and distinguishes them according to their descent and rank of the lords whose daughters they are. He keeps them in certain villages and places of his own, eight or ten together, each of them having a separate house to dwell in, and a fixed number of young women to attend on her, with slaves to cultivate the land assigned her, that they may maintain themselves with the produce thereof. They have likewise cows and goats, which the slaves also take care of; and thus they sow, reap and live. When the king comes to any of these villages, he brings no provisions along with him, these women being obliged to bear the expences of him and his retinue whenever he visits them. Every morning at sun-rise, each of the women in the place he arrives at, prepares three or four covers of different viands, such as flesh, fish, and other dainties, according to the Moorish taste, which are carried by the slaves to the king's pantry; so that in less than an hour, there are 40 or 50 dishes brought; and when his majesty has a mind to eat, he finds every thing ready to his hand. After he has eaten of such dishes as he likes best, the remainder is given to his retinue; but as this diet is never in plenty, they are always hungry. Thus he travels from one place to another, visiting his women, by which means he has a very numerous issue; but from the instant any of his women proves with child, he goes near them no more. All the lords live in the same manner.

These negros profess the Mahometan religion, but are not so well instructed therein as the white Moors, particularly the common people. The lords have always about them some of the Azanaghi for that purpose, or else Arabs, who come to reside there. These have inculcated, that it would be a disgrace for them, who are lords, to live without observing any of God's laws, and to eat as the inferior people do, without any religion. It is owing to their never having conversed with any but the Azanaghi's or Arabs, that they are Mahometans; but since they became acquainted with Christians, they are not so fond of that faith.

These negros, for the generality, go quite naked, except covering their privy parts with a goat's skin, made in the form of a pair of breeches; but the lords, and those who are able, wear cotton shirts of the product of the country, which is spun by their women. They weave pieces of cotton a span wide, but never any wider, not having the art of making larger looms; so that they are obliged to sew five or six of these pieces together, when they would make any large work. Their shirts reach to half their thighs, the sleeves of which are large, but cover only half of the arm. They use cotton drawers, which hang down to the small of the leg, and monstrously wide, being from 30 to 35 and forty palms in circumference; so

that when tied on, they are full of plaits, and though like a sack before, the hind part trails on the ground like a tail, resembling large petticoats with a train. In short, nothing can make a more preposterous figure in the world; yet they asked the Europeans, if they had ever seen a finer dress? For in their own opinion, nothing comes up to it for elegance. Their women, married or unmarried, go naked from the waist upwards, and downwards they wear a piece of cotton up half the leg. Both sexes go barefooted and uncovered, but weave their hair into beautiful tresses, which they tie in various knots, though it be very short. The men employ themselves in women's work; such as spinning, washing of cloaths, and the like.

It is very hot here, not being so cold in January, as it is in Italy in the month of April: and the farther one travels, the more the heat encreases. Both men and women wash themselves four or five times a day; being very cleanly as to their persons, but not so in eating, in which they observe no rule. Although very ignorant and awkward in going about any thing which they have not been accustomed to, yet in their own business, which they are acquainted with, they are as expert as any Europeans can be. They are full of words, and never have done talking; and are for the most part, liars and cheats. Yet on the other hand, they are very charitable; for they give a dinner or a night's lodging, and a supper to all strangers who come to their houses, without expecting any return.

These negroes often make war among themselves, and with their neighbours. They have no cavalry, for want of horses; they wear no arms except a large target for their defence, made of the skin of a beast, called danta, which is very difficult to be pierced: and azagays, or light darts, in throwing of which, they are very dexterous. These darts are pointed with iron, the length of a span, barbed in different manners; so that they make dangerous wounds in the body wherever they enter. They also have a Moorish weapon, which is like a Turkish half sword; that is bent like a bow, and made of iron, (without any steel) brought from the kingdom of Gambia by the negroes, who thereof make their arms: and if they have any iron in their own country, they know nothing of it, or want industry to work it. They use also another speared weapon, like our javelin: besides which, they have but few arms; their wars are very bloody, for their strokes do not fall in vain. They are exceeding bold and fierce, choosing rather to be killed, than to save their lives by flight. They have no ships, neither did they ever see any before the Portuguese came upon their coast. Those inhabiting near the river, and some who live by the sea, have zapopolies or almaidas, made out of a single piece of wood, the largest whereof carries three or four men. In these they fish sometimes, and go up and down the river. These negroes are surprizing great swimmers. Cada Mosto having passed the river of Senega with his caraval, sailed along the coast to the country of Budomel, about 800 miles farther; the country between being all low land, and without mountains. He stopped at this place to know something of the Lord Budomel, from whom the country took its name; certain Portuguese, who had dealt with him, having represented him as a very just person, who might be confided in, as he paid for every thing he took. Our adventurer had some Spanish horses on board, which were much esteemed among the negroes; besides cloth, Moorish wrought silks, and many other commodities.

As soon therefore, as he came to anchor at a place called the Palm of Budomel, which is a road and not a port, he sent his interpreter, who was a negro, to give their lord notice of his arrival, and the goods he had on board. Not long after, Lord Budomel himself, with about fifteen horse, and an hundred and fifty foot, came to the sea side, and sent to desire Cada Mosto to land, for that he would do him a piece of

service. He accordingly went, and was received with great civility. After some discourse, the author delivered him seven horses with their furniture, and every thing else that he wanted, which cost in all three hundred ducats; trusting to his honour for payment, which he proposed to make at his house, twenty-five miles distant from the shore; intreating Cada Mosto to go down with him to wait a few days, because he was to pay for what goods he had in slaves. Cada Mosto readily agreed to go, induced as much by the desire of making discoveries, as of being paid. But before they set out, the lord made him a present of a beautiful female black, of about twelve years old; telling him at the same time, that he gave her to him to serve him in his cabin. The gift was willingly accepted of, and sent on board.

Budomel furnished the author with horses, as well as every thing else necessary for a journey; and when they came within four miles of his habitation, gave him in charge to Bisboror, his nephew, who was lord of a little town where they had arrived. Bisboror took him to his own house, and treated him all the while he staid there, (which was twenty-eight days) with great civility and good company. This was in November, during which time, he went often to see Lord Budomel, in company with his nephew, and observed many things relating to their way of living. He had the greater opportunity to make remarks, as he travelled back, as far as the River Senega, on account of the tempestuous weather; which arising on this coast, so that he could not go on board, he was obliged to send the ship before to this river, and go by land himself.

The author observes, that upon this occasion, that being desirous to send instructions to those in the ship, to meet him at the River Senega, he enquired among the blacks, if any of them would undertake to carry a letter for him on board? to which several of them answered in the affirmative. The ship lay about three miles from shore; the sea ran high, and there was a great wind; insomuch, that he thought it impossible for any man to perform it, especially as several sand banks lay near the shore, and about half way, other banks, with a great current running between them, sometimes backwards and sometimes forwards, that it is a most difficult task for any man to swim through them, without being carried away by the stream. Besides the sea breaks over the banks with so much violence, that it seemed impossible to surmount such obstructions. Yet two of these negroes offered to go, and having demanded what they expected for their labour? they answered, two maulgis of tin for each of them, the maulgi being worth no more than one grosson, (a grosson is about three farthings). At this price they undertook to carry the letter to the ship, and took the water winds. I cannot express the difficulties, says the author, which they were to encounter with, in passing the sand bank, in so high a sea. Sometimes they were out of sight for a considerable time, and I often thought they had been drowned. At last, one of them not being able any longer to resist the violence of the waves which broke over him, turned back; but the other being stronger, after struggling a long hour on the bank, got past it; and having carried the letter to the caraval, returned with an answer, which to me seemed very wonderful, and thence I concluded, that the negroes of this coast must be the best swimmers in the world.

It has been already observed, that those who are called lords, have neither castles nor cities. The king of this country has nothing but villages, with thatched houses. Budomel was lord of one part of this kingdom, which is small. These are not lords on account of their riches or treasure; because they have none; neither is their any coin made use of among them; but they are considered as such out of courtesy, and by reason of the great retinues, with which they are always attended; being respected and feared by their subjects, more than any Italian lords. The place of Budomel's residence was neither a walled house.

house nor palace; but, according to their manner of living, he has some villages assigned for the habitation of himself and his wives, with their respective families, because he never fixes in one place.

The village, where the author resided, was one of his habitations, and had forty or fifty thatched houses built near one another, and surrounded with ditches and large trees, only a passage or two was left for entrance; and every house had a court, inclosed with a hedge.

This prince had nine wives in this place, and more or less in other villages. Each of these women had five or six young negroes to attend her, with whom the lord may lie when he pleases; nor are the wives offended at it, it being the custom, both sexes being very lascivious. They are very jealous, and suffer nobody to enter the house where any of their women dwell; nor would they even trust their own sons.

Budomel has always at least 200 negroes in his retinue; who change from time to time; some going and others coming in their room: besides, many people repair from the adjacent places to meet him; at the entrance of his house, before his apartment, there are seven large courts, leading from one to the other, with a tree in the middle of each; where those wait who come upon business. His family is distributed in these courts, according to the rank of the person; the most considerable being stationed nearest; and the meanest the farthest from his apartment; which few approach, except the Christians and Azanaghi, who have free admission; more liberty being allowed them than the negroes.

But (says the author) Budomel affects great state and gravity, for he will not be seen, except one hour in the morning, and, for a little while, towards the evening, at which times he appears in the first court, near the door of the apartment, into which none but persons of note are permitted to enter. The pride of these lords appears most in giving audience; for when any person came to speak to Budomel, were his condition ever so great, he was obliged first to strip himself stark naked, except the skins which covered his privities; then, the instant he enters the court he fell upon his knees, and bowed down his head as low as the earth. Lastly, with both his hands he covered his head and shoulders with sand. This is the manner in which they salute their lord; nor is there any person whoever, exempt from these duties, not even their own relations. The person, who solicits the audience, remains a great while in this penitential posture, dabbing himself with sand, and crawling on his knees, till he approach the great man. When the suppliant is within two paces of this lord he stops, and begins to relate his case, but still continues to lay on sand, with his head down, in token of great humility. All this while the lord scarce seems to take notice of him, being in discourse with other persons; and when his vassal has told his story, with an arrogant aspect makes the answer in two words. Such is his affected pride and grandeur, and such is the submission paid him. Budomel however behaved with great compliance to Cada Mosto, and carried him into the Mosques; for, towards evening, he ordered the Azanaghi or Arabs, whom he always had about him, to say prayers. His manner was thus: being entered into the mosque (which was in one of the courts) with some of the principal negroes, he first stood with his eyes lifted up, then he advanced two steps, and spoke a few words softly. After which he stretched himself on the ground, and kissed it: the Azanaghi, and all the rest, did the same. Then rising, he repeated the same acts over again ten or twelve times, which took up half an hour. This prince's table, like those of all other lords, and men of condition, is supplied by their wives, in the same manner as the king of Senega is furnished; each sending him so many dishes, they eat on the ground, without regulating the inferior people, out of a basket, ten or twelve in a mess.

No bread-corn, rye, oats, or wine, grows in the

kingdom of Senega, or any of the negro countries on that coast, on account of the great heats: this they made trial of by the seeds they had from the ship; for wheat requires a temperate soil, and frequent rains, which are wanting here. They have no rain for nine months in the year; that is, from October till June. However, they have large and small millet beans, and the finest kidney beans in the world; they are as large as hazle-nuts, but longer than the Venetian, and speckled with various colours, as if painted, so that they make a beautiful show, the bean is large, flat, and of a lively red; there are also white beans. They sow in July and reap in September, at which time rain falls, and the rivers are swelled.

They prepare the soil, sow and get in their harvest, all in three months time. They are bad husbandmen, no lovers of labour, and sow no more than what barely serves them the year round, for they lay up no store of oats for sale. Their method of turning up the earth is thus; four or five of them go into a field with spades, (instead of shovels used in Italy) and throw up the earth, running it not above four inches deep in the ground. This is all their plowing; but as the soil is so fertile and kind, it produces every thing they sow, without any farther pains.

Their liquors are water, milk, and palm-wine, which latter is taken from trees (here very numerous) like the date trees, though not the same. They yield this liquor, (called by the negroes Nighol) all the year round. Being tapped in two or three places near the foot, a brown water runs out, as thin as skim-milk, into the calabashes, set from morning till night. It is exceeding good to drink, and intoxicates like wine, if not mixed with water. It is as sweet the first day as any wine in the world; but the luscious taste goes off every day more and more, till at length, it becomes sour. It drinks better the third or fourth day than the first, because it purges a little, and is not so sweet. Cada Modo drank plentifully of it every day while he was in that country, and liked it better than wine of Italy. This nighol is not in such plenty that every body may have it at discretion; however, they all have some, especially the chief men; for the trees are not planted in gardens like the fruits or vines of Europe, but grow in the forests, and is common to all.

They have several sorts of fruits, like the European though not exactly the same; and notwithstanding they grow wild, yet they are very good. Were they cultivated in gardens they would prove much better than those in the northern climates; the quality of the air and soil being nutritives. The country is all plain and fertile, abounding with good pastures, besides an infinite number of large and beautiful trees, not known in Europe. Here are likewise several lakes of fresh water, not large, but very deep and full of good fish, which differ from such as are found in Italy. Also many water serpents, by them called Calcatrici. They have an oil, which they use in victuals; but the author could not tell what it was made of. It is remarkable for three qualities, viz. the smell of a violet, the taste of olive-oil, and a colour that dyes the victuals better than saffron. There is a plant here likewise that produces small kidney-beans in great quantities.

There are no tame animals in the kingdom of Senega, except oxen, cows and goats; sheep they have none, neither could they live in this hot climate, for these love a temperate air, and live better in cold than in hot countries. Indeed the negroes who live in such intense heat, have no occasion for woollen cloaths. The cattle of this country, such as they have, are smaller than those of Italy. A red cow here is a rarity: they are in general black or white; some however are pied or mottled. Here are many sorts of beasts of prey, such as lions, and leopards. Hares and some other sorts of wild animals are found here. They have also elephants of a large size. The author makes the following remarks upon this animal. His size may very nearly be judged from his teeth, which are brought into Europe; of these, each elephant

has but two in the under jaw, like the wild boar, without any other difference, except that the points of the wild boar's teeth turn upwards, and those of the elephant down. Cada Mosto had been told, before he sailed to those parts, that the elephants could not bend their knees, and that they sleep standing, which he declares to be an egregious falshood; for that their knees may be plainly discerned in walking, and that they lie down and rise like all other animals.

They never shed their large teeth before death, nor do harm to any man, unless provoked by him; in that case, the elephant attacks him with his trunk, which is in the place of a nose, of an exceeding length. He can contract and extend the proboscis at pleasure, and will toss a man with it as far as a sling can throw a stone. It is in vain to think to escape by running, let the person be ever so swift, provided the elephant follows him in earnest, and fetches large strides. They are more dangerous when they have young ones, than at any other time; and have but three or four at a birth. They feed on leaves of trees and fruit, pulling down the large boughs, and bringing them to the mouth with their trunk, which is a very thick cartilage. The author could hear of no other animals in this kingdom, except the abovementioned.

There are several sorts of birds in this country, particularly parrots, in great numbers. The negroes hate them, because they do great damage to their millet and pulse. They say there are several sorts of them; but Cada Mosto could see no more than two. The one, like those brought from Alexandria, but a little smaller. The other sort is much larger, has a brown head, neck, beak and legs, the body yellow and green. He had a number of these two sorts, particularly the small ones; many died; the rest, being about an hundred and fifty, he carried to Spain, and sold them for half a ducat a piece. These birds are very industrious in making their nests, which they build with bullrushes and small leaves of the palm, and other trees. The parrot chips out the slenderest branch, at the end of which she fastens the bullrush; to which, being about two spans length, she sticks her nest, weaving it in a most beautiful manner; and when finished, it hangs like a ball at the end of the bullrush, having only one passage into it. Thus they continue to save their young from the devouring serpents, whose weight these small branches cannot support. There is plenty of others called Pharaoh's Hens in Europe, whither they are brought from the Levant.

The author went three or four times to see one of their markets or fairs, which was kept on Mondays and Fridays in a meadow, not far from the place he lodged. Hither repaired, with their wares, both men and women, for four or five miles about; and those who lived at a greater distance, went to other markets nearer them. The great poverty of this people appeared in the goods found in these fairs, which were small quantities of goods, a few pieces of cotton cloth, cotton yarns, pulse, oil, millet, wooden tubs, palm-mats, and every thing else for the use of life.

They have no money or coin of any kind; all trade is carried on by way of barter, exchanging one thing for another, and sometimes two or three for one, according to the different values. These blacks, both men and women, came to gaze on Cada Mosto, as if he had been a prodigy; and thought it a great curiosity to behold a white man, for they had never seen any before; they were as much astonished at his dress as his colour, being cloathed after the Spanish fashion, with a black damask waistcoat and a cloak over it. They admired the woolen cloth, of which they have none, and seemed much surpris'd at the sight of the waistcoat. Some catch'd him by the arms and hands, which they rubbed with spittle, to see if the whiteness was natural or artificial; and finding that his skin was not painted, their wonder continued.

In this country horses are scarce, being brought from those parts of Barbary next Europe, by the Arabs and Azanaghi. Besides, the great heat will not suffer them to live long; for they grow so fat, that they cannot make water, and so burst. They feed them with the bean leaves, which they gather after the beans are brought from the fields. These are cut small, being as dry as hay, and serve instead of oats; they give them millet also, which fattens them much. A horse and furniture is sold for from nine to fourteen slaves, according to his goodness and beauty.

When a lord buys one, he sends for his horse-forcerers; who causing a fire to be made of certain stalks of herbs, hold the head by the bridle over the smoak, while they repeat a few words. They afterwards have him anointed all over with fine oil, and keeping eighteen or twenty days, without suffering any body to see him, fix to his neck some Moorish charms, (which doubled-up, are like small square billets) covered with red leather.

The women of this country are very pleasant and merry, and delight in singing and dancing, particularly the young ones. These diversions they take only at night, by the light of the moon. Several things belonging to the sailors seemed wonderful to the negroes, among which was the cross-bow, but much more the artillery: some of them coming on board, Cada Mosto caused one of his guns to be fired off: which put them into a fright, their dread increased on his telling them, that one cannon shot would kill an hundred men: on which occasion they said, that it must be an infernal instrument. The ship and its contrivance offered them also matter of great admiration, as well as the masts, sails, shrouds and anchor. They took the port holes made in the stern, for real eyes, with which she found her way by sea. They said the Europeans were forcerers, and not inferior to the devil himself: that travellers by land found difficulties in tracing the road from one place to another; yet they travelled by sea where there were no tracks, which seemed much more difficult; and though they were so many days without sight of land, yet they knew what course they steered. What they most of all wondered at, was to see a candle lighted in a candlestick, which to them, who had never seen the like before, appeared both beautiful and surpris'ing; for in this country they have no other light than that of the fire.

They suck out the honey from the combs, and throw the wax away as useless. The author having bought some of the combs from a negro, shewed how the honey was taken out; and then asked if they knew what that was which remained? they answered, that they knew it to be good for nothing: but they were greatly astonished when they saw it made into candles, and lighted in their presence; saying, that the Christians had knowledge of all things, which increased their respect for those who were destined to do their countrymen so many injuries.

Budomel's country being examined, the author determined to double Cape de Verde, in order to make new discoveries, and try his fortune, still farther: for before his departure from Portugal, he was informed by Prince Henry, that a person, well acquainted with the countries of the negroes, had assured him, that not far from the kingdom of Senega, there was another called Gambia: out of which, according to the report of the natives, large quantities of gold were carried into Spain; and that the Christians who should go thither might enrich themselves.

Cada Mosto having left Budomel, repaired to the caraval, and set sail without delay. One morning he discovered two ships, and coming up with them, found that one belonged to Antoniotto Ufo di Mare, a Genoese gentleman, and the other to some gentlemen in the service of Don Enriquez; who came in company with a design to pass Cape de Verde, and seek their fortunes, by making new discoveries. As the author had the same views, he joined in company with

with them, and all failed together southward along the coast, in sight of land, for the Cape, which they descried next day.

Cape Verde is high and beautiful, it runs into the sea, and has two little hills, or mountains, at the point thereof. There are several villages of negros from Senega, on and about the promontory, who dwell in thatched houses close to the shore, and in sight of those who are sailing. There are also some sand banks that run off it, about half a mile into the sea.

Doubling this cape, they came to three little desert islands full of large green trees; and as they wanted water, they anchored at one of them, which seemed to be the largest and most fruitful, in hopes of meeting with springs; but on landing, they found no sign of any, except in one place, which was of no service to them. They met however, with several birds nests, and eggs of different sorts, such as they had never seen before. They continued here all that day fishing with lines and large hooks, and caught a great number of fish. The next day they proceeded on their course, keeping always in sight of land. This side of the cape forms a gulph. The coast is all low, and full of fine large trees which are continually green, that is, they do not wither as those in Europe do, for the new leaves grow before the old ones fall off. These trees are close to the shore; it is a most beautiful coast to behold, and is watered every where by several small rivers; but they turn to no account, because great ships cannot enter them.

Beyond this gulph the coast is inhabited by two negro nations, the one called Barbasini; the other Serreri, but not subject to the king of Senega, for they have neither king nor lord of their own; but one is more honoured than another, according to the condition and quality of the person. They will suffer no lord among them, perhaps to prevent their wives and children being taken from them and sold for slaves, as they are in the other negro countries which have kings and lords. They are great idolaters without any law, and extremely cruel. They use bows and arrows more than any other weapons, whose wounds are incurable, if any blood is drawn by them, the creature immediately dying. They are exceedingly black, and well made. The place is full of woods, lakes and other waters, which are a great security to them; for they cannot be invaded but through narrow defiles, for which reason they do not fear any of the neighbouring lords. In former times the kings of Senega had attempted to reduce these two nations to their obedience, but were always worsted by them, to which their arrows, and the natural strength of the country very considerably contributed.

Coasting along with a good wind to the south, they discovered the mouth of a river which is about a bow-shot wide, but not deep. To this they gave the name of Barbasini, being 60 miles from Cape Verde. They sailed along this coast by day, and at sun-set always came to an anchor in ten or twelve fathoms water, about four or five miles from land. At sun-rise, they hoisted sail again, having a man continually on the top, and two at the prow, to see if the sea broke over rocks or shoals. Sailing forward, they came to the mouth of another river, which seemed to be as large as the Senega. At the sight of so fine a river, and very beautiful with trees down to the shore, they cast anchor, and determined to send one of their negro interpreters to land, of which every ship brought some from Portugal. These had been sold as slaves by the lords of Senega, to the first Portuguese who touched on their coast, were become Christians, and understood the Spanish very well. They had them of their masters, conditionally on their return to give each for his wages a slave to be chosen out of their stock, and when any of these interpreters could furnish his master with four slaves, he was made free.

Having cast lots to see which of the three ships should send an interpreter on shore, it fell to the Ge-

noese gentleman's turn, therefore he dispatched an armed bark, with orders to the men not to touch on shore; but when they landed, the interpreter, who was charged to inform himself concerning the condition as well as government of the country, and if there was any gold or other things to be had worth coming for. The interpreter being landed, and the boat put back to some distance, several negros of the country came to meet him. These, as soon as ever they perceived the ships approach the coast, lay in ambush with bows, arrows, and other weapons, in hopes of taking some of the strangers.

After a short discourse with the interpreter, whatever the subject was, they fell furiously on him with their gomes, and killed him, those in the boat not being able to assist him. When those on board the ship received this news, it gave them great surprise; and concluding that those who could commit such a piece of barbarity on one of their own race, would treat them with more cruelty. They immediately weighed their anchors, and proceeded on their voyage to the south, sailing in sight of the land, which improved in beautiful green trees, in proportion as they advanced, all the coasts being low. At last they came to the mouth of a very large river, being no less than three or four miles wide in the narrowest part, as they found they could safely sail into it, they concluded to rest there, to learn what kingdom it was. The next day being come to this river, which does not appear to be less than six or eight miles wide at the entrance, they judged it to belong to the so much desired country of Gambia, and that near it they should discover some rich land, when at once they might make their fortunes.

The day following, having but a small breeze, they sent the small caraval before, well manned, with orders, that as their ship was small, and drew but little water, she should proceed as far as she could. If they met with any banks in the river's mouth, they were to sound the depth, and if the river was navigable, then to turn back, and casting anchor, give signals of the same. Having found four fathoms water they did as they were ordered. On this, it was thought proper to send another armed boat along with the vessels, (which was but small) into the river, with orders by no means to fight or dispute with the natives of the country.

These boats proceeded up the river, which they founded, and finding no less than 16 fathoms water for two miles, they advanced farther, and saw the banks of the river very beautiful, and full of trees; but as they perceived it made several turnings and windings into the country, they did not think proper to proceed any farther. In their way back, near the mouth of a little river, which ran into the great one, they saw three almeydas, each made out of one piece of large wood, like a skiff. Though they were strong enough to defend themselves, yet in fear of being attacked with poisoned arrows (used by all the inhabitants of Gambia, as the other negros had informed them) they took to their oars, making all possible haste back to the ship. When they got on board, the almeydas, which followed them close, were within arrow-shot. There were about 25 or 30 Moors in her, who stood for some time looking at a sight quite new to them, but would neither come nearer, nor speak, notwithstanding all the endeavours that were used by signs to induce them; and at last they returned, having satisfied their curiosity.

About three o'clock, next morning, the two caravals, which stayed behind, sailed with the current and a small breeze, in order to join their companion, and entered into the river; hoping to meet with more humane people than those they had seen before. They sailed into the river one after another, the small caraval being foremost, and by the time they had got four miles up it, they perceived themselves followed by a number of almeydas, without knowing from whence they came. They tacked about, and bore down upon them, having first covered their ships in the best man-

ner they could, to serve as a defence against their supposed envenomed arrows. They made every thing ready to fight, though ill provided with arms, and soon met them. The almeydas came under the prow of Cada Mosto's ship, which was foremost; and dividing themselves into two divisions, took them in their centre. This gave them an opportunity to count their number, which was fifteen, and as large as barks. They ceased to row, raised their oars, and looked upon the caraval with wonder. There were about 150 negros, all well made, of a good size, and very black. They wore white cotton shirts on their bodies, and caps on their heads, like the Germans; but with a wing on each side, and a feather in the middle, by which they distinguish themselves as warriors. At the prow of each vessel there stood a negro, with a round target (which seemed to be of leather) on his arm; yet they neither attacked the caraval, nor did she chuse to begin the fight. Thus they continued peaceable till they saw the other two ships bear down upon them: then they dropped their oars, and shot arrows at them: the vessel discharged four pieces of cannon at the enemy; the report of which, so surprised them, that they threw down their bows; and looking sometimes one way, and sometimes another, remained surprised to see the stones shattered by the cannon fall in the water near them. They continued in this suspense for a considerable time: but seeing the cannon fired no more at them, layed hold of their bows, renewed the fight with great fury, approaching within a stone's shot of the ships. On this the sailors began to discharge their cross-bows at them. The first shot was made by the bastard son of the Genoese gentleman, which, hitting a negro in the breast, he immediately dropped down dead. Those in the almeyda took up the dart, and gazed on it with wonder, but did not give over the attack, which they carried on vigorously, and were so fiercely opposed by the caravals, that in a little time many of them were killed, without the loss of one European. Observing the disadvantage they laboured under, all the almeydas seemed to agree to attack the little caraval astern, which was both ill manned and ill armed. They executed this design with great fury, which Cada Mosto observing, moved forward to her assistance: and getting her between the two large caravals, they all discharged their cannon and cross-bows at the almeydas, which made them retire. After this, they linked the three caravals together, and dropped an anchor that held them all, as it was calm.

They next attempted to have some talk with the negros, by means of their interpreters, who often hailed them. At last one of the almeydas drawing near, they asked those in her the reason for attacking strangers, who came to trade with them, as they had done with the negros of the kingdom of Senega: that they were willing to be upon the same terms with them, if they thought proper, and were come from remote parts with great presents to their king or lord, in behalf of the king of Portugal, who was desirous of peace and friendship with him.

They then intreated the negros to let them know what country they were in, who was king of it, and what was the name of the river? adding, that they might freely come and take what goods they thought proper out of their ship: that they would take in return some of their commodities, in such small quantities as they pleased themselves, and that in case they gave them none at all, they should be very well contented. To this they made answer, That they had some intelligence of them before, and of their dealings with the negros of Senega, who they said, must certainly be very wicked men, for desiring to have any friendship with them: for they were well assured Christians were men-eaters, and bought negros for no other use than to devour them: that for the same reason, they would have no manner of correspondence with them; but would endeavour to kill them, and then make presents of their effects to their

lords, who lived about three days journey distant, and added, that the country was called Gambia. In this instant the wind began to rise, and as they had discovered the evil inclinations of the negros, they bore down upon them; but they fled to the shore; and thus ended their war with them.

The commanders of the caravals then came to a resolution to proceed about 100 miles up the river, in hopes of meeting with a better disposed people: But the sailors, who were impatient to return home, not caring to run any farther hazard, unanimously, and loudly opposed their determination: declaring, that they would consent to no such thing, and that they had done enough already for this voyage. Therefore being obliged to come into their measures, the next day they sailed for Cape Verde on their return to Spain.

During their stay in this river, they saw the north star but once, and that very low. In this place, the first of July, they found the night to be eleven hours and a half long, and the day twelve and a half. This climate is always hot, and the author was told that the rain which falls within land is warm, through the heat of the air. There is, however, some difference in the heat, which is sometimes greater, at other times less. When this last is the case, they call it winter: for the rain begins in July, and continues all October, and falls every day about noon, when certain clouds rise in the north-east-by-east or east-south-east point, accompanied with much thunder, lightning, and a prodigious quantity of rain. In this season the negros begin to sow their grain, in the same manner as those in Senega do. Their food is millet, pulse, flesh, and milk.

Cada Mosto could say nothing concerning the condition of the country of Gambia, as having been obliged to return to Spain without proceeding any farther; partly through the untractableness of the natives, who are a fierce, wild people, especially those on the sea coast, and partly through the perverseness of the sailors, who had refused to follow them, and we find nothing more noticed till his return.

The next year he and the Genoese gentleman jointly fitted out two caravals, in order to return to that river. Prince Henry having heard of their design (which indeed they could not have undertaken without his leave) was highly pleased at it, and determined to send a caraval of his own along with them. Every thing being got ready for the voyage, they sailed from Lagos, not far from Cape St. Vincent, in the beginning of May, with a prosperous wind. They steered for the Canaries, and made them in a few days: but as the wind continued favourable, they did not touch at them, continuing their course southerly; the current, which ran to the south-west, also favouring them, they sailed at a great rate. At last, coming in sight of Cape Blanco, they kept out to sea, and the night following were taken in a great storm from the south-west, which made them steer west-by-north for two nights and three days; rather than turn back, in order to weather the tempest.

On the third day, they descried land, to the great joy as well as surprise of every one, to find it in those parts, where they thought there was none. Having immediately ordered two men to the main-top, they discovered two large islands: this being made public, their satisfaction was still the greater; for they were sensible, these islands were not known in Spain. As they imagined the places might be inhabited, and were eager to push their fortunes; they steered for one of them, which soon coming up with, they sailed round part of it, till they came to safe anchorage. The weather growing calm, they sent their boat well manned and armed on shore: the men landed, and having gone over some part of it, brought word back, that they could meet with no signs of inhabitants. Next morning to clear up all doubts, Cada Mosto sent ten men well armed with guns, cross-bows, and other weapons, ordering them to go to the

top of some mountains in view, and thence look out not only for people, but also for more islands. These men having executed their commands, found no inhabitants, but an incredible number of pigeons, which they caught with their hands, such strangers were the birds to man, and brought great quantities of them to the caravals. What was of much more importance they discovered three other large islands, one of which was to the leeward toward the north, which those in the ships did not see; the other two lay to the south, and in their course, all within sight of one another. These men likewise observed something like islands to the west, but at so great a distance, that they could not distinguish them clearly, neither did Cada Mosto care to sail to them, lest he should lose time, and meet with nothing but desert islands, like those he touched at. (The news of his having discovered these four islands, brought others this way afterwards, who, being desirous to see how many islands there were in all, found them to be ten in number both great and small, inhabited only by pigeons and other birds: but a fine fishery).

Proceeding on their voyage they sailed from this island, and coming in sight of the other two, searched for an anchoring place near one of them which was full of trees. Here they discovered the mouth of a river, and being in need of water, they came to an anchor, and landed in order to supply their wants. Some of the author's men went a little way up the river, and met with some lakes of beautiful fine salt, large quantities of which they brought to the ship: laying in what stock they thought necessary; as they did likewise of the water, which was exceeding good. Tortoises they found here in great numbers; they took a good many of them, whose shells were larger than a great target. The sailors dressed them in different dishes, as they had done before in the gulph of Argin, where also these fish are plenty, though not so large. The author, out of curiosity ate some of the flesh, which seemed to be very good, and nothing inferior to veal, having a good smell and taste. They salted a number of them, which proved good provision on the voyage. They caught also such a large quantity of other fish about the mouth, as well as in this river, as is scarcely credible; and though they knew not the kind, yet it was large and well tasted. A vessel of an hundred and fifty tons might sail into the river, which was a full arrow's shot wide. Here they remained two days to refresh, and took in the above-mentioned provisions, besides large quantities of pigeons, which they killed without number. To the first island they anchored at, they gave the name of Bona Vista, as has been already observed, being the first they had sight of in those parts, and to the other, which seemed the largest of the four, St. Jago, having cast anchor there on the first of May.

Every thing being in readiness for pursuing their voyage, they set sail from these islands; and steering their course for Cape de Verde, arrived at Spedegar; and keeping within sight of land, came afterwards to a place called, The two Palms, lying between Cape Verde and the river Senega. They knew the course so well that they doubled the Cape next day, and passing forward came once more to the river Gambia, into which they speedily entered, and without any opposition from the negros or their almeydas, sailed up the river, always by day, with the lead in hand. Such of the almeydas of the negros as they met with kept at a distance, and rowed close to the bank of the river, not presuming to venture near them.

About ten miles within the river they cast anchor, on a Sunday morning, at an island in the shape of a smoothing-iron, where one of the sailors, who had died of a fever, was buried; and as his name was Andrew, being well-beloved, they gave the island the name of St. Andrew, which it goes by.

Leaving this island they proceeded up the river, and some of the negro almeydas followed, though wide of them, being hailed, the interpreter spoke to them, and shewed them a few trinkets, which were

offered to be given them, telling them that they might safely come near. One of them who came on board Cada Mosto's vessel, was much surpris'd at the sight of the sails and rigging, these people making use of no such tackle in the construction of their almeydas.

Being asked several questions relative to the country, this man said it was called Gambia, and that Forosangali was their lord, whose residence it appeared was at the distance of about nine days journey. This prince, he observed; was tributary to the emperor of Melli. And this man introduced Cada Mosto (after a passage of forty miles up the river) to the residence of a prince or lord called Battimanfa, with whom he advised them to enter into a treaty of peace and friendship. The author made him a present of a silken Moorish garment, and told him, that they came from the christian king of Portugal, who wished to enter into a treaty of commerce with their countrymen.

Battimanfa agreed, and received the embassy with much civility. A trade was afterwards established, and cotton, cotton yarn, civet, and other commodities (besides monkeys and baboons) were traded and bartered for, as also negro slaves and some gold; but the latter not in so large a quantity as Cada Mosto had expected.

Every day he saw his vessels crowded with people of different complexions and of various languages, the negros continuing to go up and down in their almeydas with men and women on board, from one place to another. The natives here, like those of other places already described, put great faith in sorcery. But there are some Mahometans among them, the Moors having insinuated themselves by trade, or gained footing by force, along most part of the coasts of Africa.

The natives of this country live nearly after the manner of those of Senega. Their clothing is of cotton; and the women, when they are young, make figures on their necks, breasts and arms, with the point of a hot needle. At a spring near the banks of a river, the sailors found a very large tree full of holes and hollow, the branches make a large shade. There were other trees larger than this, by which the richness of the soil is easily conceived; the country being watered by several streams.

The author says the country is full of elephants; but the inhabitants know not how to tame them, as in other countries. As they lay at anchor in the middle of the river, three elephants came out of the woods, and walked by the river-side: they put out their boat, and some hands to go to them, being at some distance; but on their approach, these animals returned into the woods.

These were all the author saw alive. Afterwards a negro gentleman, out of complaisance shewed him a young one dead, which this negro (who lived near the river's mouth) had killed after two days chase. These people hunt on foot in the woods, with bows and asaguays only, which are envenomed. Their method is to place themselves behind the trees, and sometimes mount to the tops, leaping from one to another, in the pursuit of the elephant; which being a large animal, is wounded in many places before it can turn about, without having power to make any resistance; though in an open field, no man durst attack one; or could escape, were he ever so swift. But he will never hurt any person unless provoked to it.

The gentleman made the author a present of what part of the dead elephant he liked best; and gave the remainder to the huntsmen to feast on. When Cada Mosto understood that this elephant was eaten by the negros, he had a piece of it cut off for roasting and boiling. Of this he ate, that he might say he had fed on the flesh of an animal, which none of his country had ever done; however, he could not relish it; for he found it hard and of no pleasant taste. He brought one of the legs, and part of the trunk, to the

the caraval, together with some of its hair, taken off the body, which was very black and thick, being a span and a half long. [This hair, with part of the flesh, salted on purpose, he on his return presented to the prince, who received it with great pleasure, as it was the first that came from this country, discovered by his own encouragement.]

It must be observed that the elephant's foot is round like that of a horse, but without hoofs, which are supplied by a hard, black, and very thick skin, beset with five nails on the forepart, which are round. The foot of this elephant, though young, was not so small but that the sole measured a span and an half every way.

In the Gambia, as well as all other rivers on this coast, besides the Calcatrici, and other animals, there is one called the River-horse, of the same nature almost with the sea-cow, which lives both in land and in the water. It is as large as a cow in the body, and has but short legs with cloven feet, and a large head like that of an horse, with two large teeth like the wild boar's tusks, some of which the author had seen above two spans in length. This animal getting out of the river, walks along the side like other four-footed beasts, and was never before discovered by any of the Christians that Cada Mosto could learn, except perhaps in the Nile. He also saw bats upwards of three spans long, and several other birds very different from those in our parts, both in taste and shape, but very good to eat.

Having left Battimansa's country, in a few days they got out of the river, having stocked themselves with a sufficiency of commodities, they agreed to continue their course along the coast; but as they found themselves too near the river Gambia, and the land ran a great way to the south-west, as far as to a point which they took for a cape, they kept to the west, in order to gain the sea, though the coast was very low, and full of trees. This being done, at last they perceived that it was not a cape, as they had supposed, the shore appearing strait on the other side of the point. However, they sailed at a distance, and kept good watch, as they discovered breakers upon it.

"Within three days afterwards, (says our author) they discovered the mouth of a river, which appeared to be about half a mile wide, and towards evening, saw a little gulph, which they took for the entrance of a river. But as it grew late, they came to an anchor, and sailing into the gulph the next morning, found a river not much smaller than that of Gambia, (or Gambia.) Casting anchor here, they agreed to arm two of their boats, and to send their interpreters on shore, in order to get intelligence relating to the situation of the country, and the disposition of its inhabitants. The interpreter returning, brought word that the river was called, The River Casamansa, taking its name from a negro chief who resided about

30 miles up the country. Having received this intelligence, they sailed from this river the next day. Its situation was about 25 leagues from Gambia. They afterwards came to a cape about seven leagues distant, which was somewhat higher than the rest of the coast. The front of it appeared to be red; for which reason it was denominated Cape Roxo: still proceeding, they arrived at the mouth of two other large rivers, one of which they called S. Anne's, and the other S. Dominick's.

The next day they came to another large river, which appeared to be a gulph, and they perceived several beautiful trees on the southern side of it. Having sailed across, they saw some islands in the sea, and came to an anchor, as usual, in order to get intelligence of the country. Two large almeydas came off to them, the day after they had anchored, and these rowed on board the ships. One of them was as large as a caraval, with about 30 hands in her, and the other had about 16. The Portuguese observing that they came on with great eagerness, took to their arms, not knowing what their designs might be; and being thus prepared, waited their arrival. However, as they drew near, they hoisted out something white, as a signal of peace, which the Portuguese answering, the negros came along-side. The largest of the two almeydas advanced towards Cada Mosto's vessel, and seemed struck with admiration as they contemplated its form, examining the main-sails, yards, and rigging, with the most minute attention. The interpreter, by order, asked them what place it was; but to the great mortification of the voyagers, as he could not understand a word of their language, no intelligence was to be gained. However, a few gold rings were bought here, the price of them being agreed upon by signals.

As our voyages found themselves in a country where their interpreters could not possibly be of any use to them, they had little encouragement to proceed. In this river, called Rio Grande (which De Faria says was discovered by Nunnez Tristam nine years before) they remained two days, and, during their stay there, experienced great contrariety in the tides and currents, which set in with such violence, that it was with difficulty they bore up against them, having often three anchors a-head; and sometimes they were forced to hoist their sails, the current exceeding the force of the wind by its impetuosity.

Leaving the mouth of this river, they directed their course towards two large islands, and some small ones, that lay about 30 miles distant from the continent. These two large islands were inhabited by negros: the country was low, but full of beautiful trees. But meeting with some difficulty as before in regard to language, Cada Mosto thought fit to quit them, and continue his course to Europe, where he arrived in safety, after a prosperous voyage.

VOYAGE OF THE SIEUR D'ELBEE, TO ARDRAH, ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

THE Portuguese, English and Dutch, had respectively visited the African coasts; the enterprising genius of the French would not suffer them to be idle. Guinea, the East and West Indies were objects of their attention; and they failed not to make voyages to those places with a view to establish settlements in them, as well as in the western hemisphere, where they envied the success of the Spaniards,

who under the auspices of Columbus, had added a new quarter to the globe.

The French West Indian company, established in 1664, finding the want it had of negro slaves, equipped two vessels at Havre de Grace, viz. The Justice, and the Concorde, each of 250 tons, and carrying 32 guns. The Sieur d'Elbee, commissioner of the marines, was named commodore of these ships, and

went on board the *Justice*, having with him the *Sieur du Bourg*, who was appointed commander of the intended fort and factory on the coast of *Ardrah*. Amongst the under factors who went on this expedition, was one *Carlof*, who knew the country by having resided there in the Dutch service, and was now entered into that of the French company. These vessels departing November 1, 1669, sailed along the coast of Africa, and having touched at *Cape Blanco*, and several other places, came to an anchor in the road of *Ardrah*, January the 4th, 1670.

The next day the *Sieur Carlof* landed, and went to *Offra*. He was informed at *Praya*, by the governor, that the Dutch being apprised of the company's design, used all methods to traverse and ruin the enterprize. This governor did not fail, according to his sovereign's orders, to dispatch a courier to *Ardrah*, to notify to the court the arrival of the French ships, and the *Sieur Carlof* sent off another with letters to *Offra*; he was most kindly received by the viceroy, and returned on board to give the *Sieur D'Elbee* an account of what he had learned by this journey. The Second of the Dutch factory came on board the *Justice* to compliment the commodore, and made him a present of fresh provisions. Both his compliment and present were received, and though the commodore was secretly convinced of his secret ill will, yet he was regaled, and sent back with presents, as if he had been a real friend. The *Sieur du Bourg* landed, and went to *Offra*, where the English factor provided him a lodging and provisions; for the natives were not allowed to furnish any, till, by the king's orders, the trade was opened. The viceroy, however, received him with great civility. Three days passed without any answer from court. This surprised the *Sieur Carlof* the more, as he had written a letter to the king, reminding his majesty of their ancient friendship, and that, in their youth, they had drank mouth to mouth, that is, out of the same glass; which, amongst these people, is a sort of pledge or token of perpetual friendship.

In the mean time the company's presents for the king were landed. Amongst these was a fine gilt coach, with a magnificent set of harnesses, which sort of carriage had been introduced by the Portuguese.

It is the custom of the court of *Ardrah* to make strangers wait a long time for an answer. The king, in consideration of his former friendship for the *Sieur Carlof*, was pleased to shorten the time. The deputy captain of his majesty arrived at *Offra*, July the 16th, ten days after the date of the letters. He waited on the *Sieur Carlof* (who was at the *Sieur du Bourg's* lodgings) in the king's name, and told him, that prince was overjoyed to find any of his friends alive, who were worthy to see him; that he should have that honour immediately; and that the king, to shew his remembrance of their former friendship, would not receive his presents before hand, as he did of other nations: he added, that the king was well disposed to favour the French, and grant them the same privileges enjoyed by other nations, and even greater, and that his majesty had commanded the prince his son, and the great captain, to repair as soon as possible to *Offra*, and conduct him to court. This news, which the French took care to publish, greatly mortified the Dutch. Two days after, the hereditary prince, and the great captain of trade, arrived together at *Offra*. The *Sieur du Bourg*, attended by the *Sieur Carlof*, went immediately to visit the prince. The meeting passed in mutual compliments, and, as it was late, no motion was made of business. Next day the prince, attended by the great captain, returned the visit; and after the first civilities, told him, that he was sent by the king his father to conduct him to *Assem*, (or *Great Ardrah*) but that first he would entertain and drink with him at the sea-side; from whence, returning to *Offra*, he would proceed to court. After this visit, the French had the liberty of buying from the natives what they wanted, not

only on shore, but for the vessels in the road, although they wanted little, having been plentifully supplied by the coast negroes in the night. January the 20th, the prince was carried to the sea-side, where a large tent had been erected for him. He was attended by the great captain of trade, the *Sieur du Bourg* and *Carlof*, the English factors, and the under clerks of the Dutch factory. He arrived at the shore about nine o'clock in the morning. As soon as he appeared, the *Sieur d'Elbee*, who was on board, saluted him with four discharges of twelve guns each, at small intervals, after which he went on shore. As soon as the boat came near land, the prince sent some of his retinue, who took him on their shoulders, and brought him on shore; others lifted up the boat with all the crew, and set it down twenty fathoms from the sea, with as much dexterity as strength. These negroes were all large and robust men, but quite naked, except a piece of cotton cloth round their waist.

After the *Sieur de Elbee* had advanced some paces, an officer desired him in Portuguese, to stop where he was; which he did, and all the people, who had crowded to see him, retired, out of respect, so that he remained alone with his attendants at the negro officer's. Soon after, they perceived a company of negroes approach, who carried crooked sticks, in the shape of an S, at the end of which were fixed little banners, which they shouted with, playing a thousand tricks of dexterity. After these, came the drummers, their drums being painted and taper at each end. They beat well, and made an agreeable cadence. They were followed by others, who bore the instruments of polished iron, like small bells, on which they made music with rods jingling in concert with the drums; next came a large troop of comedians, or players, some dancing, others singing, and shewed several antic postures; some telling diverting stories, and amongst them some had brass and ivory trumpets of different sizes, whose sounds kept time with the other music. All these composed the prince's band of music, and always attend him, when he appears in state. They passed in good order by the *Sieur d'Elbee*, entertaining him with their best trumpets. The officers of the prince's household appeared next, at some distance at the head of his guards, who marched with their musquets on their shoulders, and had by their sides sabres with gilt handles. These were followed by the great equerry, or master of the horse, who walked single, richly dressed, his hat on his head, and bearing on his shoulders the prince's sabre, as the sword of state is carried before the doge of Genoa. The prince came next, having borne over his head a large umbrella. He walked slowly, leaning on two of his officers; the great captain (or general) of horse marched at his right side, and the great captain of trade on his left. He was followed by several of the nobles, or *grandees*, and the procession closed with above 10,000 negroes.

When the prince approached within ten paces of the *Sieur d'Elbee*, he stopped, and then the officers, who attended the latter, told him it was time to advance. He did so, saluting with a low bow, in the French fashion, the prince, who presented him his hand, and *d'Elbee* gave his to the prince, who squeezed it gently, looking at him steadfastly, without speaking. *D'Elbee* was silent a moment, to express his respect, and then made him his compliment in Portuguese, which the prince, out of state, had interpreted, though he both understood and spoke the Portuguese well. He made use of the same interpreter, to tell the *Sieur D'Elbee* for answer, that he was glad to see him; that he would employ all his credit with the king, his father, in his favour; and that he thanked him for his obliging offers. After this, he took him by the hand, and made him walk by his side beneath the umbrella. He would see the boat which brought him on shore: he examined it with attention, and taking the flag which it had, caused it to be set up before his tent, where was drawn up a company of

musqueteers, whose pieces were in good order, and they had all fabres and pouches.

The Sieur D'Elbee and the prince conversed and dined together, after the manner of the country, and the latter on his coming out, caused several handfuls of bujis to be distributed to the people, from whom he received loud acclamations. After this, trade was open, and the French had full liberty to deal with the king's subjects.

The prince appeared to be about thirty or thirty-five. He had on but two pagnes or robes, both of which trained on the ground; one was of satin, the other of taffyte, with a broad taffyte scarf tied like a belt. The rest of his body was naked. He had on a hat with red and white feathers, and red pumps on his feet.—At the Sieur D'Elbee's taking leave in the evening, the prince shewed him new civilities, promising him his protection to the French nation on all occasions, and would even see him to his boat: which a number of stout negros took on their shoulders and carried into the sea, beyond the large waves. The commodore saluted the prince with many huzzas, and his ship with four salvos of twelve guns each.

In the mean time the prince placed himself in his hammock, which was carried by two lusty negros. The Sieurs du Bourg and Carlof also got into theirs; and like him had umbrellas carried over their heads. The prince set out thus, attended by his guards, his music, and a great crowd of people. It was late before they reached Offra.

The next day, January the 21st, the prince attended by the two grand captains, paid a visit to Du Bourg, and invited him to accompany him to Assem, ordering hammocks to be given him and Carlof. They set out on the 24th, and as they travelled in the prince's company, had the advantage of seeing the country by day, which is a privilege denied to all strangers. The prince gave them a grand entertainment at Great Foro, a large village, which lies half way between Offra and Assem; and as they set out late, it was night when they arrived at the capital. They were conducted to an apartment in the king's palace, designed for the French, where the king sent them their supper.

Mean time D'Elbee landed the merchandize, which was carried from the shore to Offra by negros. These had twenty bujis for the journey: a small rate for portage, but proportioned to their burdens, which never exceeded two bars of iron, or a weight equivalent, which they call Tonge. The bar of iron here, is nine foot long, two inches broad, and one fourth thick. From Offra to Assem they transported the king's presents, and the goods designed to trade with the grandees.

The Sieur Du Bourg had his first audience of the king, on the 27th of January, in which he appeared under the character of ambassador, from Louis the 14th and in that quality was introduced by the prince, the priest, and two great captains of trade and horse. The king made him sit down on a bed of cotton, placed near his armed chair. Du Bourg paid his compliments in Portuguese, which, though the king understood and spoke perfectly well, yet he had his address explained by his two interpreters, Matteo and Francisco, who kneeled at his feet. The office of interpreter here is very considerable, but the least mistake or falsification is as much as his life is worth.

The king having given an obliging answer to the Sieur Du Bourg's compliments, the latter presented his majesty the coach and other presents sent him by the company, after which, he intreated his permission to build a lodge or factory at Offra; engaging that four ships should be sent regularly every year to trade in his dominions. The king replied, With respect to trade, the Dutch sent more ships annually than he could load, that the last year some had been forced to go away without their cargoes, that there were then actually six on the coast, and four at Mina, that only waited advice from their factory to

come; so that he neither wanted ships nor merchandise: that the Dutch had made him very considerable offers to contract an alliance with him, in order to have an exclusive right to trade in his dominions; and that he had the greatest reason to comply with them, as the English seemed to neglect his commerce, and the French, who had formerly traded with him, and kept their words no better, which was a fault he could not accuse the Dutch with. His majesty added, notwithstanding all this, the great things he had heard of the king of France, and of the care one of his ministers shewed to extend commerce, raised in him a fondness to merit the esteem of so great a prince, by treating his subjects well: for which end he had given orders to his great captain for trade, to build a factory at Offra, to protect their commerce, and give them all the encouragement in his power. After this, the boxes of the richest goods were brought, of which the king had his choice, and the Sieur Du Bourg left the price to his majesty. This compliment produced a good effect, and gave him an high esteem for the French. Du Bourg falling sick here, left the direction of the trade to Carlof, who immediately raised the price of slaves to eighteen bars a head, which before never exceeded twelve. This was a piece of policy designed to ruin the Dutch trade, who chose rather to keep their goods in their hands, than not get as much by them as they had done before.

The Sieur Carlof sent presents to the queen-mother and the queen, after which, he traded for about 300 slaves, which he bought from the prince, the priest, and the great captains. These slaves he sent on board his ships. The deputy captain of trade also conducted seventy-five, which the king paid for the goods he had taken.

Proclamation was made through the country, on the 8th of February, of the liberty of trade for slaves granted by the king to the company. As this trade was settled at Offra, the king's receivers fixed the duty there, the same as at Assem, slaves bought from the king paid no duty.

By the 1st of March, the Justice having her cargo compleated, was ready to sail, but waited for her comfort.—In order to forward matters, the Sieur D'Elbee took a second journey to court, attended by the Sieur Carlof, with his domestics. They arrived before day at Assem. During the time of the Sieur D'Elbee's stay, he visited the town and the adjacent parts, attended by two of the king's officers. On his arrival, he was carried to the French apartment in the palace, where the king immediately sent him all sorts of refreshments: as meat, boiled and roast, bread of different kinds, as well as liquors. The prince, the grand priest, and other grandees did the same, so that he had provisions enough for 200 people. As soon as it was day, he was visited by all the grandees; but the prince sent to excuse himself from seeing him, on account of the death of one of his children. He was confined and saw nobody, which with them is a mark of extreme grief.

The king was in one of his gardens, seated in a damask arm-chair beneath a gallery, when D'Elbee was admitted to an audience. This prince called Tozifon, appeared to be about seventy, tall and big in proportion; his eyes large and lively, and in his countenance there was an appearance of penetration and judgment. He was dressed in two pagnes like under petticoats, in the Persian mode, one over the other; the undermost was taffyte, the other of a pricked satin; a broad taffyte scarf served him for a belt or girdle; the rest of his body was naked. He wore on his head a sort of night-cap of fine linen edged with lace, and over it a crown of wood, black and shining like ebony, of a fragrant smell. In his hand he held a small whip, the handle of which was of black wood, and loaded with ornaments, the cord or whip being of silk or pete.

After the usual compliments the Sieur D'Elbee intreated the king would allow the French to build a factory in their own way, the one being built too little

little, and otherwise incommodious; and that he would give his orders for the safety of the directors and factors at Offra. The king replied, He took those officers under his protection, and would take particular care they should be safe, and have no cause of complaint; that he would issue his immediate orders; that the debts due by his subjects to the company should be discharged in twenty-four hours; with regard to the factory at Offra, he would give direction to the prince and the two great captains to go in person there and augment the buildings; but that he could not allow them to build a factory in their manner, "You will (says the king) make a house, in which you will at first put two little pieces of cannon; the next year you will mount four; and in a little time your factory will be changed into a fort, that will make you masters of my dominions, and enable you to give laws to me." He accompanied these arguments with so many apt and witty similes, and such an air of good humour and pleasantry, that *Sieur d'Elbee* could not be displeased at so obliging and polite a refusal. The king added, that he wondered the kingdom of France being so large and full of able workmen, the company should load their vessel with common merchandise, like those brought by the English and Dutch. *D'Elbee* answered, That this first voyage being only to try the trade, the Company had judged it proper to send only such sorts of goods as the English and Dutch did; but that for the future they would supply his majesty with whatever was rare and curious; desiring he would be so good as to name such things as would be agreeable to him. The king named a French silver-hilted sword and cutlafs, large looking-glasses the finest linen, and laced shoes and slippers of velvet and scarlet cloth, scented gloves, silk stockings, and some other things, which the commodore promised to bring or send him by the first vessels that should sail after his return to France. After this conversation, the *Sieur D'Elbee* made his majesty a present of a fowling-piece, and a pair of pistols mounted with silver. The king received this present very agreeably, inviting him to go and see the prince his eldest son, saying, that on his account the prince would receive his visit, though at such a time of mourning. After this, he took the *Sieur D'Elbee* by the hand, and dismissed him with such marks of his favour as he had never shewn to any European before.

The king is so revered by his subjects, that except his son and the chief priests, nobody must appear before him, but with his face prostrate to the ground, not ever daring to look up: only when obliged to answer, they raise their heads a little, but lay them down again as soon as they have done speaking, as was done by the two great captains of trade and horse at this audience. Only the prince and the chief priest are exempted from this submission. These speak to the king standing, and have the privilege of entering the palace at all hours, day or night, without being sent for.

The *Sieur d'Elbee* having, by the king's favour, been taken to the palace and gardens, visited all the apartments except that of the women, where nobody is permitted to enter. He received the *Sieur d'Elbee* with a great deal of politeness; and on his account dispensed with the ceremony, which admits no person of distinction to see company during the time of mourning. The hall where he gave audience was large, and covered with a Turkey carpet. The prince was seated on a mat. He caused others to be brought for the *Sieur d'Elbee* and his two officers. After an hour's conversation, in which he assured the French nation of his protection and friendship. He called for liquors, and drank mouth to mouth with the *Sieur d'Elbee*, causing some to be presented to the others; after which he rose up. The *Sieur d'Elbee* took his leave and returned to the town the same way he came, alighting at the house of the chief priest, who had invited him to supper,

and they had an entertainment which was heightened by music, which began about the middle of the repast. Voices, like those of little children, were heard, as coming from a great distance; accompanied with the tinkling of little bells. The French commander observed with great attention. The great priest, who spoke Portuguese perfectly well, asked him what he thought of these voices? He replied, They are little children, who sing well and keep good time to their instruments. "They are my wives," says the priest; "who give you this little diversion: it is not the custom here to shew our wives to any: but to convince you of the esteem I have for the French, I will give you that satisfaction if you please." *D'Elbee* returned him thanks; and when supper was over, the priest conducted him up to a high gallery, which had a window looking into the hall where they supped. These women were there, to the number of between seventy and eighty. They had only petticoats or sacques, of taffyte, which covered them from the waist downwards, leaving the upper part naked. Some of them had taffyte girdles. They sat on mats at the end and sides of the gallery, pretty close to each other, and one by one. The arrival of the pontiff and strangers seemed to give them neither emotion nor curiosity. They continued their singing and music, striking with little rods on their bells of iron and metal, which were cylindrical and of different sizes.

There was a figure about the bigness of a child of four years old, and all white, at the corner of this gallery. *D'Elbee* asking what image it was, the priest told him it was the devil's: "But the devil is not white, says *d'Elbee*." In making him black, answered the priest, you commit a mistake; for I can assure you he is very white, having seen him and spoken with him several times. It is six months since he informed me of the design you had formed in France to open trade there. You are obliged to him, added he; since, pursuant to this advice, we have neglected the other Europeans, that you might sooner have your cargo of slaves." *D'Elbee* believed what he thought proper, but would not dispute the point with the priest.

This great priest was about forty; tall, well made, and of an agreeable aspect. He wore the same dress with the king's principal officers; that is two large pagnes of silk stuff in brocades, one over the other; a large scarf like a belt: cotton drawers, pretty long sandals, or a kind of pumps of red Spanish leather; a cap or European hat, a large hanger with a gilt handle fastened at his girdle, and a cane in his hand. This he quits when he enters the king's apartments, whose prime minister he is, not only as to what regards religion, but in affairs of state. He is the only officer who has a right to enter the king's apartment by day, and to speak to him face to face without prostration. He shewed the *Sieur d'Elbee* all the civilities imaginable, waiting on him to the gate of the palace, which he would not re-enter till he had seen him in his hammock. The same night, he was carried back to Offra, with the same escorte which had attended him to Assém.

The dominions of Ardrah are not considerable towards the sea, since the kingdoms of Whidah and Pape have been dismembered from it. Their extent along the coast is not above twenty-five leagues, but they run a great way in-land, as their bounds east and west are the rivers Volta and Benin, which are 100 leagues asunder. Its extent to the north and north-east is yet greater: however, they say it can raise but 40 or 50,000 men, which is a small number to 200,000, which the king of Whidah can assemble: but it must be considered, that the troops of the king of Ardrah are not militia, like those of Whidah, but regular troops, constantly kept up, who only wanted fire-arms and good officers to be able to recover the revolted provinces, and other countries the king of Ardrah has a title to.

The people can neither read nor write. They use small cords tied: the knots of which, have their signification. These are also used by several savage nations in America. The grandes however, who all understand the Portuguese language, both read and write it well: but they have no characters of their own.

All men of rank here wear two petticoats of taffeta, or other silk. They have also silk scarves in the form of a shoulder-belt. They usually go bare-headed and footed, though they wear caps or hats, and sandals or buskins of leather, except in the king's palace. The common people are covered from the waist to the knees with a piece of serge, which makes two foldings, and the ends cross over the navel. The labourers and poorer sort have only a bit of cotton cloth or mat, which cover their nudities, and the rest is all naked.

The women of rank have petticoats and scarfs like the men, but as they seldom stir abroad, they have generally nothing on their head or feet. The poor women wear short pagnes.—They have a strange custom here. If a married woman prostitutes herself to a slave, and the master of the slave is a greater man than the master of the woman, the woman becomes his slave; but, if on the contrary the woman's husband be of greater dignity, the adulterer becomes his slave.

All the officers of the king's household take the title of captain, joined to the name of his office. Thus the master of the household is called Captain of the Table; the purveyor, Captain of the victuals; the cup-bearer, Captain of the Wine, &c. No person sees the king eat; and when he drinks, an officer makes a signal with two iron rods, that all those present may prostrate themselves on the ground. It is death even to see him drink, though inadvertently. The officer who presents the cup turns his back, and gives it in that posture. They say this is done to prevent any charms or sorcery at that time. A young child, a great favourite of the king's, having fallen asleep by him, and awaking at the noise of the rods, had the misfortune to look at the king while he was drinking; the priest ordered the infant to be killed on the spot, and some drops of his blood sprinkled on the king's cloaths and body, to prevent any ill consequences.

The king is always served on the knee; and the same respect is paid the dishes, either carried to or from his table, those who stand in the officers way being obliged to prostrate themselves as they pass. It is such a crime even to look at the king's victuals, that the offender is punished with death, and his family made slaves. Though the king has a great number of wives, yet but one has the title of Queen, who is she that bears him the first son. Her authority over the rest, whom she treats rather as her servants than companions, is so great, that she sometimes sells them as slaves, without consulting the king, who is forced to pass by the matter. An affair of this kind happened while the *Sieur d'Elbee* traded here. The queen having been refused some goods or jewels she had an inclination for, ordered them up privately, and in exchange sent eight of his wives to the factory, who were immediately stamped with the company's mark, and sent on board. These poor princesses had sunk under so severe a stroke, if the *Sieur d'Elbee* had not shewn them some distinction, by treating them in a kind manner, so he carried them in good health to Martinico.

As to their religion, it is a confused heap of superstition, hardly worth that name. Their notion of a Supreme Being, are extremely confused and obscure: they have no temple, nor any form of worship: they offer neither prayers nor sacrifices. They are only concerned about what relates to this life, having no idea of a future state.

The king's Fetishes, as well as those of the state, are certain large, black birds, like crows in Europe. The palace-gardens are full of these, who are well

fed, but by no means so respected as the serpents are at Whidah. They only imagine, that if one of them should be killed, some great misfortune would happen to the state. Private persons have their particular Fetishes, some a mountain, others a tree; some a stone, a piece of wood, or such like inanimate bodies.

There is but one ceremony in all the state, the design and reasons of which are not well known. The great priests has a house in each town, where he sends the wives of free people by turns, to learn certain exercises, which might be supposed of a religious kind, if there was any religion in the country. Here they stay five or six months, and are instructed by old women, who teach them a sort of dance and song; they make them enter by companies, day and night, into a hall destined for this purpose, and after fixing on their arms and feet slight irons and pieces of copper to make a noise, they oblige them to dance and sing with all their force. The dance consists in stamping with their feet, and a violent agitation of their body, which is very fatiguing and difficult to support. This they accompany with singing, intermixed with cries, which sound like howlings in time and measure. They pursue this extravagant exercise, till they drop down with faintness, when their old mistresses substitute in their place, a new band of scholars, who continue the diversion, to the great disturbance of those who live near such roaring seminaries. The *Sieur d'Elbee* had this misfortune, and could get no rest night nor day, till he removed. He found at Assen, some Christian negros, who came to beg chaplets of him, and seemed desirous of hearing mass, but he had not brought his chaplain with him. It is probable these negros had been baptised by the Portuguese during their settlement in Ardrah, for there were none of that nation here then.

The trade of Adrah is chiefly in provisions and slaves, the king has his choice of all goods either for payment of his duties or for the slaves he sells. As to his people, there is a regulated tariff for trade, the price of goods and slaves being settled, so that differences seldom arise, and when they do, the king presently adjusts them.

The Justice having completed her cargo, the *Sieur d'Elbee* sailed, leaving the *Concorde* behind. She wanted her full complement, and set sail March 13th, for S. Thomas, to get more provisions for so long a voyage as that to Martinico.

After the *Sieur d'Elbee's* departure, the Dutch growing envious of the French trade, and two vessels of the nation arriving, the new-comers attempted to take down the French flag at Praya, which occasioned a tumult: and the king being informed of the matter, forbade any flag to be set up by the people of either country, at the same time he engaged to send one *Matteo Lopez*, his interpreter, in quality of an ambassador to the king of France, and he accordingly fulfilled his promise.

The caraval set sail afterwards with near 600 slaves, having on board the ambassador and a present for the king, and arrived at Martinico on the 13th of September, they were well received by M. Baos, governor of the island, and by the *Sieur Pelisieur*, director general of the company. As winter approached, cloaths were made for *Matteo Lopez* and his family after the French fashion, and they were furnished with all the necessaries for the voyage. Thus provided, they embarked on the 27th of September, 1670, on board a ship of one of the company's ships, but being delayed by contrary winds, did not reach France till the 3d of December, when they anchored in the road of Dieppe, after a passage of sixty-four days from Martinico.—

As soon as all things were got in readiness, the ambassador went to court, whither he was invited by the king, who received him in state. Being introduced to the royal presence, he began his compliment by raising his head a little, and speaking in Portuguese, told Louis XIV. that the king of Ardrah, his master, having

having learned the wonders reported of his majesty, he sent to assure him how much he desired to gain his favour; by offering himself and his kingdom at his service. Louis made him rise, and observing the ambassador, who was in confusion, held a paper in his hand, asked what it was? The *Sieur d'Elbee*, who officiated as interpreter, replied, That the ambassador, fearing that the awe of his majesty's presence might disorder the speech he designed, had wrote it the day before, and bid him translate it into French, that it might be read if he thought proper. The king consented, commanding *d'Elbee* to read it aloud. It was as follows:

"Sire,

"THE king of Ardrah and Alghemi, my sovereign, has nominated me his ambassador to your majesty, to offer you all that his kingdoms can afford, and his protection for all the ships you shall please to send thence, assuring you, that his dominions, ports, and trade, are entirely at your devotion, and open to all your subjects.

"To convince your majesty farther of his sincere desire of maintaining the friendship he intreats of your majesty, he has charged me to declare, that, for the future, the gentlemen of the company settled at Offra, shall pay no more than 24 slaves custom, instead of 80 they pay at present, which is less than the Portuguese formerly paid, or than the Spaniards, Danes, Swedes, and English pay, on account of the Dutch, who have long traded with them; but he has ordered me to assure your majesty of his protecting your subjects against the Dutch, and to keep his word exactly on that head. He also engages, the French ships in this port, shall, on all occasions, be preferred to the Dutch, and loaded before the latter begin.

"He has also directed me to inform your majesty when on occasion of a dispute between your subjects at Ardrah and the Dutch; in relation to the flag, the king judging the distinction due to so great a prince, placed the factor, your subject, on the right hand, and lodged him in his palace, the Dutch factor having only the left hand, and being lodged with the prince his son. On this account he desires to know from your majesty the honours you would have paid to your flag, that he may order them to be paid it throughout all his dominions.

"Amongst other things, the king intreats of your majesty, that you will send two religious men to instruct some of his subjects, who have a little knowledge of Christianity, which they eagerly desire to cultivate. He also has commanded me to present your majesty my two sons here before you, and beseech you to accept them favourably, which I shall esteem as the greatest happiness can befall me, by the advantages they must receive in serving so great a prince: likewise to join with them two hangers, two assaguays, a vest and carpet. He earnestly intreats your majesty to accept of these, and to believe, that if his country produced any thing more curious, or that he thought could be more agreeable to your majesty, he would send it with great pleasure, as he desires nothing more than to persuade your majesty, that his determinations are yours, as entirely as your own."

This speech the king heard attentively, and was pleased in answer, to tell the ambassador, That he was much obliged to the king of Ardrah, his master, for his compliments, as well as for sending him for his ambassador, whose person was very agreeable to him; that he accepted the offer he made him of his two sons, who should stay with him while he resided at Paris, after which he would take care of them himself; and that as to what related to trade, his majesty referred him to the company. And thus ended the royal audience.

The next day the *Sieur de Berliese* came at two o'clock in the afternoon, and introduced him to the queen, who received him in state. He and his four sons prostrated themselves before her majesty, were graciously entertained; and, as is customary on such

occasions, were attended to and from their coaches by a crowd of people.

In the next place the ambassador was conducted to the old Louvre, to the apartment of the Dauphin, where he was received by the duke of Montaucier, who introduced him to the prince. He observed the same ceremonies as he had done to the king and queen. He made the prince a compliment, in which he took notice of the happiness of the duke of Montaucier, in being chosen to educate the first prince in the world. He told the Dauphin, that the great prince of Ardrah had charged him to assure him of his respect, and to desire his favour and friendship, which he would do all he could to merit. After this he presented the Dauphin some arms, sent him by the prince. The Dauphin having answered these compliments in a graceful manner, the ambassador retired, and was reconducted as the day before. He next visited the king's ministers, and the chief lords of the court; he also in return received a great number of visits, and all the civilities that could be paid. The king's comedians entertained him with their performances, which much delighted him. He often assisted in divine service, in the principal churches, and shewed a very edifying attention.

He had also an audience of *M. de Lionne*, secretary of state for foreign affairs, and told him in Portuguese, that as he had come from the king his master to offer the king of France his services and dominions, he thought it his duty to beg that he would contribute his best offices to promote the good correspondence between the two princes, which commerce he was about to establish, and he hoped this the rather, as he was assured of his particular merit, and the zeal he had for the honour of the king his sovereign. *M. de Lionne* replied in Spanish, that he would use his interest and care in any thing that related to the interest and service of the king of Ardrah, and wished to remain in the good harmony he mentioned. After this he asked him, what ports there were in his master's dominions, if his kingdom was large, and if he had often wars with his neighbours? The ambassador replied, That the states of the king his master were of no great extent along the coast, but ran so far in land, that they were a fortnight's journey to pass; that neither on the coast of Ardrah, nor in all Guinea, were any ports or harbours, but only roads where ships might find good anchorage; and as tempests were rare on the coast, ships suffered no great inconvenience from that defect; except the violent surf the sea made on the shore; that the king his master had powerful neighbours, with whom he was often at war, and on these occasions marched an numerous army, composed of horse and foot, well armed, and very well disciplined.

The ambassador, taking leave of *M. de Lionne*, who reconducted him to his coach, was carried to the hotel of the company, where, alighting, he was received by the directors in a body, and conducted to the hall, where they assembled. Being desirous to hear what they had to propose in relation to trade, and answer their demands as far as their instructions would allow, one of the directors, in the name of the rest, made the following proposals:

First, That the company's ships, trading to Ardrah, should have the preference to all other nations.

Secondly, That they should pay but 24 slaves for duties instead of 80, paid by the Dutch vessels; and that this duty should be reduced for the French to the old footing, as in the time of the Portuguese.

Thirdly, That the king of Ardrah should oblige those of his subjects who were the company's debtors, to make speedy satisfaction.

Fourthly, That their factors should not be obliged to trust any lord or grandee, if they thought him not in condition to pay.

Fifthly, That leave should be granted to cover their magazines and factory with tiles instead of straw, which expose all their goods to fire.

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Sixthly,

Sixthly, That the king should be pleased to take the company, its factors and effects under his immediate protection.

On granting these articles, the company engaged to keep its warehouse constantly stocked with goods, so that there should be always merchandise to the value of 500 slaves in reserve, over and above the common call, which should serve as security in the king's hands; likewise to send ships yearly, to supply the trade, and to trade with no other prince.

The ambassador having attentively heard these proposals, readily agreed that all should be granted without restriction, excepting the first and fifth. With regard to the first, he said, That if the company would deal for slaves, only with the king his master, he could assure them, they should always have the preference, and their ships be loaded before those of any other nation in the road. As to the fifth, he promised to use his best offices with the king to obtain it: but not being sure of his master's intentions, he could not give his word for the success.

All the rest of the ambassador's stay at Paris, was employed in paying or receiving visits, and he was every where treated with all the kindness he could wish, several persons of quality made him presents.

He had his audience of leave with the same ceremonies as at first, and was by this time so well accustomed to the French manners, that he appeared neither constrained in his actions nor discourse, which greatly pleased the king, queen and dauphin. He left Paris about the middle of January, 1671, to go to Havre-de-Grace, where two ships waited for him. By the king's orders, his charges were defrayed, and all honours imaginable paid him on the road. When the king of France's presents for his master, and for himself were brought him, he beheld them with amazement, so much was he surprised at their number, value and beauty, he said, "There is but one monarch in the world. All things must yield to the king of France; my master will never believe what I

tell him, he will even doubt what he shall see."

From this embassy of Matteo Lopez, the company, had it lasted, might have gained great advantages, but it was suppressed in a few years after; and the islands and all its concessions re-united to the crown. The Senega company, which succeeded in the trade to Guinea, neglected this settlement, having its particular reasons for fixing at Whidah. Thus the French fulfilled the general remark of setting out well, but seldom continuing in the same course.

It appears that as to the presents above mentioned, they were committed to the care of Carlot; and Lopez arriving in the road of Ardrah on the 1st of October, 1671, pretended they ought to be put in his hands, that he might deliver them. This, Carlot would not consent to, suspecting he would convert some part to his own use, as it afterwards appeared he had intended. His refusal so incensed the black ambassador, that he employed all his interest in the country against the French, and much distracted their affairs. This at length, obliged Carlot to take other measures, till he could speak with the king of Ardrah who was then busy appeasing a civil war in his own dominions, which stopped all the passages for carrying down slaves to Offra; so that scarcely 200 had arrived there in fifteen months; a thing so prejudicial to the Dutch trade, that five of their ships were sent back empty to Mina. Carlot having before driven some trade at Great Popo, settled there a factory of his nation, by permission of the king, upon condition he would pay the value of twenty-eight slaves for each ship's cargo the French afterwards took in there: whereas he had contracted to pay 100 at Offra. Going from Popo to Whidah, the king of that country gave him a very favourable reception, with assurance that he would always protect the French nation and interest. On which, removing the factory from Ardrah, he fixed it at Whidah, keeping the king his master's presents to be sent back to France. And thus the matter ended.

VOYAGE OF THE SIEUR BRUE, TO BISSAO AND BISSAGOS.

IT was in the year, 1697, that the Sieur de Brue, a French adventurer, who sailed from France on a voyage of trade and discovery to the western parts of Africa. He touched at several places, which as we have already described, we shall not here trouble the reader with all the particular incidents attendant on his voyage to those parts. Let it suffice to say, that he sailed from Fort St. Louis up the River Senega, and coming to the residence of the prince of the country, found that it abounded in gold, ivory, gum and other valuable commodities; the whole traffic for which, the Moors endeavoured to ingross. Here he found the people called Fulips, of whom he reports many wonderful things, in which like many other travellers he appears willing to magnify facts. He also visited the kingdom of Galam, which lies to the east of that of the Fulips, as also Bantam; and made enquiries concerning the country of Tombuta, which was supposed to abound in gold, but seems to have met with little success in regard to this particular: and the French, according to his account, were quite successful in the termination of their disputes with the English African company, which ended in favour of the former nation.

One of the most remarkable occurrences in the Sieur du Brue's voyages, was an expedition to the Isles of Bissao and Bissagos. The French had traded to the former of these places before the above scheme

was projected: nevertheless a flourishing commerce, which they bade fair to establish there, had so far decreased, that when our voyager arrived at Senega, he could not find one servant of the company that had been at Bissao.

The first design that had been formed, was that of settling at a place called the Isle of Bourbon; but, found, on examination, that it was too small for their purpose. Therefore dropping their original design, they resolved to settle a colony at Bulam. Soon after, the Sieur Cartaing was dispatched to Bissao, where he opened an advantageous trade with the natives, and was countenanced by the king himself. However, the sickness of his people, and the exactions of the Portuguese governor, forced this gentleman to return in September, 1699. This misadventure occasioned the Sieur Brue to resolve on going in person, to a place where he imagined much good might be done to the commerce of his nation.

Accordingly he set sail from Albrade, where he then was, on the 21st of February, 1701, in the company's ship the Princess, attended by the Eleanor de Rois, as also the sloops Mignon and Irondelle, the Syren bomb ketch, the St. George brigantine, and the bark Christina. About eleven o'clock, this fleet was near the Isle de Chiens (or Dogs) and in the morning of the 22d, came near the Point Bayna. They sailed in the morning, with the tide at ebb, and continued their

their course till the 28th, when the *Eleanor* made a signal at day-break that she saw a sail. The commander immediately chased the strange ship, which bore away south-south-west, in order to gain the channel between the isles of Caségut and Carache. In the mean time, the *Sieur De la Rue*, trusting to a Dutch pilot, had his ship run a-ground upon the sands, but so gently that the shock was scarcely to be perceived, the chase being on ground likewise, the boats were immediately manned in order to board her, but she struck without resistance. She proved to be a Dane, commanded by *Louis Bateman*, who was a native of Dieppe, but had settled at one of the Virginia isles. Having secured the prize, all means were taken to get the *Princess* a-float, which desirable end was accomplished on the 4th of March, and they afterwards came to an anchor under Point Bernafel, in the Isle of Bissao, about six leagues to the westward of the Portuguese fort.

The same night they discovered lights at sea, from whence they concluded that they were strange vessels upon the coast. The next morning, they saw two ships at anchor to windward of the fleet. The commander hoisted sail, resolving to examine them, and soon after perceived that they were Dutch. Upon this, the *Princess* shewing her colours, bore up with the largest, and fired a gun to bring her to, but as she was prepared to fight, poured above eighty shot into her, which had great effect. At the same time, the *Eleanor* gave chase to the other vessel, the crew of which, at first made a vigorous resistance, but, in the end, were obliged to run their vessel on shore, and betook themselves to their boat for safety. The negroes breaking loose took the opportunity of plundering, and the French boats did not arrive time enough to prevent the confusion.—Nor was this all; those on the island observing that the vessel was left dry, made an attack on the French with their arrows, but were repulsed with loss, and she was got off the next tide.

They anchored with their prizes, on the 5th of March at the Portuguese fort of Bissao, and though by the display of their colours, the Portuguese governor could not mistake them, yet a gun loaded with ball, was fired at them. This so much incensed the *Sieur De la Rue*, that he would certainly have battered the fort, had not the commander interposed.

He sent the sloop *Mignon*, commanded by *Mr. Le Cerf*, to anchor in a creek, and resolved, if she should be fired upon, to make a descent and attack the place. Accordingly the sloop anchored so close to the fort, that the governor *Don Rodrigo de Oliveres de Alfonso* hailed her, to know whence she came, and ordered the captain to come on shore. He landed accordingly, and was conducted to this commander, who understanding they were French, asked if the *Sieur Cartaing* was on board. The other replied, That he would be there soon, but did not mention that he was on board, which was really the case. The governor then said, That if he should appear there, he must return quicker than he came, as no French settlement would be permitted on the isle, nor should any of the natives land there. And the conference being ended, he ordered the captain to go on board, and weigh anchor immediately.

M. Le Cerf returning, related all that had passed to the *Sieur Brue*, who the next morning, sent *Cartaing* on shore in a boat well manned, with orders to compliment the governor in his name, and also to complain of the circumstance of firing a gun at them loaded with ball. He went accordingly, and found the governor in a calmer humour than before, and willing to make excuses for the accident which, he said, had happened; but he still insisted, that permission could not be granted for the French to settle at Bissao, as it was within the limits of the Portuguese African company, and he had the king of Portugal's express orders to suffer no foreigners to settle here. He sent his alferé, or ensign, to the *Sieur Brue* that evening, with a message to the same effect, and with great offers of his services.

The *Sieur Brue* answered, that he was surprised the governor, who had resided so long in this country, should forget that the French had always traded to Bissao, even before the Portuguese had a fort here: that he ought to make a distinction between the French Senega-company and interlopers; since this company claimed, by a charter, a right to trade along the coast from Cape Blanco to Sierra Leona, exclusive of other nations, as he might see by the prizes the fleet had just taken: that the governor's best way, was to live in good intelligence with the company, and carry on his trade, without molesting theirs, which could no way prejudice him or his master.

As the commander foresaw, that the Portuguese governor would use all his influence with the king of Bissao, to obstruct the settlement, he sent *De la Rue* and *Cartaing*, the same day, to desire an immediate audience of that prince. The king received these gentlemen civilly, and promised in a day or two to come to Bissao town, and deliberate with his grandees and chief men about the settlement the general proposed. On the ninth of March, the king coming early in the morning to his palace, or house near the shore, gave notice of it to the *Sieur Brue*, who immediately, went in procession to wait on him, the march began with two trumpets, and two hautboys. The *Sieur de Seganzac*, captain, followed with his half pike in his hand, at the head of 25 soldiers well armed, with two serjeants and two drums. Next came the factors of the company, two and two, before the *Sieur Brue*, who walked between two captains of his squadron; the other officers followed with some servants in livery; and a body of sailors, with their cutlasses, closed the march. The commander was saluted by all the cannon of the fleet on his going into the boat, and this discharge was repeated on his landing. In this order he advanced to a large tree between the Portuguese fort, and the convent of *St. Francis*, where he found the king seated on a neat chair, dressed in a green mohair doublet, trimmed with silver frogs, at the breast and sleeves. A fine cotton cloth served him for breeches. He had on his head a red cloth cap, like a sugar loaf, with a double row of hemp-cord round the bottom. This last is the mark of the absolute power which he has of making slaves. Four of his wives sat at his feet, and all his grandees stood round, but at some distance. Behind these were three tall negroes, who played on an instrument, resembling the German Flûte. There were some elbow chairs placed opposite to the king. The *Sieur Brue* being come near hand, the king arose, and they saluted each other by several times shaking hands: the king repeating each time, with a smiling air, you are welcome. The king and general being seated, the former made a sign to the French officers to sit near him, and the *Sieur Brue* began his compliment, which was explained by the company's chief interpreter, who was kneeling between the king and *Sieur Brue*. The substance was, That the great reputation of his majesty's justice and equity, together with the fame of his victories obtained over his enemies, having spread through Europe as well as Africa, the company who had been likewise informed of his kindness to strangers, and care to make his people rich and flourishing by encouraging trade, and had from time immemorial traded to his dominions, were desirous of establishing a factory, and building the necessary store-houses and magazines for that end, in hopes that his majesty would give his consent, and grant them his protection.

The king answered civilly, That he thanked him for this visit, and wished to maintain a good correspondence with the French; but that with regard to the settlement, the commander requested, he could determine nothing till he had first consulted his gods, and in presence of the Portuguese governor, whom he immediately sent for, attended by his alferé, or ensign, with six negroes fusileers. He called at the Church to pay his devotions, and soon after joined the company at the tree. The *Sieur Brue* took the opportunity

nity of this short interval, to shew the king the great advantages of opening a trade, and particularly with the company. The king and his grandees seemed to listen to this discourse with pleasure; and when the governor arrived, he saluted the *Sieur Brue* complaisantly, and paid his reverence to the king; who received him familiarly without rising, but bade him sit down. After a moment's silence, he said to the governor, with a severe tone, "You told me the French were come hither to build a storehouse and a fort. Is this true, or is it your own invention?" He made answer, That it was not likely the French would build a factory, without fortifying it in such a manner as to secure their effects: that the king of Portugal, his master, would never suffer this; and that it was contrary to the treaties made with his majesty and his predecessors. The *Sieur Brue* replied to this, That what he requested was no new favour, but only a renewal of the ancient alliance between the two nations: that the unjust pretensions of the Portuguese, had forced the *Sieur Cartaing* to retire the preceding year; that the company had no intention to build a fort, or warehouse of stone, but were satisfied to trust their effects to the king's protection; and that it was the king alone, who was master of his own isle, and had the power to do what he pleased, without consulting other people. This answer seemed to please that prince, who told the Portuguese governor, with a stern air, he wondered how he could pretend to prescribe laws to him in his own dominions; that he hoped to shew that he was master, and would be controuled by none; and that if any presumed to dispute his commands, he knew what to do. With these words he took the *Sieur Brue* by the hand, bidding him follow him. He advanced at the same time with his wives and chief men, preceded by three flutes, to the sea-side. There he stopped beneath a great tree, which the natives regard as a kind of deity, as it holds the images of their gods. The court made a large circle round it, while the king and his wives approached nearer to it. A priest of these idols, dressed in a parti-coloured jacket, like a harlequin, and hung with little bells, presented the king the half of a large calabash full of palm-wine. The king holding it up with the palm of his right-hand, his wives joined theirs to support it. All the grandees, who had room to touch it, did the same; and such as had not, supported the elbows of those who did. When the king addressing himself to the divinities that were placed in the niches of the tree, repeated *M. Brue's* request, and asked their advice what he should answer, *M. Brue* was in no great pain about the oracle. He had taken care to send a favourable answer by the presents secretly given to the priest, the king's wives, and the chief grandees. The king having sprinkled the tree with part of the wine, and poured out the rest at the foot of it, commanded an ox to be brought, which the priest sacrificed, by cutting his throat; and receiving the blood in the same calabash, he again presented it to the king, who sprinkled it on the tree with the same ceremonies: then having dipped one of his fingers in it, he came near *M. Brue*, and touched his hand, which, with these people, is an oath of perpetual alliance.

This ceremony being over, the king took the commander by the hand, and reconducted him to the former place of audience; where, being all seated again, and the music ceased as before, a profound silence ensued for some minutes: After which, the king addressed the *Sieur Brue* thus: "You are welcome: you have liberty to settle a factory and warehouses where you please. I make a perpetual alliance with you and your nation: I take you under my care and protection; and till your houses are built, I will lend you mine." When the king had done speaking, his wives, his grandees, and all the spectators gave a loud shout, which was answered by a salute of the commander's small arms, and the cannon of the squadron.

The *Sieur Brue* rose, and having thanked the king

for his goodness and favour, caused the presents to be laid before him sent by the company. These consisted of fine calicoes, liquors, coral, burning-glasses, Telescopes, and crystals, several fine pair of pistols, with a silver-hilted sword, in an embroidered belt, which the king immediately put on. The king's wives had also their separate presents, consisting of trinkets, and all the people were treated with brandy, which occasioned new acclamations of joy. The king, at parting, gave his hand several times to the commander, and sent his flutes, with several of his grandees and guards, to conduct him to his boat. The Portuguese governor, who had withdrawn on hearing the oracle, waited for him by the way, and made him a cold compliment on the advantage he had gained, with many offers of his service. The *Sieur Brue* answered, That the best way was for the French and Portuguese to live amicably together, till the difference should be decided by their superiors in Europe, which the other promised to do.

At the governor's earnest intreaty, *Sieur Brue* dined with him at the fort, where he was saluted with 13 guns. One of these being loaded with ball, and levelled too low, broke off the stones in the port-hole, which wounded the king's son in the thigh, and a nobleman in the arm. Though this misfortune was quite accidental, the negroes ascribed it to design, and conceived that the Portuguese had done it out of spite for what happened. They made great out-cries, ran to arms, and began to assemble from all parts. *M. Brue* sent the *Sieur Cartaing* immediately to acquaint the king of the truth, and to beg he would give orders to stop the tumult. The king heard reason, and by his authority stopped the disorder. After dinner, the *Sieur Brue* accompanied the governor to the convent of the Cordeliers, where they were handsomely entertained, and from thence returned on board.

This fort was but inconsiderable, being only a large square, walled with three small bastions, the fourth, having never been begun) but neither ditches, covered way, nor palisadoes. The curtains were so low, and in so bad a condition, that it was easy to walk over them. It had 20 guns, mounted like field-pieces, and 20 fusils, besides those of the garrison, which was, or ought to have consisted of fifteen or hired blacks. Only the governor and his lieutenant were whites; the serjeant being an old black Creolian of St. Jago.

The *Sieur Brue* set all his men to work the next morning, hiring negroes to cut the wood he wanted; and instead of straw, covered the roofs of the warehouse, and the director's lodge, with tiles he brought as ballast to his ships. He built the walls of a large closet with bricks, which he over laid with clay, and white-washed it, to prevent the negroes suspicion of any design. He inspected the work so diligently, that in a month's time, the factory was in a condition not only to receive goods and officers, but also to defend itself if attacked; for he caused loop-holes to be made all round the houses, placing them so as to defend each other; and, under the idea of providing water for the labourers, and remedying any accident by fire, he formed a ditch round the factory, six feet broad and as many deep, with a double thorned hedge on the outside, which prevented all access. He took care to ply the negro workmen well with liquor, that they might make no discoveries; all the loop-holes were closed on the outside with clay, and white-washed like the rest.

Afterwards the commander visited the emperor of Bissaos at his country-house, about a quarter of a league from the Portuguese fort. This place consisted of a number of cottages, like a little village, inclosed with a straw fence, so well wrought, that at a distance it seemed a wall. At the gate were about 20 or 30 soldiers, armed with sabres, bows and arrows; within was a labyrinth of banana-trees, with near cottages interspersed here and there for the king's wives and children, his domestics and slaves. In the centre was a court or area, with an orange-tree in the middle,

middle, so high, that its branches covered all the court. The king was set under this tree, with about a dozen of his wives and children. He was in dishabille, having only a pagne round his waist, with his high-crowned hat, and his diadem, or wreath of hempen-cord. The princesses his daughters had their hair clipped pretty close, and cut out in flowers of different shapes. The king, after ordering wooden chairs, like that he sat on, for the commander and his officers, spoke in good Portuguese, which the *Sieur Brue* understood. He presented the company with palm-wine, in which he drank the commander's health. After this, pipes were brought, and the conversation lasted three hours.

The island of Bissao is between 35 and 40 leagues in circumference. The prospect of it is agreeable; the land rising insensibly, from the sea to the centre of the isle. This may be discovered from the tops of the mountains, or rather hills, between which lie valleys; where the water collecting, form rivulets and small rivers, which discharge themselves into the sea, after fertilizing the country. The whole island is cultivated, and interspersed with groves of palm-trees, which afford an agreeable shade from the heat. Here are also very large orange trees, and near the coasts several other sorts, especially man-groves. The inhabitants in general, plant near their cottages bananas, guavas, citrons, and other trees. The soil is deep and rich, producing rice in abundance, and maïse of both kinds, which grows very large. They have also plenty of a small grain resembling maïse, which is very white, and easily reduced to flour: this they eat with melted butter or grease, and call it *Fonde*. They make neither bread nor kuskus of their maïse, as they do at the Senega, but eat it roasted. Some of them indeed, less indolent, make a sort of bread of it called *Batango*, which is a flat cake, a finger thick, baked on an earthen griddle, as they do the *Cassava* bread in America. This bread creates an appetite, especially when eaten fresh with butter. Rice comes here to perfection, and they dress it well either with fowls or butter. The commodore ate some dressed by the king's wives and daughters that was exceedingly agreeable.

The oxen and cows here are very large and fat, and bear a good price; but milk and palm-wine are plentiful and cheap, as well as bananas, guavas, and other fruits. Banana-trees are in such plenty, that one part of the island takes its name from them. — The Portuguese, who have planted manioc here, make good flour of it, as they do in Brasil. The negroes are not fond of it, perhaps on account of the trouble in preparing it, some of them notwithstanding cultivate it.

Their cows serve them instead of horses, travelling well, as they have a natural pace: a cord passed through a hole made through their nostrils, serves for a bridle, and guides them with a great deal of ease.

The inhabitants live in cottages dispersed all over the island; for, excepting a sort of village that the Portuguese have round their parish church and convent, which were both small, there is nothing like a town in the whole island. This latter and its chapel discovers a great deal of poverty, but are neat enough. The Parish church which stands between the fort and convent, is built by the sea-side, just like the Portuguese houses, that is, of earth, white-washed, and covered with straw. It has two or three little bells, but the revenues are too small to support secular priests. The parishioners consisted of about one hundred and fifty negro men and women, who call themselves Portuguese, though they are quite of a black complexion. The isle of Bissao is very populous, and would be much more so, if it were not for the frequent incursions made by the *Biafaras*, *Balantes*, and *Bissagots* negroes, who often infest the coast; with this difference, that of the prisoners the *Biafaras* take, they sell half to the whites, and sacrifice the remainder to their god *China*, by way of thanksgiving.

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The isle of Bissao, and part of the adjacent isles and coasts, are inhabited by the papal negroes, especially to the southward of *Cachoa*. They are on ill terms with the Portuguese, from whom, however, they have borrowed many customs. Their women have only a cotton pagne or wrapper about their middle, with bracelets of beads or coral. The girls go stark naked. Those of quality have their bodies marked with flowers and figures in an agreeable regular manner, so that their skin appears like a piece of regular wrought tatin. The daughters of the emperor of Bissao, were marked so, without any other dress, but strings of coral, and a small cotton apron. The dress of their chief men differs little from that of the common sort, being only a goat-skin passed between their legs, and tucked up behind. They carry in their hands a naked sabre, and two large iron rings; these, instead of stones, have a large plate of the same metal, which serves instead of castanets. One of these they wear on the thumb, and the other on the middle finger, and by striking them together, converse without being understood by those who have not the method. These negroes are excellent boatmen, and reckoned the best rowers on the coast. They make use of pagales, or small wooden shovels, for oars, and in rowing, make a sort of music with a chorus or burthen to it, which is not unharmonious.

The Papal negroes who inhabit Bissao, have a language peculiar to the people of that denomination, as well as their particular customs. Trade has contributed to civilize them much. They are idolaters, but their religion is confused; and not easy to know in what it consists. Their principal idol is a small figure they call *China*, of which they can give no account. It is not their only one, each taking some deity according to his fancy. Consecrated trees they regard either as gods, or the abode of gods. To these they sacrifice dogs, cocks, and oxen, which they offer them, after killing them, and sprinkling the blood partly at the foot or round the tree, and on the branches. They cut the victims in pieces, the king, grandees, and people, each taking their part. The deity has only the horns, which are fastened to the tree, till they rot or drop off.

It does not appear that there ever have been any civil wars at Bissao, which is a mark of the people's submission to the prince; the people however are at continual war with their neighbours, whom they invade, as often as they think it for their advantage; such as the *Biafaras*, *Bissagots*, *Balantes*, and *Nalus*, who surround them on all sides, either on the continent or adjacent isles. All these people are brave in their way, and fight desperately when pushed. They know not what it is to make a settled peace, nor have they any great correspondence with each other. The Europeans are far from desiring to act as peace-makers amongst them, which would be contrary to their interest, since the greater the wars are, the more slaves; to the shame of human nature!

When the emperor of Bissao judges proper to invade his enemies, he sounds his bonbalon, and immediately the officers of his troops repair, with their soldiers armed, to the place directed. There they find the king's canoes of war, of which he has a fleet of about 30. They put 20 men in each canoe, the commander of which is responsible to the king for his charge; and, if he should lose his canoe, runs the risque of his life. The king seldom ventures his person in these expeditions, but he always consults his images before he undertakes them, and makes a great sacrifice, of whose flesh none partake but himself, his priests, and his army.

As these wooden gods are generally in the king's interest, the answer is usually favourable. They embark then full of hope, and order matters so as to reach the enemies country by night. They land without noise, and if they find any lone cottages without defence, they immediately set them on fire; and carry off all the inhabitants and effects to their boats, and

then embark. If the villages prove strong, they are not fond of attacking them, but rather plant themselves in ambuscade, on the ways to some river or spring, and endeavour to surprise or carry off the natives. On the least advantage of this kind gained, they return in as great triumph, as if they had obtained a compleat victory. The king has for his duties, and the use of his fleet, the half of the booty; the rest is divided among the captors. All the slaves in general are sold to the Europeans, unless they are persons of some rank, whose friends can redeem them, paying two slaves, or five or six oxen. The adventurers never fail to make a parade through the isle, shewing their wounds, and carrying their prisoners along with them. They do not use them ill like the Iroquois, and other people of North-America, but load them with reproaches, praising the victors to the skies, and presenting them with pagnes, and other things, which they sell for palm-wine to get drunk. They call this ovation; but if, on the contrary, they have, on these expeditions, met any considerable loss or misfortune, the prisoners run a great risque of being sacrificed, especially if the relations of the persons killed be of rank, or are rich. Those who are killed on these occasions, are honoured in their funeral obsequies by songs and dances to the sound of their drums. The women, who are the chief actresses on these occasions, express their despair and grief in a manner capable of inspiring those passions in all who behold them, they tear their hair and flesh, and shriek like furies. When they are tired of this, they give them palm-wine in plenty; this affords them fresh spirits to recommence the scene, and supplies them with new tears, which continue flowing till the body is interred.

The emperor of Bissao is very despotic. He has a singular method of making himself rich at his subjects expence. This is to accept the donation a negro makes him of his neighbour's house; of which the king takes possession without farther ceremony, and the proprietor must either ransom it, or build a new one. Indeed he has it in his power to revenge himself by serving his neighbours in the same manner, but in this case the king loses nothing, having two houses instead of one.

"When the king of Bissao dies, his favourite wives, and a number of slaves are killed, and buried near the place of his interment, to serve him in the other world. After this, the body of the deceased king is put into a coffin made of reeds, carried by four grandees to the place of sepulture. When they arrive there, they throw up the coffin in the air, and let it fall on the great men, who are prostrated round it, and he whom it falls upon, is acknowledged king: they however confine their election to some relation of the royal family. Formerly they had a custom of sacrificing or burning slaves alive, to accompany their chiefs into the other world: but this custom seems to be almost abolished; the last king having only one buried with him, and the present emperor seems very much bent on intirely destroying it. One of his nobles being old and near his end, had chosen three young girls to be buried with him; but at his death, the king sold them, and gave the money they brought to his heirs.

The emperor has an instrument of light wood, before-mentioned, called a Bonbalon, made like a sea-trumpet, but larger, and twice as long. It has no cord; they strike on it with a hammer of hard wood, and say the sound will reach four leagues. The king has several of these along the sea-coasts, and up the country, with a guard to each; and when the king's bonbalon strikes, they represent the same number of strokes in the same tone, and so transmit his orders through the isle, which are known by the manner of conveying them. All who disobey are sold for slaves, which severe punishment keeps them in awe; and the king turns their disobedience to his own emolument.

While the factory was building at Bissao, the Sieur

Brue resolved to visit the isle of Bulam, where he had once an intention of settling a colony, which was found impracticable, on account of the bigness of the isle. For this end he set out with two boats, manned with Goree Lapots, and some Papel negros, who had been through these channels in their expeditions. He took also some pilots, whom he intended to leave behind him to examine the coasts, in order to extend the company's trade. They sailed out between the isle des Sorcieres, or of Witches, and Bourbon Isle; steering south, in order to make the east point of the isle, called by the Portuguese Formosa, or the Beautiful. Its appearance is answerable to the name, being covered with large trees, except the shores, which are low and full of mangroves. The soil appears level and rich, but the country is not inhabited, having no fresh water.

The commander had a great inclination to land and examine it, but was obliged to defer it. It is about two leagues long and one broad. They compute the distance from the south-east point of Formosa, five leagues.

In doubling the point of Formosa, one enters the arm of the great river which separates the peninsula of the Biafaras from the isle of Bulam. The entry of this channel is a league broad; the shores are about on which the sea breaks with more or less violence in proportion to the tides. As the Sieur Brue's design was to examine those passages, he founded as he went on, and found, that between the west point of the peninsula of Biafara, and the east point of Formosa, there was from two and three, to seven fathoms water, and it was necessary to keep the mid channel, in order to avoid the banks, which contract it considerably, till one reaches the north-east point of the isle of Bulam. In sounding here, his two boats ran aground opposite to each other: the channel between, and the ebb being so quick, that they were left dry, and obliged to keep a good guard, and wait the return of the flood to carry them off.

The Biafara negros are very alert at prey; and when they see any vessels or boats on shore, seldom fail to attack them. On these occasions, they fasten to their feet barks of trees two feet long, and seven or eight inches broad, which hinder their sinking in the ooze, as the Canada savages do, to prevent their sinking in the snow. Though the boats were too well manned to fear such enemies, the crew continued under arms, till the return of the tide enabled them to pursue their voyage.

In doubling the north-east point of Bulam, there is a creek or bay about three leagues broad and the same depth, in the midst of which is three or four fathoms water. The banks are covered with mangroves. It is a good retreat for small vessels in bad weather. From hence to the south-east point, the coast is safe, and the anchorage good all along, for large vessels: but it is necessary to be well acquainted with the tides, and the conveniences and inconveniences they bring. This the Sieur Brue experienced, for he had scarcely weathered the east point, when the tide, which carried him there, turned against him, and seemed a tide of ebb. He immediately put in for shore; and following the example of a Bissagots canoe, which had moored to the trees, he fastened his boat in the like manner. In this place they passed the night, notwithstanding their tents were much wetted; and suffered greatly by a violent storm which followed, attended with rain, thunder and lightning; besides irregular currents, which were so rapid, that they dreaded being driven from their anchors, and left on the coast, for there was no venturing to sea, the night being so dark, nor could they distinguish the nearest object, but by the lightning. At day-break the storm ceased. The Bissagots, who had spent the night on shore, in great pain for their canoe, having observed the boats, approached them. The commander made signs of friendship, and spoke to them by his interpreters. On this, three came on board, whom he treated kindly, making them drink, and giving them

them small presents, which soon brought the rest, to the number of 15. The *Sieur Brue* having informed them of his design of going through the isle; and hunting by the way, they readily offered themselves as guides. He took six or seven of them, leaving the rest with his boat, under pretence of assisting his men, but in reality as hostages for their countrymen's behaviour. They left the place where they had passed the night, and doubling the eastern point of *Bulam*, found a great river about a league broad, and of a sufficient depth for the largest vessels. Here they saw plainly the cause of the contrary tides and currents they had met with.

The channel or river between the island of *Bulam*, and the peninsula of the *Biafaras*, make a part of *Rio Grande*, which separates into two branches at the south-east point of *Bulam*. Hence it is, that the tide entering by two openings, the flood in the south channel runs strongly to the east, forcing that flowing in by the north channel (which is narrower and shallower than the other) to turn back on itself, and causes these rapid, uncertain currents which obliges vessels to cast anchor, that they may lose by the reflux, what they have gained by the flood.

The boats being moored along with the *Bissagots* canoe, the *Sieur Brue* landed with 18 whites, 12 armed *Laptots*, together with seven of the *Bissagots*; leaving an officer, with the rest of his men, to guard the boats, and have an eye on the *Bissagots* canoe, and the eight men left in it. When they had marched an hundred yards, and had gotten clear of the woods, which surrounded the coasts, they found a pleasant country, that seemed to have been inhabited, and is still yearly cultivated by three or four hundred *Bissagots*, who came here to make their plantations of maize, rice, and other pulse, and return home when their harvest is finished. The land is pleasant, rising insensibly for two leagues from the shore to the foot of some hills, which seem as the basis of some larger mountains in the centre of the isles.

These mountains are neither steep nor bare, but are all covered with large trees. Their sides are very improveable, and the frequent valleys between them are watered by rivulets of good water, which the *Bissagots* assured the commander, were never dry, even in the hot season.

The soil is fat, deep, and rich, as appears by the large trees it produces. It abounds with palm-trees of all sorts. There are also green oaks, both strait and crooked, very fit for building ships or houses; as also pear-trees of the same kind with those in the isles of America. This isle of *Bulam* formerly belonged to the *Biafaras*, but the *Bissagots* their enemies, liking the situation, had made so cruel a war upon them, that, after carrying off numbers of them into slavery, the rest thought fit to retire to the continent. The conquerors however, have not thought fit to take possession of their acquisition, but resort hither yearly, to the number of three or four hundred, during the months of February, March, April and May, to make their plantations, and after harvest return home. If any are found here at other times, as happened now, they are only adventurers, who are come to infect the *Biafara* coast, or hunters who come here to kill elephants; one of these animals being a good prize to the negros, who, besides the profit of his teeth, feast heartily on the carcase. It is this destruction prevents these creatures from multiplying here as otherwise they would do, there being no lions or beasts of prey to molest them.

“Here are also on this isle, birds of all kinds, both such as breed here, and birds of passage. The adjacent seas are full of fish. Tortoises, and shell-fish of various sorts are plenty; so that a man must be lazy if he cannot live well here.

The *Sieur Brue* spent four days in making the circuit of the isle, and examining it. He returned weary to his boat, but very well satisfied with his journey, and confirmed in his opinion of the project he had proposed to the company of establishing a colony here

like that of the *Isle das Vaccas*, or of *Cows*, on the coast of *Hispaniola*. By his best computation this isle of *Bulam* is eight or ten leagues long from east to west; five broad from north to south, and 25 or 30 leagues in circumference. Having surveyed it by land, he thought proper to sail round it, in order thoroughly to know the bays, rocks, ports, and soundings of the coast. He set out with his two boats, well provided with fresh victuals, boiled or dried, taking the same course he did in coming. He tried the soundings, and could find no passage between *Bulam* and *Formosa*. It is one continued bank on which the sea beats violently, if there is the least wind. The *Sieur Brue* sent through it the *Bissagots* canoe with two pilots, and kept in their place four *Bissagots*. Though it was high water, the canoe stuck in several places, and the negros were forced to get into the water, to draw it through the rocks, or a hard kind of shoal. The canoe rejoined the commander's boats at the west point of *Formosa*, where they waited for it, having had a quicker passage.

These rocks continue to run from point to point, forming a semi-circle to the north-west point of *Bulam*. They found, within two cables length of these shoals, from eight to ten fathoms water. Pursuing their course between the isle of *Bulam*, and that of the *Bissagots*, which the Portuguese call the *Isle das Galinas*, or of *Hens*, from the plenty of poultry there. Here is a channel a league broad, which looks like a straight street of five leagues long, lying south-east and north-west, and has all through it from 12 to 26 fathoms water. Between the banks and shoals, which begin at the *Isle of Hens*, and continue to a desert isle, lying to the east south-east, of *Cas nabac* (another of the *Bissagots* isles) there is at two cables distance, four or five fathoms water.

The shoals on the isle of *Bulam*, begin two leagues from the north-west point. This space forms the west road; as commodious and safe for anchorage, as that to the east. The banks or shoals appear again, and form a right angle, two leagues distant from the point of the isle, with a line winding back, which terminates at the south south-east point. Between this point and the rocks, and that of *Tombali* on the main, inhabited by the *Nalus* negros, lies the largest branch of *Rio Grande*, which was every where from 20 to 30 fathoms water. The *Sieur Brue* entered this branch between the point of *Nalus* and that of the three fountains. In this place it is two leagues broad; and after running a large sweep to the south, it takes a turn, and runs north-east, till it is divided in two branches by the isle of *Bisaghe*.

All this country, on both sides of *Rio Grande*, is well peopled. In the night the French commander heard their drums beating on each quarter, whether out of diversion, as is usual, or that they suspected his boats, and did it to shew they were on their guard. The banks of *Rio Grande* are covered with large trees, which induced the Portuguese to come hither and build their vessels. Amongst these there is a tree called *Misleri*, of which they make planks, which, besides their being easy to work, are free from the worms, not only on this coast, where they are so pernicious to ships, but in different parts of Europe, Africa and America, whither they have been carried. The unctuous sap, which this wood abounds with, and is extremely bitter, is what, in all appearance, secures it from these worms. The trees do not grow very tall, seldom above 20 or 22 feet high; but they are very large in the trunk.

The banks of the rivulets here, and the marshy grounds, produce certain trees of a middle size, resembling in wood and leaves the American mahot, the bark of which serves for hemp to caulk the ships. Instead of pitch, which they often want, they use palm-oil, mixed with quick lime, and boiled to such a consistence as necessary. With respect to cables, the country furnishes certain reeds or bamboos, which grow in the marshy grounds; these they cut, and leave to steep in water, after which, beating them, to separate

the groffer part, they weave them into good ropes. All they want here is proper wood and masting; the misheri being too short, and the mangrove and palm too heavy. All the other trees are too brittle, so that they are forced to use the palm, and to prevent the ill effects of its heaviness, they are obliged to have no top-masts.

[It is strange, as the country so easily produces coconut-trees, that they make no use of the husks to make ropes and tow, as they do in the East Indies.]

Having passed the isle of Bissaghe, which is perhaps the country whence the Bissagots take their name, when they had proceeded about a league, he found a small river on the left, in which entering, after a league's sailing, he reached Ghinhala, inhabited by Portuguese, who have been settled here, from father to son, for a long time. Here he found a small English vessel, belonging to Sierra Leona, commanded by one Glick, who was owner and captain. He was of the Romish persuasion, and had married a rich negro woman there, with whom he got, besides money, a large isle in the river of Sierra Leona.

The village is situated on the right side of the river of the same name; which also gives its name to the kingdom, sometimes called the kingdom of the Biafaras. This kingdom is considerable by the number of its Portuguese inhabitants, white, black, tawny, and mulattos, who all seem to live at their ease, and have tolerable houses: their antichamber, where they receive their visits, being pretty well furnished. No strangers see beyond this, in a country where the men are as jealous of their mistresses as their wives, and generally keep both under the same roof; except in this article, they are very civil and complaisant.—The *Sieur Brue* employed two days in returning these visits, and inquiring into the state of trade here. The third day early, he set out, attended by twenty of his men, well armed, and several Portuguese, who waited on him out of respect, and went a league to see the king of Ghinhala, or Biafaras. This prince being known by both titles.

The king, informed of his approach, waited his coming, beneath a tree before his tapada, or inclosure. He had round his waist a black pagne, with a black under coat, in the Portuguese fashion, a cloak of the same colour, black pumps, without stockings, and a great black hat on his head, so that he was all over black, except his teeth, and the whites of his eyes.

He received the *Sieur Brue's* compliments civilly, as well as his presents, and touching his hand several times, assured him, the French should be welcome to his dominions; that he would protect them, and trade with them preferably to the other nations; that he gave them liberty to settle where they would, and erect warehouses and inclosures as they pleased. And the *Sieur Brue* mentioning his desire to make a settlement at Bulam, which he knew belonged to the king, his majesty said nothing could be more agreeable to him than to see the Bissagots, his enemies, driven from that island; that he would make the French a present of it with all his heart, and if it was too little, he would give them lands near the Three Fountains, sufficient for their settlements. After seeing the *Sieur Brue's* presents, he expressed his gratitude, sent for palm-wine, drank to the commander, and obliged him to pledge him. The king took such pleasure in the *Sieur Brue's* conversation, that he seemed uneasy he would not stay a few days with him at his court, where he regaled him after the country way.

After the repast, the *Sieur Brue* visited the villages, which is large, and the country round is delightful, on account of the banana, and other trees, which surround the houses, with inclosures of thorn and green reeds. The village is situated on the bank of a middling river, which comes from the east, and falls into that of Curbali. The soil here is rich, and well cultivated, and in other hands, might be greatly improved. There is a good trade for wax, silver, and

ivory, and a great number of elephants, which, notwithstanding, the continual persecution of the negroes, multiply exceedingly.

In the evening, the *Sieur Brue* returned to Ghinhala, and rested there the next day; the day after he went six leagues up the place, where the conveniency of wood has induced several European traders to build vessels. There was then on the stocks a square-sterned vessel, of about 100 tons, as there is nothing wanting here but masting. Most of the villages along the river are inhabited by Portuguese, sometimes intermixed with negroes, from whose huts their houses are easily distinguished by their shape and bigness. The trade here, besides wax, slaves and ivory, produces large dried hides, cotton, some ostrich feathers, gum of different kinds, and gold, which comes from the inland to the south and east, but from whence is not yet known.

The French commander returned to Bissao, after making the necessary observations for a settlement advantageous to the company. Here he found his buildings in good forwardness, and while they were finishing, sailed in the *Corvettes*, to visit the isle of Bissagots.

“The isles of Bissagots (says the author) are 13 or 14 in number, the most considerable and frequented of which are Casnabac, Ilhas das Gallinas, Caségut, Carache, Aranghena, Pasagaya, or the Island of Parots, Formosa, Babachoca, Basaghe, Waranghe, and some others less known, because not frequented.—Each of these isles is governed by a chief called a King, or who has at least the authority belonging to that title. These chiefs are independant of each other, and frequently at war, but they unite in making war on the Biafaras on the continent, whom they have driven from the isle of Bulam, as has been observed. They have canoes large enough to carry 25 or 30 men, with provisions and their arms, which are sabres and arrows.

“The negroes of these isles are large, strong and robust, though their ordinary food is but shell-fish, palm-oil, and palm-nuts, called Chevaux, chusing rather to sell to the Europeans their maize, rice, and other pulse. They are pagans, and very cruel to their enemies. They cut off the heads of those they kill in war, and after carrying them up and down in triumph, they skin them, drying the scalps and hair, with which they adorn their houses, as a mark of their victories.

“They are passionate lovers of brandy; whenever a ship brings any, they strive who shall be the first, and stick at nothing to get it. The weaker becomes a prey to the stronger. They forget the laws of nature; the father sells his children, and if they can seize their parents, they serve them in the same manner. Every thing goes for brandy.

“Formosa is the easternmost of these isles, but desert and uninhabited. The isles das Gallinas and Casnabac, lying at the head of the banks and shoals, which surrounds this cluster of isles, are fertile, well peopled, and have plenty of water. The shores abound with all sorts of fish, and if the natives were a little more industrious in cultivating their lands, they might be great gainers; for all these isles in general are good soil, and capable of maintaining large colonies.

The isle of Caségut is one of the most considerable. It is surrounded with banks and shoals, except at the two points, lying north east, and south west, where ships may ride in safety. It is reckoned ten or twelve leagues from the point of Bernafal, in the isle of Bissao, to the north-east point of Caségut, and but five to St. Martin. The natives of Caségut are, without dispute, the most civilised of all these islanders, which is owing to trade.—

When the fly-boat was moored, the *Sieur Brue* hoisted his flag, and fired a gun; soon after, three men appeared on the shore, and made a signal to come on board. The boat went and brought them off. One of these was a chief of the isle, and a near relation of the king, accompanied with two of his

kinsmen. He had only a pagne round his waist, and a hat. His hair was greased with palm-oil, which made it quite red. He saluted the French commander civilly, pulling off his hat, and taking him by the hand, by the interpreter, welcomed him to the island, and inquired after the *Sieur de la Fonde*, who had been his particular friend.

While the commander was treating his friend with brandy, a canoe approached with five negros, one of whom came on deck, holding a cock in his left hand, and a knife in his right; after kneeling a minute before the *Sieur Brue*, without speaking, he rose, and turning to the east, cut the cock's throat, and placing himself on his knees, let some drops of blood fall on the *Sieur Brue's* feet; he did the same to the mast and pump of the ship, and returning to the commander, presented him with the cock. That gentleman ordering him a bumper of brandy, asked him the reason of this ceremony. He replied, That the people of his country looked on the whites as the gods of the sea; that the mast was a divinity, that made the ship walk, and the pump was a miracle, since it could make water rise up, whose natural property was to descend.

The *Sieur Brue*, after regaling the negro grandee, and making him a present, sent him on shore. Next day he returned his visit, and was met on his landing by this lord, who conducted him to his habitation, about 300 paces from the shore, built in the Portuguese way, well white-washed, with an open portico before it, surrounded with lofty palm-trees, and furnished with neat wooden chairs and stools. After some conversation, and a regale of palm-wine, he walked to a building about 50 paces from his house, which the commander, to his great surprise, found to be a chapel, with an altar, benches, and a bell of about thirty pounds weight, fastened to a tree near the door. He caused it to be rung, and told the *Sieur Brue*, he built that chapel for the use of such Christians as should come thither; adding, that though he was no Christian, he loved them, and that if any priest would come and live with him, he should want for nothing. After this, they went together to the king, who resided about a mile from thence, and received the commander graciously. He was a venerable old man of about seventy, his beard curled, and almost white, his eyes and mouth handsome, and his air majestic. He had only a pagne about his waist, and a hat on his head, with which he saluted the commander, taking him by the hand, and repeating several times, You are welcome and offered him free liberty to settle on his island. The *Sieur Brue* made him a present of some curiosities, and two ankers of brandy. The king tasted it, and found it much beyond the Portuguese rum, which is often adulterated with water. The king's house was not so commodious as that of his kinsman, but it had chairs and tables. He kept, however, the company to dinner, and treated them with fowls boiled in rice, venison, beef, and mutton, tolerably well dressed. His palm-wine was excellent; and the commander's brandy was not spared; after which the king fell to smoking, and made the *Sieur Brue* smoke in the same pipe, the tube of which was near five feet long, and the bowl big enough to hold a quarter of a pound of tobacco. It was adorned with several rings and ornaments of pewter. The king presented the *Sieur Brue* with two cocks, which, amongst the negros, is the highest mark of distinction and respect, the cock being a bird consecrated to their deities.

The isle of Caségut is near three times as long as it is broad. The land is rich and good, and, as far as the *Sieur Brue* saw, well cultivated. It abounds with polon-trees, lataniers, palm and orange trees, as well as maïse, rice, pompions, pease, and other kinds of pulse. There were near the king's houses forty or fifty negros armed with sabres and arrows, whom the *Sieur Brue* judged to be his guard. Caségut, Carache, Casnabac, and las Gallinas, are the only Bislagot islands, where foreigners may trade se-

curely. At the others, it is necessary to be on the guard, and not venture on shore, and the Portuguese have experienced this, even in trafficking with them on board. Strangers cannot be too cautious, especially in the night. Above all it is requisite to keep a strict guard, and anchor so, that the vessels are not left dry at the tide of ebb.

"If the natives of these isles have slaves to sell, or other goods, they bring them in canoes; and it is then proper to have the crew under arms on deck, and the guns pointed, and to suffer them to enter only one at a time. Notwithstanding these hazards, there are usually three or four hundred slaves bought here every year, from fifteen to twenty bars a head, and the trade, if rightly managed, is very improveable. The goods proper for the isles are, yellow amber, baïse, cloth, serges, red and yellow; brandy in large quantities, brass and copper bells, and fowling-pieces, and yellow worsted, cotton cloths or pagnes; pewter plates, brass basons, linen of different sorts, with some few glass beads, red and black.

"In 1687, the *Sieur de la Fonde*, who traded here, was plundered of some goods by the natives. While he meditated revenge, there put in here a French man of war, called the *Lion*, commanded by the *Sieur de Montifier*; he proposed to this captain to pillage the isle, for which end they landed 200 men, without resistance. The king, called *Dukermenay*, who found himself surrounded in his houses, chose to burn himself rather than surrender. The inhabitants fled to the woods and mountains; so that of two or three thousand natives, the French could take but ten or twelve. This unlucky enterprise made the *Sieur de la Fonde* afraid of losing all trade with these people; but he found means to manage matters, so as to persuade them he had no hand in it, but that it was done by pirates.

"The natives, especially those of fashion, rub their skin with palm-oil, which makes them quite red. The women and girls have nothing about their waists but a thick kind of fringe made of reeds, which drops to their knees. In cold weather they put another of the same kind round their shoulders. They have, besides, copper and pewter bracelets on their arms and legs.

"In general, the natives of Caségut are well shaped, have good features, of shining jet black colour, and have neither flat noses, nor broad lips. They are ingenious and lively, and were it not for their indolence might be easily taught arts; but they are so impatient of slavery, especially out of their own country, that it is very dangerous to have them on board."

At his return from Caségut, the *Sieur Brue* found his building almost finished. The ditch was not quite made, but the hedge was planted round it, and he judged a night or two would bring it to perfection.

His first visit was to the king or emperor, who received him with great marks of friendship and assurance of his protection to the company. His majesty's wives and grandees made him many offers of their service. He had reason, both now, and at his return to Africa in quality of director in 1723, to believe them sincerely in his interest. He went next to visit the Portuguese governor, with whom he lived in as good understanding, as could be supposed between two commanders of opposite interests. Finding the *Sieur Brue* intended to lodge in his new factory, he earnestly pressed him to take an apartment in the fort. The commander excusing himself on the distance between the fort and his building, the governor offered him the Franciscan convent, which he declining on the same account, Don Rodrigo pressed him to accept a warehouse belonging to the Portuguese company, which lay convenient; this he accepted of, and the governor had it immediately fitted up for his reception. The Sunday after, while the *Sieur Brue* was at mass with the governor, who had invited him, he observed, that a picture over the altar bore the arms of the French company; he took notice of it

to the Portuguese governor, as a proof, that his nation had a settlement here, either before, or at least as early as the Portuguese, since the picture seemed as old as the altar, or church. The governor replied he could not pretend to decide that matter, but he assured him that a king of Bissão had sent his son to the king of Portugal to acknowledge him for his sovereign; and that this prince made a treaty, whereby he gave the Portuguese the privilege of trading here, exclusive of other nations, and allowed them to build a fort. But this account appeared a fable to the *Sieur Brue*, because the governor could neither tell the time when this happened, nor the names of the kings of Portugal or Bissão, concerned in this transaction, nor even the date of the erection of the fort. All these rendered the governor's account very doubtful, and no way hindered the French commander from pursuing his scheme of settling a trade here, so as to ruin that of the Portuguese; as it happened soon after. These two gentlemen, however, kept a fair outward correspondence, visiting each other, dining often together, and making presents. But notwithstanding these civilities, the Portuguese understanding that the *Sieur Brue* was about to depart, sent him his secretary with a formal protest against the French settlement, in the king of Portugal's name. The *Sieur Brue* returned this compliment by a counter-protest, dated on board the *Ann* in Bissão road, April the 16th, 1700. This paper war, however, no way hindered the two chiefs from keeping up a good intelligence together, and to agree to refer their differences to their superiors in Europe.

The king of Bissão being informed, that the *Sieur Brue* was preparing to depart, and intended to demand an audience of leave, came, April the 20th, with all his court, to visit him in his new factory. The commander met him at some distance, and saluted him with all the guns of his fleet, which was ordered as close in shore as possible, shewing him all honours, except such as might be made precedents of. The king asked him, if he was satisfied with his settlement, offering to change it, or augment it as he pleased. The commander expressed his thanks for the king's favour, assuring him, that both the company and himself relied on his protection. He made the king some presents, particularly a cap of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, which his majesty immediately put on.

On the 26th of April, this year the *Sieur Brue* went to take his leave of the king, who was then at his country seat. He ordered chairs for the commander and his company, beneath a tree, near the gate of his Tapade, or inclosure. He appeared soon after, having over his pague a scarlet cloak, lined with calico, with a grey hat on his head. The *Sieur Brue* thanked him for all his favours, presenting the *Sieur Cartaing* as chief factor, and the six others he left at Bissão, desiring him to grant them his protection. The king replied, he might depart with content, for that he took them and the factory under his immediate protection, wishing him a happy voyage, and desiring he might hear from him often.

The same day the king sent the greatest part of his courtiers and his wives, to compliment the commander, and carry him provisions for his voyage. They entertained him with a dance to the king's drums; and this monarch, so haughty to other nations, on all occasions it is said, shewed the *Sieur Brue* an uncommon degree of respect, and complaisance.

The commander left the factors a surgeon, two interpreters, and some Laptots; likewise a bark, a brigantine and a stout boat, with sailors, pilots, and all things necessary. In the factory he put arms, ammunition, and merchandise for trade, with European provisions, leaving the *Sieur Cartaing* full instructions how to proceed. He particularly gave him charge to discover the adjacent coasts, and in case the Portuguese should quit their fort, as was reported, immediately to take possession of it, before the negroes could demolish it.

He went to the fort to take his leave of the Portuguese governor, on the 13th of April, who, as before, received him at the outer gate, his garrison being under arms, and the drums beating a march, and waited on him to the shore.

Notwithstanding the civilities of the governor of Bissão, and his promises of waiting the decision of his superiors in Europe, he employed underhand, all possible artifices to engage the *Sieur Brue* to pay the 10 per cent. he claimed on all goods imported here. The Portuguese governor at Cachao wrote to the commander on that head, shewing him it was a sure way to sell more goods in 15 days, than he could otherwise do in a year. He was offered a considerable abatement in the duty; and represented how much the *Sieur de la Fonde* had gained by his trade, because he made no scruple of paying these duties: adding, that as his Portuguese majesty had given him a license to trade with strangers, he wished the French would seize this favourable opportunity, before he offered it to the English and Dutch. The commander replied, that he would immediately acquaint the French company with his proposals, though it appeared both prejudicial to their interest, and subversive of their privileges; that the *Sieur de la Fonde*'s example was no reason why they should recede from their rights, because he acted like a private trader, only for his own benefit.

In the mean time, as the Portuguese trade here was declining so as not to be able to defray the expences of a governor and garrison, they withdrew their storekeeper, and the governor of Cachao advised the king of Portugal to abandon and raze the fort. The *Sieur Brue* gave the French company notice of this, who wrote to the president Rouillee, then ambassador at the court of Portugal, and the *Sieur Brue* arriving at Lisbon in 1703, they jointly endeavoured to engage the Portuguese ministry to sell the fort, but they chose to demolish it, which was executed in October the same year.

The convent was Franciscan, sometimes possessed by Cordeliers, sometimes by the Capuchins, and at others by Recollets, (all of that order.) The parish was governed by secular priests sent here from St. Jago. When these failed, which often happened, the Franciscans supplied their places. There were three on the spot when the *Sieur Brue* was here, but although they were zealous to excess, yet they were preparing to retire from a field so barren of proselytes, occasioned by the bad example of the whites, their debauchery and vices being (as the author says) an invincible bar to the conversion of these negroes.

However, they had the pleasure to baptise a negro of some distinction, who soon after renounced his new religion, and died without any signs of repentance. His relations brought the body to be buried at the church, because the deceased had been baptised; but the Recollets, who were then curates, refused to bury it, on account of the apostacy and final impenitence of the deceased. This occasioned a tumult, which was at last appeased. The friends buried the corpse in the church in spite of the priest, who forbore divine service, looking on the church as prophaned. This severe conduct, which was judged ill-timed, drew on the fathers the public odium. The grandees loaded them with injuries, and would have expelled them the country, but that they were under the protection of the king of Portugal. At last the visitor (or vicar-general at Cachao) being informed of the affair, and fearing ill consequences might attend it, sent a priest to Bissão, with full powers to settle matters.

The expedient he fell on was, to take up the body secretly by night, and inter it elsewhere, after which he re-consecrated the church with the same privacy. But this step did not satisfy the Recollets; they published a manifesto to justify their conduct, and went so far as to condemn all Christians, who kept other Christians, though blacks, as slaves; also to those who sold slaves to the English or Dutch, with whom they

they were sure to enjoy neither religion nor liberty, tho' baptised. They inveighed in too open a manner, taxing their countrymen with hindering, by their irregularities, the progress of the Romish faith. Copies of this paper they sent into Spain and Portugal, and carried it with them to Martinico, whither they were obliged to sail in a ship belonging to the French company, in order to get a passage thence to Portugal, having so exasperated the negros and Portuguese at Bissao, that it was not safe for them to stay longer. Their Manifesto was as little relished at Martinico, the governor of which desired that they would keep it to themselves, and not talk of those matters while they stayed in that island.

The Sieur Brue, when he undertook a voyage to Gefves, arrived there just at the time that Captain Manuel Alvas, governor here for the king of Portugal, died. He was a Christian negro, knight of the order of Christ, and the most generous person in the country, a quality rare amongst the negros, but which he carried so far, that, besides the kind reception he gave all strangers, no person left his house without a present of one or more ounces of gold, according to his quality.

When first the Sieur Brue landed at Gefves, he went to the house of the deceased, to pay his compliments of condolence to the widow and children. As soon as his retinue appeared, they gave a signal to the mourners, who began their lamentations, as if the person was just dead.

The Portuguese and negros use much the same ceremony on the death of the chief person of a family. It is hard to tell which has borrowed from the other. As soon as a principal person dies, all the women in the neighbourhood assemble; and when the number is not sufficient, they send to him others. These women attend the widow or children of the deceased; and, when any stranger comes, begin their lamentations in a mournful tone, weeping in cadence, and shewing an affliction beyond all consolation, to those who do not know that it is all grimace. At the end of each crying scene, these mourners are served with brandy, and palm-wine, which they drink as cheerfully as if they had been laughing all day. Thus they divert themselves till a new company arrives, and then the sorrow begins again.

The children of Captain Manuel in deep mourning, attended by their relations, sat on mats. After the Sieur Brue had made his compliments, he sat down by them, and for a while there was a profound silence. After this, palm-wine was served up, and after drinking a few cups, the conversation turned on news, while the mourners, who were in another room with the widow, cried their best, drinking in the interval, and repeating the great actions of the deceased. The Sieur Brue rose, after assisting an hour at this doleful ceremony. The relations waited on him to the door, but the children sat still on their mats; the ceremonial customs forbidding them to rise or quit their mournful posture, lying half stretched, their heads reclined on their arms, except when they drank.

This ceremony is observed and renewed at every new visit, and when much company comes, they are obliged to drink freely in order to cry heartily. The Sieur Brue was invited to the burial of Captain Manuel, at which all the Portuguese assisted, in long cloaks, with their long swords, and poinards, as already described. Before the deceased governor's house were eight field pieces or carriages, which were fired as the procession set out; a gun fired from time to time as it passed, and a whole discharge made when the ceremony was over, when the company returned to the house, and were treated with palm-wine and brandy, after which they retired.

This captain Manuel always kept an apartment for the French factors, who came to Gefves; but the state of his family did not permit the Sieur Brue to expect such an offer. A Portuguese officer, called Don Francisco Colleo, sent to intreat he

would accept a lodging joining to his house. The Sieur Brue embraced the offer, but thought it first proper to visit his host. Coming near the house, he was surprised to hear a man, who bawled as loud as his strength would permit. If any other voice had been joined, the commander would have thought some person was dying here. Entering, he found a tall lean man lying in a hammock, who was making a forced penance for the sins of his youth. His wife, who was a negro, was polite, handsome, and very agreeable in conversation. She had fitted up, in the best manner she could, the apartment designed for the Sieur Brue;—she had set hammocks up, chairs, mats, a table, wood, and water, and prudently left his own servants to dress his supper. Luckily he had brought with him provisions and linen, which are scarcely possible to be had here. It requires a good deal of trouble and search to get a goat or a fowl. The Portuguese, though so long settled in a fertile country, so easily improveable, yet want even the necessities of life, living like the negros, or rather worse. This general want of provisions keeps them very temperate, their common food being the flesh of river horses, a meat which indeed has the look of beef, but a wild fishy taste. They seldom have any wine but that of the palm, or any spirits but rum; which is so strong, as well as of so disagreeable taste and flavour, that, in the Leeward Isles, none but the negros, or common people will drink it.

Hunting might easily supply their want of domestic animals and poultry, the country abounding with monkeys, antelopes, deer, and other game, as well as birds of all kinds in plenty; but this exercise is too violent for the people, who prefer sitting still and doing nothing to all other pleasures. The Flamingo birds are here in great numbers, and are so respected by the Mandingo natives of a village half a league from Gefves; that they flock in thousands. These birds are of the size of a Turkey hen, with long legs: their plumage is of a bright red, with some black feathers intermixed. They are but indifferent meat, unless one is accustomed to it; their flesh tasting both oily and fishy. They make a noise that may be heard a quarter of a league. The French killed some few, who had ventured out of their asylum; but were forced to hide them in the grass, for fear of the negros, who would not have failed to have revenged the death of their consecrated birds. On several places of this coast, especially at Gefves, are found a sort of water birds, of the goose or duck kind, called Spatula birds, from the end of their bills, resembling that instrument of surgery. Their flesh is better than that of the Flamingo.

The Rio Grande lies ten or twelve leagues to the south of Gefves. There are between them two small rivers, not much frequented. According to the wars which these people have with each other, and their successes, the slave trade here is better or worse. There is also some trade for ivory, wax, and gold.

In going up the Rio Grande, about eighty leagues above the mouth, there lies a nation of negros who love trade, called Nalus. Here is to be had a great deal of ivory, rice, maize, and slaves. Sixteen leagues from the Rio Grande, to the south, lies Rio Nongue, where there is an annual trade for 300 quintals of ivory, at eight or ten bars the quintal, and about 100 slaves, from 10 to 15 bars a head. Rice is here excellent and cheap. Sugar canes and indigo grow naturally. They use this trade from the month of March to August, in order to have the advantage of the south winds, as they return.

The country near Nongue produces a salt which the Portuguese highly esteem, as an excellent counterpoison. Its virtues (as they say) were discovered by an elephant. The negros, who hunt these animals here, shoot them with poisoned arrows, and when the beast falls, they cut out the place the arrows struck, and after disembowelling the body, eat the flesh. An elephant being wounded thus, the negros were surprised to see him walk on and feed, without discover-

ing

ing any marks of pain from his wounds. They knew not what to make of this prodigy, when one of them observed that the elephant went to the river's side and took up something in his trunk, which he eat. They immediately went to see what it was, and found it a white salt, tasting something like alum. Upon this they wounded another elephant, and observed that he cured himself in the same manner. The Portuguese, who are always on their guard against poison, made several trials of this salt, and found it to be the most effectual and universal counter-poison yet discovered. Whether the poison be received inwardly or outwardly, a drachm of this salt dissolved in warm water is asserted to be a specific cure.

There are five rivers between those of Nongue and Sierra Leona, viz. of Poughe, Tafali, Samos, and Cassares. The people inhabiting this coast, are the Zapez, the Fulis, the Coholis, and the Nalus. The

Zapez are divided into four tribes. All other nations are idolaters, and yet acknowledge one Supreme Being, though without paying him any divine worship, on account of his goodness. They are very skilful in poisoning their arrows, so that a simple scratch of them is often mortal in half an hour. They understand counter-poisons and sell them. The chief trade here is for ivory, and a certain fruit called collos, which are much used by the Portuguese to relish their water, as hath been before observed.

The English have a small fort on the river of Sierra Leona from whence they trade up the country, even as far as the Fulis, to the East, from whom they get slaves, ivory, and even a good deal of gold; but it is not known where the last is produced, or from whence it comes. This river limits the concession to the French Senega company, to the south.

VOYAGE FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE LAKE OF CAYOR, IN 1714.

THE Lake of Cayor, is about fifteen leagues from St. Louis. It is partly formed by the inundations of the river, to the north of which it lies; but when the floods abate, a great part of it remains dry, and then the Moors and Negros, who inhabit the banks, plant their millet and rice, which thrive wonderfully in these grounds, enriched with the slime of the river. This lake has not been much frequented by the French, at least for forty or forty-five years past; so that little can be said of it, but from the report of the Moors and Negros, whose authority is not wholly to be relied on. They say, it is of so great an extent, that those who sail in it are forced to make use of the compass. Although this particular may admit of controversy, yet it is agreed to be much larger than that of Panther Fuli. Formerly a profitable trade was carried on here. The country round it is inhabited by the Moors, and the Negros, subject to the Siratic.

The different changes in the company having occasioned the loss of this trade, the Sieur Chambonneau, director in 1693, intended to revive it, and for that end sent out a bark, with a factor and goods. This officer entered the lake, not without difficulty, the entrance being obstructed with reeds, so strong in some places, as to render a passage impossible. Having surmounted these obstacles, and entered the lake, he took a sudden fright on seeing a body of Moors armed on shore, at a village where he intended to anchor; so that he returned as he came, and gave such terrible reports, that the director could find no persons willing to undertake the voyage a second time.

The Sieur Brue coming into the direction in 1697, resolved to attempt the renewal of this trade; but his affairs did not permit him to do it till October 1699, when he sent a bark, well armed, under a skilful factor, with a proper cargo, and presents for the chief Moors. He had the precaution to engage previously in the company's interest, the chief Marbut, or priests, who had promised to engage the chiefs of their nation to conclude a treaty of commerce. This bark arrived safely in the river of Cayor, which is a natural canal, by which the waters of the lake communicate with the Senaga, and those of the Senaga, in its overflowing, enter the lake, where there is a trade for millet, pease, and other pulse. A little above this village, the river begins to be obstructed by large woods and bulrushes, which lie so thick, and are so strong, that the bark was stopped, though she

had a fresh gale, and the waters were at their height. The factor, who was accompanied by several canoes of the village of Graine, went in one of them to examine the breadth of the river, and seek a passage, but his little boat was soon prevented by these reeds, which in some places rose two fathoms above the surface of the water, so that he was forced to return, and tow his bark down the river. In 1774, the Sieur Brue went on the discovery in person.

The rainy season had set in late this year, and as the rains had been greater than usual, the floods were proportionately so, which gave the commander hopes he should have water enough to enter the lake, and examine it, as well as to make a treaty with the natives. At worst he resolved, if disappointed, to visit the settlements on the Senaga, and renew his friendship with the priests of those parts.

The Sieur Brue left Fort Louis the beginning of November, and the same evening arrived at Bucfar, fifteen leagues distant. This place is an assemblage of different villages, built on a great plain on the bank of the Senaga. The negros here keep great flocks of cattle, and live more at their ease than their neighbours the whites; yet these latter, being somewhat cleanly, cannot be reconciled to the negro way of milking; so that when they go to a coral, or a herd, they carry their own vessels, by which means they are sure of good milk, that of the negros souring almost as soon as it is in their vessels, because they never wash or rinse them, from a notion, that the old milk remaining at the bottom, helps the new to cream. Some imagine the milk is sweeter and richer here than in Europe. What is extraordinary, their cows give no milk after they lose their calves, so that they kill but few here, in order not to lose the milk. They make pretty good cheese; but their butter will not keep, which obliges them to salt it.

Their cattle here, and from hence to the sea, are small; but as one goes higher up the river, they grow larger. At night they fasten them by the hind feet to stakes circularly placed round the inclosure, and in the midst they place their calves, sheep, and goats. Their cattle here are much infested with certain birds, which fasten on their backs, and if no care be taken, eat their way to the bone. He made no stay here, but was towed up as far as the Isle of Palm Trees. A little higher, on the north side of the Senega, is the Marigot, or river of Cayor. It is fifteen leagues long, lying nearly north and south; its conflux with the Senaga is about eight fathoms broad, and on the

fourth of November; had four fathom water; but the floods were fallen more than the commander expected, considering the season: yet this did not hinder him from pursuing his voyage. The farther he advanced, he observed the Marigot grew broader and shallower. Hereupon he was constrained to anchor near the village of Graine, or Ingrin, about three leagues from the Senaga to the west, and on the left bank of the river Cayor.

This village belongs to Riquet, one of the grantees of the kingdom of Hoval, and related to the Brak. Although this is not his principal seat, yet he keeps wives and servants here, that when he comes he may not want attendants. He was there as the Sieur Brue passed by, and presented him a slave. The commander went ashore with him, and shot some Pintado birds. He found the country pleasant, well improved, and free from gnats, which infest all the marshy and low ground. They saw here a great deal of rice and maize in the low grounds, near the river side, and many pompions, for so the negroes call water-melons, which in Spain they call pasteques. The French and Spanish melon, that is the red and green sorts, come to perfection here. The negroes save the seed of these melons, and eat them after roasting them in a pan full of holes.

That night the Sieur Brue lay on board, and next day Riquet paid him a second visit, with his wife, who presented him a fat ox. This lady was well shaped, handsome, and had teeth surprisingly white. The Sieur Brue asking how she preserved them so well, she replied, by rubbing them with a certain wood, of which she presented him a piece, and sent him more. It is called Ghelele, and grows by the river-side, much resembling our osiers. The taste is bitter. Riquet, her husband, appeared to be about seventy-five, but strong and healthy, had a martial air, and a great deal of vivacity in his eyes. He had distinguished himself greatly in the wars between the negroes and the Marbut Moors, having defeated the troops of the king of Morocco, in several encounters.

After this visit, the commander weighed anchor, and sailed four leagues higher, to the village of Queda, on the right-side of the river, and subject to the Sira-tick emperor of the Fulis, whose dominions this river and the lake of Cayor separate from those of the Jalofs, or the Brak. The river grew very narrow here, and the water visibly fell. There is a deep ditch in the Marigot, before the village of Queda, where large vessels may lie afloat all the year round; but on going out, there is scarce water enough in the dry season for the smallest bark.

The chief of this village came, as usual to compliment the Sieur Brue, and bring us presents. On the commander's consulting him as to his voyage up the river, he replied, that unless he could finish it in forty-eight hours, he must defer it till the season following, for the waters were never known to have fallen so suddenly before.

The next day, the commander received a visit from the chief, or grandee of Cayor, who confirmed what the former lord had told him, and expressed a concern that he could not have an opportunity of entertaining him at his village, on account of the shallowness of the river. He assured the Sieur Brue, that if his barks came in the end of July or August, they might find a free passage, (for that the tops of the reeds would be then covered) as well as a very advantageous trade with the natives, who would be well pleased to save the trouble of carrying their goods over land to Arguin, Portendie, or the factories on the Senaga. He added, that if the commander would stay two or three days at Queda, he would furnish him with maize and beans sufficient to load his bark. The commander accepted this offer; and found him as good as his word.

The same day, a Moorish grandee, accompanied by two others, and several attendants, came on board. These gentlemen were very tawny, they were bare-

headed; and their hair was frizzled at the top, and twisted behind. They had long beards with large mustachos: their dress was like the negroes; but their cotton cloths, or pagnes, were fine, close woven, and of a fine shining glossy black. They were neither tall nor fat, but looked well; and seemed very polite. The principal made a compliment to the commander, and presented him with two of the largest oxen that could be seen; but they were so wild, that he was forced to have them killed to prevent mischief. The gifts of the two other Moors, were some fine pagnes. He did not fail to return their presents, and kept them to dinner along with some of the negro lords, who drank brandy freely. The Moors were more scrupulous, and drank only hydromel. These Moors had fine Barbary horses, which they valued at 15 captives, or 450 livres. The next day by sunrise, there arrived above 500 Moors and negro merchants, with maize, rice, and beans in skins, loaded on camels, horses, carriage-horses, and asses.

The chiefs of Queda and Cayor fixed the price of the market. Their measure is a matas, or cube, containing about a Paris minot. The trade was transacted on board the bark, suffering only a few to enter at a time, to prevent confusion. The earnestness of these people to get goods, was so great, that some fell into the water, and the clamour was very much; yet there was no disorder.

The Sieur Brue bought here 80 hogheads of maize, rice and beans, for the value of 100 franks, besides some ivory, ostrich feathers, and some pounds of ambergrease; and yet he was obliged for want of room, to send back near 400 merchants. During his stay here, an accident happened, which retarded his voyage for some hours. This was the sudden death of a principal man of the village. Scarce had a woman set her head out of the door, and given a cry, when the whole town was in as great an uproar, as if in France all the bells had been set ringing. In a moment terrible shrieks were heard on all sides; the women come running out, and without knowing more of the matter, fell a taring themselves, and screaming as if they had lost all their relations. But when it came to be known who the dead person was, they all ran to the hut of the deceased, and made a noise almost as loud as thunder. After some hours, the chief marbut arrived, washed the body, put on his best cloaths, and laid him on his bed, with his weapons by his side. The relations then entered one after the other, took the deceased by the hand, asking several ridiculous questions. Then they concluded with tenders of their services, and finding the dead made no answer to these civilities, they retired, saying, with great gravity, "He is dead." In the mean time his wives and children, leaving to others the care of his funeral, killed his oxen, and sold his merchandise; it being essential, on these occasions, to make solger, that is, to feast and rejoice after the body is interred.

The procession was led by the guerriots, with their drums, and the men armed with all their weapons, followed silently; next came the body, carried by two men, and surrounded by all the marbuts they could assemble. The women followed, roaring, and tearing themselves like bedlamites. When the body is interred in the house of the deceased, which is a privilege granted to their king's and grantees, they make a short procession round the village, and when they come to the place where the grave is dug, the chief marbut approaches the body, and whispers in the ear, while four men hold up cotton cloths about it, so as to hide it from the view of the spectators. The bearers then puts it in the grave, covering it with earth and stones to prevent the wild beasts from getting at it. The marbut next fixes the arms of the deceased on a pole, at the head of the grave, with a pot full of kufcos, and another of water, which is to serve him for a year. This done, those who held up the cotton cloths let them fall; and, at this signal, the women recommenced their lamentations, till the oldest or

chief marbut, orders the guerriots to beat a march to return to the village. That moment the grief ceases, and they fall to the feast as if nothing whatever had happened.

In some places they dig a trench round the grave, and plant a thorn hedge for its better security; for want of this precaution the body is often rooted up by wild beasts in a night or two. In other places the fu-

neral grief lasts seven or eight days; and if it be a boy, his companions run about the village with their sabres in their hands, as if they were in search for him, clashing their weapons as they meet.

The French commander had much difficulty, tho' his bark was so small, to get back into the Senaga; and from thence he returned to St. Louis, and thus ended the expedition.

A VOYAGE FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE KINGDOM OF BAMBUK, AND ITS GOLD MINES.

THE Sieur Brue was the first of the French company's directors, who had advanced their affairs so much as to be able to discover from whence the gold came, which was brought down the Senaga, and carried to the English at Gambia, of which he had seen quantities, of 400 marks, arrive thither at a time. It was in prosecution of this grand design, that he made the voyage to the kingdom of Gulam, and resolved to settle one or more factories there; in order to advance by degrees, and with prudence, towards the country of Bambuk, which may be justly called a Land of Gold, with which even some of its rivers abounds.

This enterprise was not very easy; for such of the Mandigos, inhabiting Galam, as well as of the Saracalez, natives of that country, who traded to Bambuk, knew their own interest too well, to introduce strangers, who would first share the profits of so advantageous a commerce, and perhaps, when once established, entirely exclude them. They were willing to trade with the French in their own country, but by no means inclined to admit them partakers in their trade to Bambuk, and the countries on the coast. As they were very jealous in this respect of the subjects of the Siratic, their neighbours, though of the same colour and religion, it was easy to imagine, they would be much more afraid of Europeans, whom they knew to be more enterprising, and consequently more capable than any of carrying away this beneficial traffick. Besides the people of Bambuk were perfectly well acquainted with the value of their country, and by long experience sensible how earnest men of all complexions were to procure the precious metal which it produced, and of subduing the countries where it was found.

For this reason, they suffer none to enter their country, on any account, except a small number of people, who bring them such necessaries as they have not among themselves; so that, excepting on the score of commerce, no body can boast of having seen this country. Those who have attempted it, have paid dear for their curiosity, and few or none have come back to give an account.

However, in order to engage the company, who were very cautious of throwing away their money, it was necessary they should be assured that the gold, with which the Seracolez and Mandingos supplied the Fulis, the English, and the French, really came from Bambuk, and not farther off. In a word, it was farther necessary for their agents to discover the particular places where this metal was found; and the great quantities they yielded; as also to contrive means to settle there, and make themselves masters of them, so far, at least, as to cause those treasures to flow solely through their own hands. A project both difficult and dangerous to execute.

There appeared no method so sure to succeed in their design, as settling at Gulam; and the Sieur Brue

would have done this in the year 1698, at a place near Dramanet, where he had traced out a fort, and also at the isle of Caygnu, near the rock Felu, if he had been at full liberty to act as he pleased, and had had the men and other necessaries for these settlements, especially the first; but even then he would have wanted the consent of the company; who, although he took care to send them particular informations of whatever related to the execution of his project, yet were so long deliberating, that a small reinforcement of men and other necessaries for one settlement, did not arrive at the Senaga till the middle of the year 1700.

The Sieur Brue, however, endeavoured to cultivate with care the trade of Gulam, as much as the small supplies of goods he had would allow him. He had constantly sent barks thither in the season, and by presents, as well as promises, he gained the friendship of the princes and grandees of that country, that they might assist him in making the settlement he intended, and give him an opportunity of sending one of his factors into Bambuk, to get a thorough information concerning it. With this view he had left at Dramanet a lay Augustine brother, who was called Apollinaire; a surgeon by profession, who had served the company in that capacity for some years before his taking that habit, and since then had re-entered into its service.

The Mandingos eluded all the offers he made to engage them to guide him to Bambuk, so that he was obliged to be contented with examining carefully the kingdom of Gulam, and part of that of Casson, till within four leagues below the fall of Govina, without being able to go farther, the negros of the country refusing to let him proceed, on account of a war between them, which hindered them from accompanying him, or suffering him to pass. He had better success on the side of the river Faleme, which he went up as far as the ledge of rocks, opposite to Canary, and engaged in the French interest the lord of that village, who has ever since been a firm friend to the nation. The Sieur Brue had left Apollinaire an assortment of goods for trade, and strongly recommended him to the chief marbut at Dramanet, who had taken charge of him, and promised to protect him with all his power. He was as good as his word, granting him a house, procuring him a sale for his goods, and giving him all the information he was capable of, as to the trade of the country. This was all he could do during his stay here, of which he gave the company a circumstantial account in a memorial he sent, dated October the 8th, 1699. The company sent back instructions, desiring farther intelligence.

The good brother, judged it would be easier for him to go back to France, and answer the company's questions. He therefore left Gulam, and arrived at Fort St. Louis, September 16, 1700. In November

ber following, he sailed for France, with letters from the *Sieur Brue* to the company, acquainting them, That this religious, merited more than any of its officers, and advising them, not only to reward him in a distinguished manner, but also to engage him to continue in their service, by giving him some honourable post.

The *Sieur Brue*, as has been already mentioned, had traced out a fort near *Dramanet*, which he was forced to defer building, till he had the company's orders, and the necessary supplies. These arriving in 1700, as hath been observed, he dispatched one of his officers to begin the fort: but this officer took the liberty to change the ground marked out by the commander, under pretence of placing it more commodiously for loading and unloading the barks, built it so near the river, that it was carried away the next year by the floods, with a considerable loss of the company's effects. This disappointment was very vexatious to the *Sieur Brue*, because it broke all his measures. He hastened to remedy it, and gave orders to build a place for the security of the goods sent to keep up the trade, which became every day more and more considerable. For this purpose, having pitched on a slip of land, more elevated than that the former fort was built on, they raised huts, and enclosed them with a tapada well terraced behind; where they mounted a few guns, till the *Sieur Brue* arrived, and made a more regular settlement: but he was called to France by the company the 12th of April, 1702.

The river *Felame*, according to the *Mandingo* merchants, separates from the *Senaga* a little above *Baracotra*, a village where the English from the *Gambra* are often seen, or, at least, free negroes and Portuguese, who serve them as *Gromettos*, that is, messengers or factors. They get thither by the river *Gambra*, which is a branch of the *Senaga*, but not navigable above *Baracotra*.

His sudden return to France hindered him from making the intended settlement at *Canara*, which proved fatal to that of *Dramanet*: for the *Mandingo* *Marbuts* soon repented of having admitted the French: and finding the commander had left the country, they thought themselves no longer bound by the perpetual alliance which had been made with him. Whether this change was wrought by finding some diminution in their trade, or that they were gained by the English, who concluded, that if the French pushed their discoveries and settlements on that side, they would become absolute masters of the traffick with the negroes and the gold trade: however it was, the *Marbuts* gave credit to the *Guinea* and other merchants of the *Caravans*, who represented the French as dangerous people, insinuating themselves by promises and presents; but that being once settled, they would take off the mask, and reduce the natives to a state of slavery. What prejudiced them the most, was a letter, pretended to come from *Sally*, which confirmed the report, that the French were to be joined by an army of Moors from *Morocco*, who were to conquer the country, carry all those able to bear arms into slavery, and oblige the rest to work in the mines.

On this fort *St. Joseph* was besieged by a great multitude, before the officers, who commanded there, had the least notice of the design. Unluckily at this very time, he had pulled down part of his inclosure, in order to enlarge it, and had been forced to dismount the cannon of the fort; which lay open almost on every side, exposed to the poisoned arrows which the negroes poured into it, without intermission, both day and night. The factors and others, employed by the company, made a brave defence for several days, and killed numbers of the enemy: but their losses rather exasperated than discouraged them; and they advanced in the night with fascines, pressing continually to burn the fort. They did not succeed, nor had the French one man killed or wounded: but as they were tired out with being continually under arms,

and both ammunition and provisions began to fail, the commander was obliged to make some proposals to the besiegers. These, irritated by the loss of several of their chiefs and relations, would harken to nothing, so that he was forced in the night; to get on board a bark, which lay under the fort, and after having got the ammunition, and all the best of the goods on board, set fire to the rest the 23d of December, 1712, and thus lost the rich trade of this country for five or six years.

The negroes did not quit them yet, but followed them along the river, in hopes they should be obliged to sail near the bank in some places, for want of water in the middle; but the French chose rather to dismast the bark, and cut down even with the deck, than expose themselves to that danger. Notwithstanding these precautions, they were forced to come almost within reach of their arrows, as often as they met with shoals or sand banks; and they continued in this embarrass, till they got within the dominions of the *Siratic*.

After this, the affairs of the company were so perplexed; that nothing was done towards restoring fort *St. Joseph*; till 1710, when the *Sieur Muteillier*, first director of the fifth, or *Rouen* company, and 19th director and commander of the *Concession* of *Senaga*, and the *Coasts of Africa*, arrived at fort *St. Louis*, in May 1710. He next year set out on that design, but died the 15th of August at *Tuabb*, on the *Senaga*, before he arrived at *Dramanet*. The *Sieur Richebourg*, Governor of *Goree*, succeeded him; and tho' he enjoyed that post but twenty months, (having been lost on the bar of the *Senega* the second of May, 1713) yet he lived to settle a fortified factory in the kingdom of *Galam*; not at *Dramanet*, where he ought to have fixed it; but at *Mancanet*, a league lower. He might have avoided giving umbrage to the *Mandinos* of *Dramanet*, by driving no great trade till he had fortified the place effectually. For these people, though easily alarmed on the article of commerce, are yet honest men, though more powerful than the *Saracolez*. However, the situation of *Mancanet* is very agreeable, the air good, the anchorage of barks at the foot of the little eminence, on which the fort stands, is very secure, and defended both by the artillery and musquetry.

The *Sieur Brue* returning to fort *St. Louis*, in April 1714, set about establishing the commerce of *Galam*. He caused the fort of *Mancanet* to be finished, which had the name of *St. Joseph*; and at the same time had that at *Canara* carried on and completed, which was called *St. Peter's Fort*.

These beginnings gave room to hope for a happy issue: but they were partly ineffectual, because they could do nothing in these factories, but receive and sell the goods they brought, without being able to reap those advantages from the riches of the country, which might be obtained by seeking them on the spot; the surest way of carrying on a profitable trade, and preventing others from sharing in it. But as for this end, it was necessary previously to have a perfect knowledge of the country and its mines, as hath been already observed, the *Sieur Brue* proposed the attempting this discovery to several of his factors, adding very advantageous offers to encourage them to undertake it. Several promised him, but were as ready to break their word, when they came to understand the dangers and hazards of any whites entering the country of *Bambuk*; where the jealousy of the negroes, with regard to strangers, was so great, and their strictness in guarding the avenues so extraordinary.

The *Sieur Compaynon* alone (at present master-mason and undertaker at *Paris*) was daring enough to risk so perilous a journey. He was furnished with merchandizes proper for the country as well as presents for the *farims*, or lords of the villages, and for such other persons, as might be able to assist him in the discovery he had in view. He took his measures so well, that he succeeded, and has the honour to be

the first white who was ever seen in these parts. None before him had ever penetrated so far, or acquired so perfect a knowledge of the country, through which he travelled several Times.

His first journey was in a direct line from fort St. Joseph to that of St. Peter on the river Faleme.

He made another, following the east side of that river from Onneca to Naye.

His third rout was across the country from Babia-colam on the Senaga to Nettees and Tanba awra, places in the centre of the country, famous for the rich gold mines in their neighbourhood: so that in the year and a half, which he spent in travelling over that country, he crossed it so many different ways, that he seems to have left but a few places unvisited. He viewed every thing that occurred with all the exactness a man of his genius was capable of; especially when incited both by his own curiosity and the promise of large rewards, as well as by the desire of being useful to his country, and doing a service to the company that employed him. His good behaviour and presents, easily gained him the esteem of the farim of Canara: who considered him not so much as a servant of the company, as a virtuoso who sought to satisfy his curiosity, in visiting a country he had heard so much of. This farim sent his son to accompany him as far as Sembanara, in the kingdom of Conta. The farim, or chief of this place, was extremely surprised to see a white man for his guest, a colour he had hitherto been a stranger to. His subjects, who were equally strangers to such an object, were as much amazed as he at this stranger's boldness; and had given him but an ill reception, if the presence of the son of the farim of Canara had not restrained them. The most passionate were for sending him away, without giving him time to examine the country.

However, the chief being prevailed upon by the arguments of his friend's son, persuaded the people their apprehensions were groundless, and that they had no cause to suspect this white man. He assured them, he was an honest merchant, whom it would be their advantage to encourage; these reasons, backed by some seasonable presents to the most considerable people of the village and their wives, produced a change in their tempers, and he soon gained as many friends amongst them, as at first he had enemies.

But there were yet more difficulties to surmount, but he had the same to conquer in every place. Although he was always accompanied in his travels by some of the principal natives, yet he found wherever he went, the same jealousies, and almost the same danger. He was obliged to answer numberless questions, to undergo tedious examinations, and would never have been able to have opened himself a way, but by dint of presents. Sometimes even his reasons and presents joined, were too weak to dispel the distrust of the natives, who watched him in a very troublesome manner, refusing him the earth or ore of their mines, though he offered to purchase them at their own rate, assuring them, both by himself and his conductors, that he only wanted to make himself cassots, or pipe-heads. They heard his reasons, but could not believe them sufficient to induce a man to travel so far, and run such hazards; but that undoubtedly he must have some bad design, and wanted to steal their gold, or conquer their country, after he had surveyed it. The usual conclusion was to send him back quickly, or to kill him, in order to deter other whites from following his example.

Having at Toroca bargained with a negro to bring him some ghingan, or gilt earth, from Sitabli, and to invite the country people to bring him cassots, for which he would pay them well, his messenger met an ill reception; his demands being refused, and himself driven away, with orders to tell the farims of Toroca, his lord, that he was a fool, to let a white examine his country, and take his ore and earth, since it was evident he only came to rob him. The negro, in presence of the farim of Toroca, delivered

this answer to the Sieur Compagnon, who, without being disconcerted, replied, that the farim Silabali was a fool himself, to be afraid of a single white man, in the midst of his country, and to refuse to sell him some of the earth, of which he had more than he could ever use. He then made the negro a handsome present. This generosity was so agreeable to the natives, that it was the public talk of the country. Another negro quickly offered himself to go seek this earth for him by night, but Compagnon, who thought it policy to hide the desire he had of getting specimens of all the mines, pretended great indifference, saying only, that when they knew him better, they would make no scruple to sell him their earth and cassots. This produced a good effect, for soon after he got as much of both as he pleased. He had the skill to remove all the umbrage taken at his first coming into the country; and his winning behaviour, joined to his presents, gained him the love of the farims and people in all the places where the mines lay, to such a degree, that they made him presents in return, and at last, allowed him full liberty to take as much ore, and make as many cassots as he thought fit. The Sieur Brue, director-general, took care to send the company specimens of all the mines, and cassots of all sorts, by the victory, which sailed for Onaga, June the 18th 1717.

The greater part of mines produce gold in such abundance, that it is not necessary to take the trouble of digging. They need only scrape the surface of the earth, wash it in a bowl, and pour off the water gently, to find the gold in dust at the bottom, sometimes in large grains. The earth which produces this gold, is neither hard nor difficult to work; it is usually a clay ground, of different colours, intermixed with some pits of sand or gravel, so that ten men here can do more work than an hundred in the richest mines of Peru or Brasil.

The negroes here have no notion of the fertility or barrenness of the lands, proper to produce gold, nor any rules for distinguishing the places which yield metals, from those which do not. They only know, in general, that their country abounds in gold, and that in proportion as the soil is dry and barren, the greater hope there is of its yielding more gold. They rake and scrape up the earth indifferently in any place, and when they have the good luck to light on one which yields a good quantity of this metal, they continue to work there, till the quantity diminishes, or ceases, and then quit the place to go and seek another. They have a notion, that gold is a sort of roguish or malicious being, which delights to play tricks with its followers; and for that end often shifts from one place to another.

By their ill management in their way of working the mines, they get but a small part of the gold contained in the earth, which they dig out: only the grosser parts falling to the bottom of the bowl, while the finer particles run over with the earth and water, which they gently pour off, after stirring the whole. The workmen in Europe, who clean the goldsmith's sweepings, would get a good fortune by the water they pour off here.

The natives of this rich country do not search their mines at all times, or when they please. This depends on the pleasure of their farims, or lords of villages, when these judge it proper, either for the public occasions, or their own private account, they give notice to their subjects, that such a mine will be wrought on such a day. Those who have occasion for gold, repair to the place, and fall to work; some dig, others carry away the earth, others bring water, others wash it. The farim, and principal persons keep the gold that is cleared, and see that the washers do not steal any of it; a fault which they are very subject to. The work being over, the gold is divided, the farim taking care first to separate his own share, which is always one half of the whole: besides that, by immemorial custom, all the grains above a certain size belong to him without exception.

When

When this work has continued as many days as the Farim chuses, the workmen are dispersed, and the mine remains untouched by his order.

These methods of working will easily account for the irregular periods at which the gold is procured; and the almost continual want of provisions, which prevails among the negros in these parts owing to the frequent discontinuance of their work. On all which accounts the *Sieur Brue* strongly recommended settlements to be made, whereby the natives might be delivered from many impositions, and the Europeans supplied more regularly with that shining metal, which has at all times ingrossed so much of their attention.

With regard to the mines discovered in this country, in consequence of the *Sieur Brue*'s project, we have the following account.

The *Sieur Compagnon* and those who by their commander's order, went to discover the country after him, found no certain tokens of any gold mines: in proceeding up the river *Faleme*, from its confluence with the *Senaga* to the village of *Naye*, at the distance of about fourteen or fifteen leagues, except at *Furcharran*, a ruined village two leagues north-east of the river, and in the neighbourhood of a marrigot or rivulet, which falls into the *Faleme*. This rivulet is described as so shallow, that it is not even navigable for canoes, though the distance being small, it might be easy to transport the gold ore on camels, to any settlement in its vicinity. Besides the tokens of this gold mine, there was also observed the appearance of a very considerable one of white shining rock, which was concluded to contain a quantity of silver.

The second gold mine which the *Sieur Compagnon* discovered, was to the eastward of the river *Faleme* abovementioned, twenty-five leagues from its confluence with the *Niger*, and about five leagues inland between the villages of *Sambanura* and *Dallimulet*. This was on a high sandy ground, where the negros found gold only by washing the surface of the earth, taking it up as it lay, without any farther trouble in the acquisition.

Not far from *Segalla*, a village 500 paces to the right of the *Faleme*, and about fifty leagues from its mouth, the soil was found filled with veins of gold.

Five leagues higher lay the mines of *Ghinghi Farrand*, where gold was found in great quantities. The *Farim* of *Taroco* having given the *Sieur Compagnon* permission to take what quantities of this earth he pleased. Some that was taken up at random, being washed in a bowl in his presence, a quantity of pure gold, which melted with ease, was found at the bottom.

All the rivulets that water this soil, and fall into the *Faleme*, bring down so much gold with the sands, that the neighbouring negros during those intervals, while their mines are suffered to rest, come hither to the *Faleme* to gather it, as this manner of taking it is never forbidden by their chiefs. Near *Ginghi Farrand* the mountains are all of a soft gravel stone which appears covered with gold spangles. On being assayed, there were large pieces found perfectly competent to resist aqua fortis, but which, as a farther proof of their value, dissolved easily in aqua regia, depositing a bright yellow sediment.

On the banks of the river *Sannon*, at the village of *Nian Sabana*, was a rich mine, plentiful and easy to work, but the ore required pounding and smelting, which the natives are not capable of doing, and being likewise mixed with arsenical sulphurs, it was quite deserted by a people equally fond of health, and averse to labour.

"The richest mine (continues the author) which is at present diligently worked only by the natives, is near the centre of the country of *Bambuk*, between the villages of *Tamba awra*, and *Netecco*, thirty leagues to the eastward of the river *Faleme*, and forty from *S. Peter's* fort at *Kaynera* (or *Canara*) on the same river. It is surprisngly rich, and the gold that

it produces is very pure. This part of *Bambuk*, for wealth, exceeds all the rest. The mines are surrounded by high, naked mountains; dry and barren; so that the natives having none of the necessaries of life but such as they can purchase with their gold, are forced to work their mines with more assiduity than their neighbours and countrymen. Here may be seen shafts ten feet deep, a wonderful thing, where people have neither ladders nor props. However, they find much more gold at this depth, than nearer the surface. When the veins are mixed with gravel or some hard substances, experience has taught them to bruise the oar, in order to get at the gold. They would, in this case, get much more if they knew the arts of smelting or refining, nor have they yet been able to reach the principal vein of the mine. All this soil is argillous or a fat clay of various, vivid colours, as white, purple, sea-green; yellow, of several shades, blue, &c.

"The natives here are the most ingenious makers of cassots, or pipe-heads, in all that country. Gold sands or spangles, small or great appear every where. These spangles are thin. They call the earth they get this sand from, *Ghinghan*, that is *Golden Earth*, or *Gilt Earth*; and although the cassots are made of the earth, after being washed; yet it would be easy to extract gold from them, by the help of mercury. At *Canara*, near *S. Peter's* fort, is a small river, the bottom and banks of which are covered with coloured rocks, or metallic marcasites; whose weight and colour indicate some gold mines thereabouts, which the neighbourhood of this fort would render very easy to search for, and possess when found. At *Naye* are two gold mines; that nearest the river has been long since quitted, as being subject to inundations; and the negros did not care for the trouble of emptying the pits: but they have found another at a greater distance, on the right side of the river going up, free from any inconvenience.

"The village of *Naye*, which is pretty large, is but four leagues above fort *S. Joseph*, which would facilitate either the conquest or purchase of this mine. About 20 leagues above *Canara*, to the left of the *Faleme*, is another gold mine, in the lands of *Tomana Niacanel*, which is rich, and the metal pure. Though it is easy to work, yet the negros have quitted it, from a superstitious notion, that all who meddle with it, except whites or women, will die. The women will not venture on it, as giving no credit to what their husbands say on this head, so that it seems reserved for the whites, and on this account would not be hard to purchase.

"In many other places there are evident marks of gold mines, particularly about 17 leagues from the confluence of *Faleme*, and the *Senaga*. The land for a good way on this side is dry and barren, being a soft gravel, divided into different strata, of lively colours, like those of *Tamba awra*, and *Netecco*, beforementioned."

Besides these mines of gold, and that of silver already-mentioned, here are found in many places blue stones, which they say are certain signs of copper and silver mines. In effect, copper, lead, iron, and tin are found here, as well as the best lead-stones, pieces of which have been sent to France; although it may seem needless to think of these metals where gold is so plentiful. Iron is not only common and good at *Bambuk*, and through all *Galam*, as at *Caygnu* and *Dramanet*, but also in many other places descending the *Senaga*, as at *Joel* and at *Donghel* in the kingdom of *Sieratic*, where great quantities are got of it, so soft that the negros hammer it into kettles or pots, so that they buy no iron from the French unless it be wrought.

Rock crystal, transparent stones, and fine marble, are found in plenty throughout *Galam*; also an incredible quantity of coloured woods for inlaying, of the brightest sort, besides a great variety of scented woods."

The *Sieur Brue* laid before the company five different

ferent schemes he had formed for a settlement in this rich country. The first was to conciliate the affections of the Farins, or chief men, so as to obtain their consent to build forts in the country; of which he proposed two on the river Faleme, and a third he intended to be of wood, so as to be moveable at pleasure, to such places or mines as the company should work. In this fort were to reside the director, with the officers, miners, soldiers, &c. necessary for the undertaking. But in his last voyage to fort St. Louis, in 1723, finding this project not agreeable to the impatience of his nation, he formed a second, which he presented to the company, and to Mr. Landaviscu, September the 25th the same year: by which it appears, that he thought 1200 men sufficient for this conquest; and reckoned the expence of such a body for four years would come to two millions of livres. He computed 4000 marks of gold, at 500 livres the mark, would reimburse this expence, and that the mines would yield annually above 1000 of these marks. In this voyage we meet with the following description of Bambuk.

This kingdom is of considerable extent. To the north it has a part of the kingdoms of Galem and Casson; to the west, the river Faleme, with the kingdoms of Contu and Cambreguda; to the south of the kingdom of Macanna; and the countries to the west of Mandingo. Its eastern limits cannot be well ascertained, as the countries of Gadua and Guinea, which are parts of it, are very large, and as yet little known to the Europeans.

The country of Bambuk, like those of Contu and Cambreguda, is not subject to any particular king, though they bear the name of kingdoms; probably on account of their being formerly governed by sovereign princes. At present, the natives are governed by the masters or lords of their respective villages, whom, towards the river Faleme, they call Farins, that is, lords; adding the name of the village, as Farim Toraco, Farim Farbanna, &c. In the inner part of the country they call these chiefs Elemanni, or, by other appellations: all which titles given to their great men, though not so lofty as those of emperor or king, yet invest them with much the same authority, and their subjects pay them the same obedience: always provided that they keep the laws and customs established from time immemorial in this Aristocratical Republic, and do not pretend to invade them: for it would be dangerous to think of arbitrary power here. These Mandingos, who are all of them marbuts, do not understand jesting on this subject; and the least that could happen to a Farim, Elemanni, or lord of a village, who should take too much liberty this way, would be a shameful deposition, or the pillage of his goods.

These Farins or chiefs are independant of each other; but all are obliged to join for the defence of the state, (or commonwealth) if attacked either in the whole, or in any of its members. The country is extremely populous, and has a great number of villages on the east side of the river Faleme. The Sannon, Guanon, Mansa, and all other lesser rivers, which fall into the Faleme, or the Senaga, have also many villages on the sides: but the inland country is not so populous, because those parts of it that are not watered, are dry and very barren; as is common in a country like this, full of mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, and iron. The soil neither produces millet, rice, nor pulse. They even want straw and grass to cover their houses.—This barrenness of the ground is partly caused by the heat which is excessive: not only from the situation of the country, which lies in twelve and thirteen degrees north latitude, but also by its being inclosed with high bare mountains, which reflect the heat, and prevent the winds from sufficiently refreshing the air, and dispelling the thick vapours that continually issue from a soil so deeply impregnated with metals and minerals. This renders the country extremely unwholesome and dangerous to strangers; for the natives and other negros, who come here, being accustomed to this climate, suffer no great inconvenience.

“As Bambuk (says the author) produces some extraordinary animals and plants, it may not be improper to mention them. Of the first kind, are a species of white monkeys: these are of a brighter colour than the white rabbits in France, have red eyes, and easily tamed when young; but as they grow old, become as malicious and unlucky as others of this kind. It has not been yet possible to bring one of them alive to Fort St. Louis. The white weasel is another animal peculiar to this country, which, like the European one, is a great enemy to poultry. The colour is of a shining silver. The negros eat them, and sell the skins at the French factories.—The pigeons are entirely green, so that they are often mistaken for parrots. There is also in Bambuk, and the adjacent countries, an extraordinary beast, called the ghiamala. It is mostly found on the east side of Bambuk, in the provinces of Gadua and Jaca. Those who have seen it, report it is half as tall again as the elephant, but not near so large. It seems to be of the camel kind, resembling it in its head and neck, and having two bunches on the back like the dromedary. Its legs are extravagantly long, which makes it appear so tall. They feed like the camel on thistles and briars, which makes them lean; yet the negros do not scruple to eat, when they catch them. The country of Bambuk has few grounds fit for pasturage, so that they have no oxen, but only a few sheep and goats, which thrive always best in a dry soil. The ghiamala is very wild: he is provided with seven straight horns, which, at his full growth, are each near two feet long. His hoofs are black, and resemble those of an ox. He goes swiftly, and can hold out a long time. The flesh is sweet and good in the opinion of the negros.

The monoceros, or bird of Paradise, is also seen here. It is of the size of a cock, the plumage variegated, especially the wings. The beak is hooked like that of the eagle, the talons large and strong. On his head are two feathers, about three or four inches long, joining in a point like a horn, which has occasioned some to mistake it for a real one.

The sandy parts of Bambuk produce an uncommon kind of pease. The stalk of these is about two inches in diameter, round, green, sleek, and covered with a strong rind. This is a creeper, and spreads much. It is common for them to extend five or six feet in length. The leaves, like those of trefoil, about six inches long, spring in pairs, at five or six inches distance from each other. Between these lie the flowers of two different shapes: the first with an open calix, composed of five leaves, of a violet blue; about fifteen or sixteen lines in length, and nearly the same in breadth, close upon each other. These are supported by five little green leaves, smooth and shining. The centre of this calix is filled with little stamina, about six lines long, of a deep yellow or orange colour, but have no pistil. The flowers on the opposite side of the stalk are like those of our common pease. The first flowers produce no cod, but the latter yield a stalk of five or six inches long, and near an inch in diameter, parted into several cells by a red pellicle; each of which contains a pea of the bigness of a musquet-ball, of sixteen to the pound. These pease are round, of a marble-grey colour, hard and difficult to dress, unless steeped for ten or twelve hours beforehand in warm water. But as they grow wild, the negros make a shift with them; and, perhaps, like them better than those which would cost them more trouble in the cultivation. One thing extraordinary in this plant is, that the different kinds of flowers it bears are placed alternately on each side of the stalk.

“The abel-moth, otherwise called the musk-grain, or ambrette, grows plentifully and without culture, in Galem. The negros make no use of it. Even their women, who love perfumes, and are very fond of cloves, packets of which they hang round their neck, yet neglect those seeds (perhaps only because no rarity) though they yield a strong musky smell and very

very agreeable, if rubbed gently. It is true, this odour goes off, but it is easy to renew it with fresh seeds, and at no expence. But cloves, which are a good commodity here, would be useless, if they should take it in their heads to use their *abel-moshi*. When this plant enjoys a rich soil, it grows to the height of six or seven feet, provided it meets a tree to support it; for then it surrounds and fastens to it: if not, it falls and creeps along the ground till it reaches the height of about two feet. Its stalk is round, downy and white, tender and covered with slender sprigs. The leaves are much like those of mallows: they grow in pairs, but unequal; those on the upper side: being larger than on the under. These leaves are scoloped, and yellow indentures, though not deep, yet form sharp angles, which makes them look as if prickled. They are flabby and thick of a bright green on the outside, and poles underneath. They say these leaves, boiled in water, and formed into a cataplasm, are an excellent remedy for tumours, which they ripen and break in a short time. They are also sovereign for contusions and sprains. They are fastened to long stalks almost triangular, and very hairy, form the roots of which spring the flowers. These are composed of five leaves, round at the ends, which form a wide calix. The outside of them is of a bright gold colour, the inside purple. From the bottom of the calix rise several small stamina, and a whitish pistil, which changes into a pyradimal fruit with five angles; which is first of a pale green, then becomes brown, and when ripe, is almost black. This fruit contains several small grey seeds, flattish on one side, of the shape of a kidney, and of an atomatic, amber smell, agreeable to those who love perfumes.

To return to the *Sieur Brue*.—He had received such complaints at Fort St. Louis of the continual insults the company's servants offered there from one *Badel*, agent to *Tonca Niama*, both by forbidding trade, and otherwise, in order to oblige the factory to raise his duties as high as those paid to the *fratic*, or to force them to quit the country: that at last, July the 31st, 1718, he thought fit to send the *Sieur Charles*, governor of the fort, directions to provide the place with proper necessaries for its defence, and then to punish *Badel* rigorously; not only by burning his village, but also seizing himself, wives and children, if he found an opportunity. It was likewise ordered, in case *Tonca Niama* took his agent's part, instead of correcting him, and refused to redress the company's wrongs, that he should cause the *bacerris* (or chief men) to depose him, and get a new king chosen more agreeable to the company. These orders, which were purposely not kept secret, alarmed the king, his *alcair*, and the *bacerris*, so that they dropped their demands, and at once became extremely obliging; only wanting a favourable opportunity to shew their resentment, and things remained on this footing till the year 1722, when the *alcair*, with the *bacerris* of *Mancanet*, supported by *Tonca Niama*, recommended ill usage, and carried matters so far that a factor returning from trading was murdered. As the governor, the *Sieur Charpentier*, was not in a condition immediately to revenge the injury, he thought proper to wait till the floods had brought the barks from fort St. Louis. As soon as they arrived, the *Sieur Charpentier* having assembled all his forces, attacked the village of *Mancanet* in December the same year, beat in open field the negroes who had taken up arms, killing near sixty, wounded double the number, and made 400 slaves. After which, plundering the village, he burnt it, and carried off all the cattle.

Tonca Niama and his *bacerris* were now obliged to sue for mercy. For this end they employed the *Marbuts* of *Dramanet*, and the chief negro merchants, friends to the French, to mediate a peace. The *Sieur Charpentier* suffered himself to be long intreated, and in the mean time sent down his slaves and booty by his barks to fort St. Louis. After this

he yielded to the solicitations of the *marbuts*. The king disowned the proceedings of the *bacerris*; and these having acknowledged their fault, and begged pardon, owned themselves subjects to the French company, to whom they promised obedience. This treaty was sworn to on both sides with the usual solemnities." —

The *Sieur Brue* having been recalled to France soon after the loss of the fort at *Dramanet* in 1702, as before related, several of the factors made a merit of writing to the company their sentiments concerning a proper place for building a fort. Different opinions held them long in suspense: some proposed building it at the mouth of the river *Faleme*, in the *Senaga*, which advice seemed reasonable enough, if it had been possible to execute it: Others were for *Mancanet*, but did not foresee the ill consequences of settling among a factious, turbulent people; others recommended the isle of *Caygnu*; and the *Sieur Brue* liked the place well enough, provided there had been another settlement nearer the *Faleme*, proper to support the rest, as was that of *Dramanet*; and that the trade would bear the expence of these two factories, which could not be known under a trial of some years.

The *Frere Apollinavie* having been consulted as a person both of experience and probity, declared, "that a better place could not be chosen than *Dramanet*; first, because there was plenty of all sorts of provisions, a matter of great importance, as well for the support of the company's servants as of the slaves, till the barks arrived to carry them down the river. Secondly, because they would always be sure of an advantageous trade at that place with the *Mandingo Marbuts*; and might, the year round, traffic for as much gold, ivory and slaves, as they had occasion for, provided the factory was supplied with goods, and that the chief factor, as well as those under him, were wise and just men; so that *Guinea* and other negro merchants might find, at their hands, the same civility which they received from the English at the river *Gambra*, in order to induce them to transfer that traffic thither. Thirdly, that although the *Saracolez* at *Caygnu* were desirous of the French settling among them, yet as they were naturally evil-minded and turbulent, and their chief poor and greedy, it would be difficult to get out of their hands in case of a rupture. Fourthly, that indeed trade might be carried on at *Caygnu* in some better sort than at *Dramanet*, because the caravans from *Bambara* cana stop there, and the negro merchants would be glad to be saved the trouble of carrying their gold and ivory to the *Gambra*. Fifthly, that therefore till such time as the settlement at *Dramanet* should be in a condition to support the charges of a factory at *Caygnu*, the trade of this last place might be preserved and enlarged, by sending barks thither at such times as the merchants were on the road. Sixthly, that it would be easier to support a settlement at *Dramanet* than at *Caygnu*, by reason of a scarcity of provisions, owing to the sloth of the *Saracolez*: so that it would be necessary to have a settlement at the first place, in order to supply the latter."

It must farther be observed, that when the river is at the lowest, there is always a channel before *Dramanet*, half a league in length, with six or seven feet water, which is sufficient for barks; whereas the river being too broad at *Caygnu*, there was scarce water enough for a canoe. It is absolutely necessary to the French, if they would closely pursue the trade to *Bambuk* and the gold mines, to have two or three fortified posts on the river of *Faleme*, particularly at *Caygnu*.

This place stands very advantageously, and belongs to a people who are friends to the French. It is but eighteen or 20 leagues from *Dramanet* by land, and little more by water. Accordingly a fort called *St. Peter*, was afterwards raised here, as has been already mentioned.

The *Sieur Courbe*, who in 1702, succeeding the *Sieur*

Sieur Brue in the direction, followed the plan he laid down, and used all his interest with the company to make this settlement at Caygnu; but he was recalled before he could get their consent; and the Sieur Muffellier, who succeeded him in 1710, wrote violently

against this project, so that it was dropped. The Sieur Brue, at his return in 1714, resumed his application, but never could bring the company into his opinion.

VOYAGES TO THE WESTERN COASTS OF AFRICA.

HAVING mentioned the French, we shall now speak of the English settlements on the coast of Africa, for trading to which parts, Queen Elizabeth granted patents in 1592, on the particular application of some merchant adventurers. King James, in the 16th year of his reign, granted a new charter, under the great seal to Sir Robert Rich, and other citizens of London, as a body corporate, with an exclusive power different from all others; but they were so much injured in their trade by interlopers, that they were soon greatly tired of it.

King Charles the First, in his 7th year, granted a new charter to Nicholas Crisp, Humphry Slaney and company, of the same kind with the former. In 1651, this grant was renewed, and confirmed to Rowland Wilfon and others, by the commonwealth of England; but during the confusion of that time, the Dutch and Danes took the opportunity of increasing their strength on this coast; so that the African company, besides the loss of their possessions, sunk their stock, and even the private traders, in ships and goods taken, were sufferers to the value of 300,000 pounds. The parliament, on this representation, in 1664, came to a resolution to address the king to take some effectual method of supporting the African trade, and checking the insolence of the Dutch. But the king's remonstrance had no effect, which was assigned as one reason of the first Dutch war in 1664. In the mean time, 1662, King Charles the Second had granted to a new company a charter of incorporation, by the title of The Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa; assigning for the limits of their trade, from the streights mouth to the Cape of Good Hope. This company being just in its infancy when the war broke out, suffered greatly from the depredations of de Ruyter, who, with the Dutch fleet, took Cormentin castle, and Tacoravy fort, and seized the company's vessels and effects, to the value of 200,000l.

The company, however, still kept their footing in Africa; and by the third article of the treaty of Breda, in 1667, each side was to be restored to the places they held before the war; but as their affairs were in a declining condition, they agreed, in consideration of a certain sum, to surrender their charter to the crown; and the king, by letters patent under the great seal, dated September the 27th, 1672, established the present Royal African Company of England; granting them, as the bounds of their concession, from the port of Sallée in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope. Though this company began with a small stock, they exerted themselves so effectually, that they greatly restored the face of the English trade on these coasts; enlarging Cape Corse Castle (the only fort the old company had left, and which they purchased for 34,000 pounds) and building forts at Acra, Dixcove, Winnebaco, Succand, Commenda, and Annamahoo, all on the gold coasts, and three of them within musquet-shot of the Dutch forts. They also purchased Fredericksburg fort from the Danes, built a new fort at Whidah, and met with great success in the extension of their commerce.

On the northern coasts, in 1673, the Dutch West Indian company possessed the forts of Arguine; the French held the fort of St. Louis, at the mouth of the Senaga; and the English St. James's fort, on the Gambia, and a small one at Sierra Leona, the trade of the coast being free to all the three nations, from Cape Blanco to Cape de Monte. In 1677, the French dispossessed the Dutch of Arguine and Goree; which places being yielded to the French Senaga company by the peace of Nimeguen, they began to form pretensions of an exclusive trade on this coast, seizing and confiscating the Portuguese, Dutch, and Brandenburg ships, and interrupting all the English trade.

Soon after the revolution, began the interloping trade of separate persons on this coast, which helped not a little to prejudice the company's affairs. These, besides their sinister traffic, lowering the price of European goods, and raising those of the country, brought the company so low, that they were forced to apply to parliament for relief; but the prevailing opinion being then in favour of a free trade, the parliament in 1697, was induced to make the experiment of laying open the trade for the space of 13 years to all adventurers, on their paying a duty of ten per cent. to the company, towards defraying the charges of their forts and castles, for the defence and preservation of the trade. From this time their interest began visibly to decline. In 1700 they laid a memorial before the parliament, to shew the prejudice they suffered by the separate traders on the Gambia; and in 1705, entered into a treaty of neutrality with the French company, for their settlements on this coast between Cape de Verde, and Sierra Leona.

For the better support of the French African trade, the king allowed the India company of Paris, an exemption from all duties for merchandise exported to Africa, and to the Dutch islands and colonies to America; an exemption from half the customs of all the goods and merchandise imported from Africa, and from half the customs of all sugars and other merchandise imported from the French islands and colonies in America, being the produce of the sale of negros there. Likewise an exemption from all tolls of any kind of goods and merchandise in France; a bounty of 20 livers, for every eight ounces of gold dust brought into France.

The States General likewise grant their African company great privileges and immunities. As to the English, they have at present on the western coast of Africa, only one fortified settlement, viz. St. James's Fort, within the mouth of the Gambia, on which depend several factories up that river. They had one till lately at Benfa island, and Sierra Leona river, but the factory was withdrawn before the same year, 1728.—

The Gambia enters the ocean on the west coast of Africa, between Cape Verde and Cape Roxo, or to speak more exactly, between Cape St. Mary's on the South, and the Broken Islands on the North. The breadth of the river, or distance between the Broken Isles and Cape St. Mary's is six leagues. These isles are surrounded with a bank of sand, which extends

extends to the river Salum, or Barfali, and of which the south point, called the Red Bank, runs out two leagues into the sea. From the south side stretches another sand, opposite Banyon point, whose shape has given it the name of the Banyon's Heel. This shoal has but a fathom or a fathom and a half water; with several points of rocks, on which the sea beats so as to make them visible at a great distance. It is by these marks, and three trees on the point of Cape St. Mary's, that one knows the mouth of the river in coming from sea.

They reckon from the Broken Isles to Charles Isle, ten leagues; from thence to the point of Lamei, or Le Maine, two leagues; to Albreda two; and from Albreda to Jilfray, opposite to the English fort, half a league. In entering the river on the left or north side, there is a point on which is a tuft of trees, one much bigger and higher than the rest, which they call the pavilion of the king of Barra. "The English, who, says Labat, treat with arrogance nations much superior to the negroes, have stooped so low as to salute this land-mark or pretended pavilion; which has so exalted this petty negro prince, that he exacts respect from all ships which enter the river, of whatever nation; and if they refuse it, forbids their trade, and does them all the mischief he can. The dominions of this prince are about eighteen leagues from east to west, on the north side of the Gambia, being bounded by this river, and that of Janoc, at one of the branches or mouths of the river of Salum, or Barfali."

The Gambia is considerably broad here, being near three leagues; and, for fifty leagues higher, at Joar, it is reckoned a league broad, and is navigable to that place for a ship of forty guns and three hundred tons. A vessel of one hundred and fifty tons may sail too within a little of Barracunda, which is five hundred miles from the mouth. The tide runs up so far in the dry season, that is, from December to June or July: the rest of the year the river is impassable, on account of the floods, which the rainy seasons bring down. These render the stream so violent, that there is no stemming it with a fair wind; and besides, it is impossible to tow the barks; because the banks being under water, there is no footing for the men to go on shore. The Gambia, in this point, differs from the Senaga, where the navigation is best in the wet season; there being then water enough to pass the shoals and rocks, which interrupt the barks in the dry season.

The right course into this river, when the entrance is open, is to steer for the point of Barra in five or six fathoms, till you bring it to bear south-east.—All ships that enter the river, as well as the English, fire three guns, by way of salute, to a tall, thick tree, called, The king of Barra's standard; and the same they do going out. At each time they pay a bar of iron to the king or his officers, for the duty of anchorage. The river, in its way from Contori to the ocean has many windings, especially from Cantor, and is much deeper than the Senaga, and the channel broader; but the tide, or current, less rapid. Yet the Gambia carries such a fresh into the sea with it, as is visible eight or ten leagues from shore. The tide flows up as far as Barracunda, where dreadful falls obstruct the passage of ships; but sloops may run up two hundred leagues. The banks on both sides are low, and intersected with many rivulets, which the floods run into. The channel, about the creek of Jagra, is from four to five fathoms deep, near four small islands opposite to it.

JAMES island being nothing but a sort of flat rock, without any creeks or proper places for careening, the English do this up the river of Bloc or Bintan, on the south of Gambia, opposite the fort, at a place called Bloc; the residence of a prince who styles himself emperor of Grand Cantor, and is always at war with the king of Bar. The French say the river of Bloc meets with that of Cumbo, which is some leagues to the west of it, making an island where they join;

and that to the west of Cumbo there is another small river called Rio Bravetto.

The village of Barifet is on the same river of Bloc, near its entrance into the Gambia, and is tributary to the king, or emperor of Cantor. The king of Bar, resides some part of the year, at the town or village of Bar, said to be on the north point of Gambia, near the Lofty Tree, called by the Portuguese, *Arvore da Marca*, or, The Land-Mark Tree; which serves as a good direction to the European ships going in or out of the said river. At other times the king presides at the town of Anna Bar, seated about a mile farther up the land in a wood. From this village of Bar to the East, along the banks of the Gambia, are the villages of Grigou, Bubaculon, and Lamei, almost opposite to the Isle of Dogs; and somewhat to the east of them, those of Albreda and Jilfray; where the English and French have their factories, and the Portuguese, at the latter, a poor little church.

The source of the Gambia is uncertain. The reports and conjectures have been as many and various as those which regard the Niger, of which it is by most authors reckoned a branch, as hath been already observed.

The English have, from time to time, endeavoured to discover the origin of Gambia, but they could never obtain any certain account beyond the falls of Barracunda, about 560 miles from its mouth; possibly for the same reasons that have hindered the French from penetrating on the Senaga beyond the rock Govina. One captain Thompson, and after him Jobson, about 1618, ascended the river 120 leagues above Barracunda; Vermuyden and others, about the beginning of king Charles the II'd's. reign, went almost as far; Captain Stibbs, in 1724, went twenty leagues beyond that place; and, in 1732, the African company being desirous to know how far the Gambia was navigable, as well as to open new branches of trade up the river, sent over small sloops in frames for discoveries. Mr. Thomas Harrison, one of their chief merchants, set out from St. James's Fort in a sloop for that purpose, and returned from that Voyage the tenth of June 1732. On examination of the matter, Mr. Moore, our author, found that Harrison himself did not go above Fatafenda, but sent the sloop's boat on the discovery, with Mr. John Leach; who, 22 leagues from thence, found a ledge of table rocks which seemed to cross the river. This joined to his beginning to want provisions, and undergoing several hardships obliged him to return without seeking a passage. It is said, however, that by the tradition of the natives, the river is passable a great way farther up, to some large lakes. This is all we have upon the authority of the negroes. It appears indeed, that in this vast region there are many fountains, marshes, lakes or brooks, which discharge themselves either into the Niger, or the rivers which flow into it, as may be gathered from the countries being so well peopled; a proof of which is the great number of slaves from the inland-parts to the coast, besides those brought in by war and other accidents.

The countries of several negro princes who assume the title of king; lie on the north and south sides of the Gambia, the first on the northern side is Barra, The king of which is of the Mandingo race, and is tributary to the king of Barfali. In this kingdom, about six leagues from the sea, is Charles Isle, within a musquet shot of Barra shore; on which formerly the English had a fort, now in ruins. There are two shoals of sand and rocks in the river on the Barra side, one at Le Main Point, the other at Point Seaca, the first about six miles below James's fort, the latter a little above it. James's island lies opposite to Jilfray; from which a spit, of sand and rocks, runs a good way to the north-north-west, usually called, The Company's Spit. Several traders, particularly Liverpool ships, have run a-ground on it, but have been got off by the company's assistance, without damage

damage or charge; yet could not be prevailed on to give any written acknowledgement of the service, alleging their owners had not ordered them to sign any such thing.

On the east, lies the country of Badelu; in this last, over-against Tancroval, (in the kingdom of Caen, on the south side) is an island, parted only by a small gut of water from Badelu. The isle used formerly to supply James Fort with stone; but, in 1733, Mr. Hall found them much nearer the fort. The king of Badelu is a Mandingo, and his country is 20 leagues in extent.—Sanjally is next, though a petty kingdom, is independent. The prince is a Mandingo, and his dominions extend four leagues along the river.

The kingdom of Barfali is adjacent, governed by a Jalof prince. This country begins at the sea, where the river of the same name enters; and, surrounding the three kingdoms of Barra, Colar, and Badelu, extends for 15 leagues along the Gambia.—Joar, a town of great trade, lies in Barfali, about two miles from the river; the road on which lies, one mile over a pleasant savannah, and the other along a narrow creek, to Cower, the port of it. The separate traders generally come up to trade here, at a place called Rumbo's Point, about three miles above Joar, and the same distance from Cower; which last has the greater resort of people, and the most trade of any town in the whole river.

Beyond the country of Barfali, is the kingdom of Yani, which is large and wide; and divided into two parts, one called Upper, and the other Lower Yani: each governed by a distinct king, the one a Jalof, the other a Mandingo. On the shore of this kingdom lies Bird Isle, about twelve leagues above Joar, in which there is scarcely a tree, but it seems marshy ground. Thirty leagues above this isle, near the same shore, is a numerous cluster of isles, called Sappo: some of them pretty large, but not inhabited. One of them is called Le Main Isle, about four leagues in length, on which are great numbers of wild beasts and palm trees, which brings the natives often here to get palm wine, and to hunt.

Above Yani-marew, is the river Sami, which rises a vast way inland. It abounds in crocodiles, and is said to part Lower from Upper Yani. It enters the Gambia, between Bruckoe and Yamyamacunda. These two kingdoms reach about eighty leagues along the river, and the next to them is Woolli, (or Wal-li, (through which country the merchants are obliged to pass in their way to Cower, before-mentioned, which is a port to Joar. This country extends a great way up the river; but, at Fatatenda, the river is as wide as the Thames, and is navigable for sloops of 40 tons, the tides rising there three or four feet high. It lies about 500 miles up the Gambia, on the north side.

The first kingdom we meet with on the south side, towards the sea, is Cumbo. It extends about eleven leagues from Cape St. Mary's, at the entrance of the Gambia, to a place called Cabata River, noted for plenty of goats, fowls, and cattle. Fonia is next to this; it begins where the river of Cabata falls into the Gambia, and reaches to that of Vintain, which is about seven leagues along the river side, but inland; it is very large, and governed by two emperors of a Bangor race. Each prince has his distinct district; but their territories are much lessened in extent, as well as people, by the great number of their subjects sold into slavery to the Europeans. Fonia is bounded on the east by the river of Vintain (or Binton) whose mouth is about a mile over, and which is navigable for several leagues. Three leagues from the mouth lies the town of the same name, situated in Fonia; and above that, on the same side of the river, is Jereja.—Opposite James Fort, near the main, on the south side of the river, is an island, lately discovered to be such, called Caboshir Island, separated from the main only by a large brook. This island produces great quantities of iron stone, with which James Fort is supplied.

Bordering on to Fonia is Caen, separated only by Vintain river. It is governed by an emperor and a king, both Mandingos, who have their distinct revenues. In this country lies Tancroval, a large town, close to the water side. Above that town, about three leagues, are a parcel of rocks, at a place, or port, called Tendebras, lying a good way out from the shore, which are dry at low water. This country extends about twenty-three leagues along the Gambia. Eastward of Caen, is Jagra, famous for labouring people, and abounding, on that account, with corn and rice. To this kingdom, which extends about 12 leagues, belongs Elephant Isle, in the Gambia, four or five miles long, woody, and marshy.

Yamina, which is next, extends 14 leagues, and then begins Eropina, a petty kingdom, extending 14 leagues farther, where it is bounded by Jamarrow. This kingdom is governed by a Mandingo emperor, and extends thirty-two leagues along the river. Here is a large town, called Brucoe, inhabited by Mandingos, who are strict Mahomettans. Half a mile below this town is a ledge of rocks, dry at low water, reaching from the northern shore, five parts in six, across the river, and leave so narrow a channel under the south shore as makes it dangerous for large ships to pass it; so that the company's sloops are obliged to take the opportunity of slack water to go through this place, which is called Fulis-Pass. In this empire, nine miles higher, near a town called Dubacunda, is another parcel of rocks, which reach from the south side two-thirds across; and three miles yet higher, another chain of rocks, dry at low water; but there is a deep channel on the north side.

Tomani, which is next to this, is a large country, fuller of towns than any on the river. Here is the small town called Yamyamacunda, where there is a considerable trade for dry goods. A little below this town, about mid-channel, are some rocks, but never dry; and opposite the factory, on the north side the river, about half a mile, is a standing lake about two miles long, abounding in fish. This country extends along the river for the distance of twenty-six leagues, and is governed by a Mandingo prince.

Cantor begins beyond Tomani, on the south side of the river below Fatatenda, is Colar, about 500 miles from Cape St. Mary's, to the southward of Gambia river.

The countries on both sides were originally divided into several small kingdoms, subject to three greater. Those on the south side were subject to the king of Cantor; those on the north, to the kings of Barfali and Woolly.

Fort James is the first and principal place of strength in these parts, belonging to the English. It is situate on an island of the same name, which intirely commands the trade of the river. The second is near the Gambia, on the river Cabata, in the kingdom of Cumbo, on the south side. Jillifree [or Jilfray] lies opposite to James's Fort, on the north side. The company have a burial ground here, and pay the customs to the king of Barra.—Vintain factory lies six leagues from the fort of Fonia, on the south side of the Gambia, where the chief trade is for wax, ivory, and dry goods. On the same river, higher up, lies Jereja. This factory is about 14 leagues distant from James's Fort, and chiefly furnished with dry goods, in order to purchase wax, which however is of a very indifferent quality.

In the year 1730, Colar factory was settled on a river of the same name, in the kingdom of Barra, on the north side of the Gambia. Still higher on the south side in the kingdom of Kaen [or Caen] lies Tancroval, a large town where the company have a factory, the trade of which is chiefly for bees wax. Proceeding up the river on the north side, is the kingdom of Barfali, which we have noticed lies near Joar, and three miles to the eastward, is Cower, which is the chief place for trade. It has two ports on the river. There is a factory here; and the next is at Yanimarew (in the kingdom of Lower Yani) where

is a black factor, in order to purchase corn for James's fort.

Near the north side of Gambia; is Cutfejar: This settlement being overflowed in 1725, the company removed to Semi. On the south side of the river; beyond this, in the kingdom of Tomani; lies the factory of Yamyamacunda, which was destroyed by the floods in 1733, but afterwards rebuilt by the company.

At these last places, the chief trade carried on is for elephant's teeth, and slaves. The highest factory on the Gambia is Fatatenda, in the kingdom of Woolli, which has an extensive and pleasant prospect of the river, and of the country of Cantor, on the south side, but the factories here having been ill used by the king of Tomani, the company withdrew this settlement in 1734.

James's island, which belongs to the African company, lies almost in the middle of the river Gambia, which is here seven miles wide. It is ten leagues from the river's mouth, and three miles from the nearest shore. At low water, it is about three quarters of a mile in circumference, upon which there is a square fort of stone already built, with four bastions, and upon each are seven canons well mounted, besides batteries which command the river. There are some good apartments in the fort, in which the governors, chief merchants, factors, writers, and ensign, &c. Under some of these are convenient storehouses. The whole is fortified with pallisadoes, and surrounded with the river. There are also barracks for the soldiers, and others for the servants. Underneath these storehouses, and under those of the soldiers, are the slave-houses. In the day there are three sentries, one at the gate of the fort, one at the door of the public room, and another who walks round the fort to see what boats come to, and go from the island, of which they make a report to the governor. This fort was first erected by Sir Robert Holmes, about the year 1664, as a security to the English trade on this coast; who called it James's fort, in honour of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. The garrison consists generally of 60 or 70 whites, and as many Gromettos, or free blacks, in the company's service.

This fort was first taken by the French, under M. de Gennes, in 1695, with a small squadron of four ships, and two bomb-vessels. At the isle of Goree; he received by an English deserter, an account of the ill condition of the fort, the garrison being sickly, and wanting provisions, which encouraged him to make the attempt. He entered the Gambia, July the 22d, with English colours, and at five in the afternoon, anchored within a league of the fort, which he surrounded so with his boats, as to cut off all communication with the land. The same night a Portuguese, called Don Carlos, who lived at Jilfray, came on board, and informed M. de Gennes of the state of the fort, but the king of Barraha, to whom the French commander applied, declined entering into the quarrel. The 23d, the Sieur de la Roque being sent to summon the garrison, he was met by a boat, and conducted blindfold to the fort, where the lieutenant treated him splendidly, the governor being absent, and sent three English officers on board who were instructed to demand some days respite. This being refused, the English sent him word the next morning, that they would defend the place to the last extremity.

At eight in the evening of the 24th, some bombs being thrown, which fell short of their mark, the French commander ceased firing, waiting for the tide of flood for anchoring nearer. In the mean time the governor sent a flag of truce to capitulate, and hostages were exchanged till the terms could be settled, which were signed the same day.

On the 27th, at break of day, M. de la Perriere, major to the squadron, gave notice to Mr. Hanbury, the governor, to prepare to evacuate the place. At six in the morning, M. de Fontenay, appointed go-

vernor by M. de Gennes, landed, and was met by Mr. Hanbury, who delivered up the keys, and was conveyed on board the Felicite, one of the squadron. The French flag was hoisted, and Te Deum sung under a discharge of 37 guns. The next day a French officer was sent to the king of Barraha; to demand the effects of the English at Jilfray, but he replied, That since the fort was surrendered, what was on shore belonged to him; but seeing that M. de Gennes was about to employ force; he sent an alcali to tell him; he would have no dispute, but would yield up the effects. The French general having destroyed the fort, the 27th of the same month, the English officers embarked for Cayenne, on their way home; and M. de Gennes left the Gambia on the 24th, and sailed for Brasil.

The place being restored by the peace of Ryswic, the Royal African company took care to rebuild it, intending to remount it with 90 guns; and to maintain a garrison of 250 Europeans. However; the war breaking out afresh in 1702, the French, the same year, found means to surprise it under Captain la Roque in the Mutine who was at the taking of it by M. de Gennes in 1695) accompanied by the Sieur de St. Vandrilie, in the Hermione frigate. They took the fort, which they ransomed for 100,000 crowns; carrying off 250 slaves, and a large quantity of goods. La Roque himself was killed in the attack. In 1709, the French made a third attempt, under M. Parente, with a small squadron of four frigates, which took the fort; and a ship laden with slaves. After this, it was taken twice by the English pirates; who infested the coast of Guinea about 1720; of which the following is an account.

The first of these actions was performed by Howard Davis, who sailing from Bristol with Captain Skinner in the Cadogan Snow; was taken in 1719; near Sierra Leona, by England the pirate, who murdered the captain; and made Davis a compliment of the ship; but finding the majority of the crew averse to the design, he was forced to steer for Barbadoes; where the cargo was consigned, and on the information of the sailors, put in prison. However; as he had committed no piratical act, he was released; and employed by Captain Woods Rogers in a trading sloop, which being manned chiefly with pirates, they at Davis's motion, agreed to return to their old course of business, and chose him for their captain. At first he had pretty good success. Coming to St. Jago; the chief town of one of the Cape Verd islands, and being offended at the governor's suspecting them to be pirates; he entered the fort in the night, but the governor holding out in his house, he quitted it, after doing the Portuguese great damage. Hence he sailed to the river Gambia, in order to attempt St. James's fort; where he told his men, there was always a great deal of money lodged. This, every thing considered, was a desperate enterprise. The method he took was this, He concealed his men under deck, except as many as were requisite to work the ship, so that those from the fort might have no suspicion. He then ran in close to the fort, and hoisted out his boat, with six men in ordinary jackets, in which himself, with the master and surgeon, dressed like gentlemen, went on shore. Being arrived at the landing place; he was received by a file of musqueteers, and conducted to the fort, and being examined by the governor; he informed him, he was from Liverpool, bound to the Senega, for gum and teeth, but had been chased on the coast by two French men of war; adding, that their cargo was iron and plate. The governor told Davis he would let him have slaves to the full value of his cargo; and asked if he had any European liquor on board? Davis replied, He had some for the ship's use, but a hamper was at his service. The governor asked him and his officers to dinner; he accepted of the invitation, and while it was getting ready, went on board, under pretence of giving some orders, leaving his companions on shore. Having made the proper observations for executing his design, during his stay

stay at the fort, he returned before noon with his boat's crew privately armed. He had given them instructions to converse with the soldiers in the guard-room, and when he fired a pistol as a signal, to secure the arms of the garrison. Davis found the governor and his associates, preparing a bowl of punch for dinner, and having taken his opportunity to secure him, fired his pistol. On this his men seized the arms in the guard-room, making the garrison prisoners, whom they locked up in the room. Davis then ordered the union flag on the fort to be struck, which his men on board seeing, sent him the reinforcement agreed on, so that he remained master of the fort without resistance. Many of the soldiers in the company's service entered with him, and those who refused, he immediately secured on board a sloop he found in the river. After this, he plundered the place, where he found to the amount of 2000 pounds in bar gold, and many other valuable effects, which he sent on board, and then demolished the fortifications.

The company sent the Gambia Castle, Captain Russel, in 1721, with a company of soldiers, commanded by Major Massey, to garrison St. James's

fort, which had lately been taken and destroyed by the pirate Davis. She arrived in the Gambia about May, and landed her men under Massey, on St. James's island, where Colonel Whitney the governor had just arrived. Both the governor and Massey were greatly dissatisfied with the reception they met with from the merchants. Massey in particular was very loud in his complaints. George Lowther, second mate of the Gambia Castle, having a pique against Russel his captain, instigated the ship's company, over whom he had a great influence, to join with Massey in his discontent, and flattered him, that by securing the ship, he would convey him back to England. Massey proposing this to his men, they all seconded his design, on which he set guards on the store-room; and after sending on board all the provisions, and dismounting the guns, went on board Lowther, who had secured the ship in Russel's absence, and got ready to sail, which he did the next day. Massey after this, turned pirate with Lowther, but soon after quitted that sort of life, and returning home, was brought on his trial and was hanged.—James's Fort has since been fully re-established.

A VOYAGE TO THE AFRICAN COASTS, IN THE SWALLOW AND WEYMOUTH, BY Mr. ATKINS.

THE Swallow and Weymouth that performed this voyage, the relation of which we have from Mr. T. Atkins, sailed from Spithead, February 5, 1720, taking in necessaries for a double voyage down to the coast of Guinea, with an intention to destroy the pirates, who greatly infested those parts, and destroyed their trade and factories. The African company's governor for Gambia, and other places, went under their convoy.—

As they passed the western extremity of England, the author observed that from the equal depth of water found here, and from doors, windows, and roots of trees, formerly hooked up by the fishermen, it seems to have been in ages past, contiguous with the little rocky islands of Scilly, by a land called the Lioness, which had been separated by some violent shock from the coast.

About the length of Cape Finisterre they met with continual westerly winds, very unusual to the coast of Portugal. A day or two's sail from Madeira, they fell in with the commodore Matthews, in the Lion, bound with a squadron of four sail to the East Indies, for suppressing the pirates there.

The Swallow parted with the Weymouth on the 13th of November, bound with the governor and factors to Gambia river. Coming near the land of Cape Verd, they took up several turtles, who love sleeping on a smooth surface, which they had now, it being calm. They saw also abundance of flying fish, and their perpetual enemies the Albecore and Dolphin. This last is a strait fish, four or five feet long, with a forked tail perpendicular to the horizon; plays familiarly about ships, is of a dry taste, but makes tolerable broth. These are seldom seen out of the latitude of a trade wind, and the flying fish never; these last are the bigness of small herrings: their wings, about two thirds of its length, come narrow from the body, and end broad. They fly by the help of them a full long at a time, when pursued, turning in their flight; they sometimes dip in the sea and rise again, the wind making them by this expedient fleet.—They steered south-south-west to avoid the shoals of Grande; and

hawling in for the land again, waited till they came into the latitude of Sierra Leona, some other shoals lying on the north side of that river. The soundings in with the cape are gradual from sixty fathoms, about twelve leagues off to thirteen. Cape Sierra Leona is known by a single tree much larger than the rest, and high land on the back of it. They anchored on the 7th in the third bay from the cape, which is very commodious for watering and wooding, and regular tides as any part of the channel in England. Going on shore here on the 18th, they visited Signor Joseph, who resided there.

On the 28th of April they left Sierra Leona, and May the 1st, they were joined by the Weymouth from Gambia. She ran on a sand on that river, and with great difficulty got off. Those of the Swallow likewise, while at Sierra Leona, letting in water to the ship one evening had forgot the plug, till she had five or six feet water in the hold.—At Cape St. Mary's, the starboard entrance of the Gambia, they found no canibals, as is commonly reported among sailors, but a civilised people, with whom they wooded this ship. They were off Cape Monte on the 4th, and the next day off Monserada, both highlands; the former appearing with a double, the latter with a single hummock, the country trending from them low and woody; about thirty-five fathoms water three leagues from shore.

From the latter came off a canoe with a caboshier, Captain John Hee, distinguished by an old hat, and sailor's jacket, with a greater number of thick brass rings on his fingers and toes than his attendants. He seemed shy of entering the ship, for fear of being seized, his town's people having often suffered by the treachery of ships, and they as often return it, with cruelty, "which (says the author) has given rise to the report of their canibals at several places, very unlikely any where, because in that case they could neither have trade nor neighbours." The fetish they brought off, on this dangerous voyage, was a bundle of small black sticks, like a bundle of Asparagus, put into a bag, knit of silk-grass, and hanging over one of their shoulders,

shoulders, seeming to place a security and confidence in it. Atkins would have handled and tasted it, but found it put them in a fright; they making signs, to deter him, saying in their language, "If you eat, you will die presently."

The distrust on both sides made their present business only begging old breeches, shirts, rags, biscuits, and whatever else they saw; parting in a hurry, and calling to one another for that end, in a note like that which butchers use in driving cattle.

They anchored before Sestos, on the 10th of May. The River is about half the breadth of the Thames, a narrow entrance only for boats on the starboard side, between two rocks; which, on great swells and winds, make the shooting of it dangerous, the rest of the breadth being choaked with sands. Here may be purchased considerable quantities of rice, and the river abounds with fish.

The king, who commanded here, had the name of Pedro: he lived about five miles up the river. A sample of negro majesty. The royal present was sent by a lieutenant and purser. Arriving at the king's town, they were ushered or thrust, by some of the courtiers into the common hall, in order to wait the king's dressing, and coming from the palace, his public audience being always in the presence of his people. After waiting an hour, his majesty came, attended by a hundred naked nobles, all smoking, and a horn blowing before him. The king had a dirty red bays gown on, checkered with patchwork of other colours, like a Merry-andrew, and a fellow to bear the train; which was a narrow slip of culgee tacked to the bottom of the gown. He had an old black full bottomed wig, uncombed, an old hat, not half big enough, and so set considerably behind the fore-top, that made his meagre face like a scare-crow; coarse shoes and stockings, unbuckled and untied, and a brass chain of twenty pounds weight at least about his neck.

The ambassadors presented him a gun, two pieces of ship-beef, a cheese, a bottle of brandy, a dozen of pipes, and two dozen of congees. But Pedro, did not seem pleased when he saw the present, as it consisted of such things as he had not present occasion for: asking to take them back, and give him their breeches, sullied a little with kneeling in the dirt: but on a consultation with his ministers, the present was accepted, and the officers dismissed.

To give the king a good opinion of their generosity they made it up to his son Tom Freeman; who, to shew his good nature, came on board un-invited, and bringing his flagelet, obliged them with some wild notes. Him they dressed with an edged hat, a wig, and a sword; and gave him a patent on a large sheet of parchment, creating him duke of Sestos. This was taken so kindly by the father, that he sent them a couple of goats in return, and sent his younger son Josée for further marks of their favour; whom they dignified also, on a small consideration, with the title of prince of Baxos.

In one of these towns; to which they had leave to go, some others of them paid a visit to his majesty, whom they found at his palace. The entrance was narrow like a port-hole, leading into what one might call his court yard; a little spot, and two or three huts in it, which were the apartments of his women. From this they peeped through another portico, and discovered him on the left-hand, upon a place on the outside of his house, raised like a shop-board; and smoking with two or three old women (the favourite diversion of both sexes.) His dress and figure, with the novelty of the English, created mutual smiles for a few minutes, when they took leave with the Atti, hoo!

They left Sestos on the 18th of May, and sailing along a coast low like Holland, in two or three days reached Cape Palma; weighed from Jaque a Jaques the 28th; the 30th came before Bassam; the 31st, before Assini, passing by that unfathomable place,

called the bottomless-pit, seven leagues below Jaque a Jaques, where the depth is all over unfathomable, and three miles across. The natives every where appeared shy of correspondence till they came upon the Gold Coast. June the second, they anchored at Cape Apollonia. At Jaque a Jaques they met with the Robert of Bristol, Captain Harding, who sailed from Sierra Leona before them, having purchased thirty slaves, of which Captain Tomba was one: he gave them the following melancholy story: That this Tomba; about a week before, had combined with three or four of the stoutest of his countrymen to mutiny, being assisted by a woman slave, who telling him one night that there were only five white men on deck, and they asleep, brought him a hammer at the same time to execute his treachery: he could only engage one more to follow him on the deck, besides the woman, when finding three sailors on the fore-castle, he presently dispatched two with single strokes on the temples; the others rousing with the noise, one of them seized Tomba, but was murdered by him in the same manner. But the last two out of the five taking the alarm, stood upon their guard, and their defence soon awakened the master underneath, who running up, took a handspike, and felling Tomba with it, secured them all in irons.

Captain Harding only whipped the two stout slaves; but the three other abettors (though not actors, nor of strength for it) he sentenced to cruel deaths, making them first eat the heart and livers of one of them he killed. The woman he hoisted by the thumbs, whipped, and flashed her with knives, before the other slaves till she died.

They anchored at Axim, on the 6th of June; the first European factory belonging to the Dutch; and next day they came to Cape Tres Puntas. Most ships touch here for the convenience of water (which is more difficultly supplied above) each vessel paying an ounce of gold for the privilege. John Conny, then the principal caboshir, whose town lies three miles westward, sent off a servant with his commission, which was a large gold-headed cane, engraved with his name, to demand it. Their neglect in it, with some obvious ill treatment of the agent, brought John down next day with a posse, who seizing on their water-casks on shore, carried ten or a dozen of their men prisoners to his town. The officer among them, endeavouring to distinguish the king's ship from others, got his head broke; John, who understood English enough to swear, saying at the same time; By G—, that he was king there. However, after some trouble, he accepted, in recompence, six ounces of gold, and an anker of brandy.

The Danish fort stood on a hill adjoining, which some few years since, having being relinquished by them, and thereby falling into John's possession, has occasioned some contest between him and the Dutch; these last pretending a title of purchase in 1720, sent a bomb vessel, and two or three frigates to demand a surrender; but John being a bold and subtle fellow, answered, that he expected some instrument should be shewn him to confirm the sale; and even with that (said he) "I can see no pretence but to the guns, the brick and stone of the building, for the ground was not theirs to dispose of; they paid no rent for it (continues he) and since they have thought fit to remove, I do not design to tenant it out to any other white men while I live." This sort of discourse vexed the Dutch, who threw in some bombs and shot; and then rashly landed forty of their men, under the command of a lieutenant to attack the town: they fired once without any damage, and then John, at the head of his men, rushing from under cover of the houses with a greater force, cut them in pieces, paying the entrance of his palace, soon after, with their skulls.

This made him very exact with every body about what he called his dues, though just in trade; when the English had returned to a good understanding, the author with some other officers paid him a visit. The southerly winds made so great a surf, that their landing

landing was dangerous, nor to be performed by their own boats; but by canoes of his sending; for which they paid them. John himself stood on shore to receive them, attended with a guard of thirty men, under bright arms; who conducted them to his house. This was a pretty large building, raised from the materials of the fort. It ascends with a double stone stair-case without, of twelve steps; on that floor are three good rooms; one his armory; another his chamber, with a standing bed in it; and a third for entertainment of guests, furnished with tables, chairs, &c. The way to it lay through two court-yards; the outer had houses for officers and servants belonging to him; the inner, (a spacious square) had a guard room and good armory fronting the entrance, with piazzas to accommodate his guards, and imitates in some measure the grandeur of the Prussian governors; with whom John had been a servant for some years. He was a strong-made man, about fifty, of a fullen look, and commanded the respect of being bare-headed from all the negroes about him. He shewed very great civility to the English, who had returned his salute of six guns, and made up the breach of watering on his own terms.

Finding him chearful and familiar, they now ventured to ask him what was become of the Dutchmens skulls that lately paved the entrance of his house? He answered, that about a month before their ships arrival, he had put them into a chest, with some brandy, pipes, and tobacco, and buried them. "For, says he, it is time that all malice should depart, and the putting up a few necessities with the corpse, such as they loved, is our way of respecting the deceased." The author learned, that it was customary with the rich, to sacrifice a slave or two also at their funerals. The under jaw-bones of these Dutchmen, John shewed him strung, and hanging on a tree in the court-yard.

This chief was no less vigorous in inflicting punishments, than exacting his dues. A few weeks before the ships arrival he had condemned a murderer, (although he seemed excusable on the principle of self-defence, which John did not understand) and made the criminal's own brother, who was one of his best servants, to be the executioner before his face, by tying a large stone, like a millstone, about his neck, and throwing him into the sea.

By his riches and power, John had ingrossed the trade of the place: and by those means reduced the traders profits to twenty per cent, a disadvantage which themselves contributed to, by underselling one another.

The English left Cape Tres Puntas, on the 14th of June, and the 15th, anchored at Dixcove, an English factory. This, Succonda, Anamaboo, and others, though called factories, are the residence only of two or three people from the principal one of Cape Corso, who have commission for what trade they transact, besides their regular salary.

On the 16th, they weighed from thence, and anchored next day before Cape Corso castle, the English African company's chief fort; the residence of their governor, styled director-general, two merchants, a secretary, chaplain, surgeon, factors, writers, miners, artificers, and a company of soldiers, with buildings and conveniencies inside, for themselves or slaves.

About the time of this voyage, the company had raised by subscription, 392,400 pounds, and in December, 1722, made a call of five per cent, allowing the proprietors as had been accustomed, a dividend of three per cent. In December, 1723, they exposed to sale 200,000 pounds stock, at thirty per cent. "Which, says the author, shewed their affairs had but an ill aspect."

On the 26th of June they went to Anamaboo, a noted port for windward ships: the 28th, to Mountford; the 30th, to Barkee, and then Shalloe. Through the whole course from Sierra Leona, it may be observed, that wood, candles, or any other ship's necessities are hard to get; the former, not from a

want in the country (it being over-run) but an impassable beach, where there is no navigable river, and the diffidence of the negroes, where it might be best supplied; and the other, because merchant-ships do not expect a trade of that sort, and therefore unprovided.

Passing by Accra, the River Volta and the Papan Coast, they anchored at Whidah, July the 4th. The whole coast was a straight line, without gulphs or bays, is thick set with trees, having a tendency of the sea with the wind, and every where a very rough and turbulent beach.

They passed by a high mount before they reached Accra, which the author was told has been seen to smoke like a volcano. For this reason, and because it is the haunt of wild beasts, it is called the Devil's Hill. But the most danger to travellers is from a prodigious number of apes, some five feet long; and monkeys, who attack single passengers and drive them into the water, where these creatures are afraid to follow. They left Whidah on the 20th, and the 28th arrived at Prince's Island, belonging to the Portuguese. In their approach they saw every day many whales, threshers, and petrels. Here they cleaned their ships, heaving down by one another, but with the fatigue and heat together, as also the irregularity of the sailors, buried three or four men a day for six weeks together.

They arrived very healthy; but the island furnishing palm-wines, and the means of debauching at easy rates, and their tents also giving opportunity, the seamen soon ran into excess, which brought on a malignant fever, that reduced them in two months to deliberate whether they could proceed safely to sea, without a return of men from England, the Weymouth not being able to purchase her anchors, and the Swallow with difficulty: but the author, as surgeon, judged it best to go, though in the most sickly condition, since being thus removed from the cause of their calamity, (calms, heats, excessive and disorderly living) whoever were visited with the distemper, would find a crisis in recovery or death, which would stop the infection. Therefore, with the assistance of some men from a Dutch East-India ship, that happened to put in, they got under sail. The fevers for want of necessities turned in many to fluxes, and pursued them, with violence. The Weymouth, which brought out of England a complement of 240 men, having at the end of her voyage 180 dead upon her books.

On the 20th of September, they left Princes Isle, and anchored the 28th at St. Thomas, about a league from the fort, which lies on the larboard point of the bay. This is the principal of the three Portuguese islands on this coast. Hogs and fowls are exceeding cheap.

Happy it was for Mr. Rowry, the master of a Bristol vessel there, that the man of war came in; for his men had made him prisoner, and were disposing of the slaves at a very easy rate with the governor, who rejects no schemes of profit. Rowry, who had been discountenanced by him on his mens complaint, was now heard indeed; but not knowing rightly the method of getting men to get away his brigantine in their company, he was obliged to have what price the governor would set on her and her cargo, and took passage with them for Cape Corso; where upon demand, he accompanied his leave with a handsome acknowledgement for his diet, and went home with the account.

They regained the Gold Coast in fifteen days from this island, and leaving it again, October the 5th, stretched with their starboard-tacks to westward, designing to stretch as far to windward as possible, that if any pirate should be on the coast, they might have them under their lee.

On the 20th, they fell in with Cape Apollonia, and the 23d, anchored at Axim, having met in the passage some sprinklings, which they understood had been heavy showers on shore. On the 24th, they came.

came to Cape Three Points, where neglecting to pay John Conny his duty for water, he seized some of their men till satisfied.

They departed on the 30th, and arrived next day at Cape Corso, where they understood that the pirates under the command of Captain Roberts, had been plundering their ships down the whole coast, but were then thought to be gone off; the latest account of any who had suffered, being in August last: therefore being under no apprehension of their return, they divided the provisions which had been sent thither from England, to them, leaving the *Weymouth*, now disabled to weigh her anchor; November the 10th, the *Swallow* stretched away to windward, and in a month's cruise repeated their visits to Suceonda, Dixcove, Acquedah, Cape Tres Puntas, Axim, Cape Apollonias Affini, Bassam, Jaques, &c. Their design was to secure trade, air a sickly ship, by purchasing slaves, and impressing men from the merchant vessels. Many prevented this, by running away from ill treatment, (as they called it) bad or short diet; but as more went with the pirates on the same pretence, the author observes, sailors are governed merely by caprice or humour in this respect.

They keeled and scrubbed their ship at Suceonda, and at Dixcove they were informed, that the soldiers, who came under their convoy for the African company's service at Gambia, had mutinied with Captain Massey, one of their officers, disdaining the bad usage of the merchants who had the command of victualling them; that after nailing up the guns, they retired to the ship *Bumper*, which brought them over, and there by a joint consent of George Lowther, the second mate, and some of the sailors, proceeded to sea.

At Cape Apollonia, they found all their old acquaintance were gone. The queen, who two or three months before had sent off a dashi of four akkis, was lately with her people forced to remove to Affini. It seems the Santis or Affantis, on the rock of the Appollonians, being provoked by their frequent depredations, had lately been down and driven them from their habitations, through (themselves said) the instigation of John Conny, their neighbour and competitor. At Affini, therefore, they found them preparing to revenge this injury; they bought up all their trading arms at a good price, and gave a fowl for every flint they could spare, (there being no such thing in the country). They are as fearless as any of their colour both in trade and war, and promised themselves an amendment of their fortunes, which the author since then was informed they had accomplished against Conny.

At Cape Tres Puntas, they found the water pond almost dried up, though the wind at south-east had brought on two or three heavy showers of rain. These falling, constant thick fogs succeeded in the day; and what was very unusual, at the distance they lay at anchor, they had dews in the night on board. The current set westward.

On the 6th of January they anchored at Mina, the Dutch African company's principal fort, and next day at Cape Corso, which they left on the 10th, in pursuit of the pirates, the governor having received two or three expresses, informing him, that they had taken a ship near Axim, the place they had but just come from.

The pirate Roberts having struck a panic into the traders, the men of war were several times in their late cruise, alarmed with reports of their being again to windward, which kept them plying; but these reports being contradicted, and the rashness of the attempt considered, they returned to their rendezvous into Cape Corso road, where they had scarcely arrived, before Phipps received intelligence, that they had taken a vessel a few leagues off, and committed great cruelties. The pirates were well manned, having much increased their number by this double expedition, and the reputation of their successes, the seamen every where entering with them, and when they

refused, it was by report, rather through fear, than any detestation of the practice. They concluded therefore to follow them to Whidah, that being, next to Cape Corso, the chief place for booty. Accordingly, January 15, arriving there, they learned that the pirates had plundered and ransomed eleven sail of ships, and left the place but two days before, on the report of their following them, when they missed of them by 24 hours. The 19th, they came before the Isle of Princes, and found the Portuguese strangers to the news.

On the first of February, they anchored at the mouth of the river Gabone, a good harbour, they thought, for their reception, the navigation being difficult; but finding them not there, they departed the 3d, for Cape Lopez, where, arriving, they soon discovered the three pirate ships at anchor in that bay. One of them, which was upon the heel, righted at sight of them, slipped her cable, and began the chase, bending some of her sails as she came out, by which they saw the rashness of their enemy, who fell a prize to them before night.

On the 10th they got up with the cape again, and found the prize's comforts very easy in the bay, where they staid so long, that the pursuers doubted if they would move for them; but at length, as the men of war advanced, their eyes were soon opened, when all mad and frightened, they cut their cables, and set their sails; up went the black flag, and in great despair, they continued a running fight, while only the chase guns could play upon them, and struck presently when a broad-side reached them, without the least damage done to the *Swallow*; drunkenness, inadvertancy, and disorder making them fall an easy prey. February the 12th, they anchored at Cape Lopez bay, seizing there the third pirate ship that had been deserted by the hands, for their better escape or defence, in the other.

The pirates, singly, were men of courage, yet wanting discipline, and some director to unite that force, were a contemptible enemy, they neither killed nor wounded a man in taking, which must ever, in the same circumstances, be the consequent fate of such battles.

They found in the three ships above 300 Englishmen, 60 or 70 stout negro slaves, a great plenty of trading goods, and a large quantity of gold dust, to the value of 10,000l.

[The people, their wives and widows, who thought themselves injured by it, petitioned the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the secretaries, and other officers of state, for a recal of this grant. The officers joined also in a petition for the earl of Berkeley's interposition, to obtain for them the division they might prove over and above what was suggested in obtaining the privy seal, but without any success.]

The number of prisoners gave a great deal of fatigue and uneasiness, during a six week's passage, left their situation should prompt them to some desperate attempt for their liberty. February the 18th, they were brought to their trials, when fifty-two were executed, seventy-four acquitted, twenty condemned to servitude, and seventeen committed to the *Mar-shalfea*.]

While they staid in the road, two officers paid a visit to Mr. Butler, the director general for the Dutch at St. George del Mina, three leagues to windward, he received them so much more kindly, that in 18 years which he had resided on the coast, he had seldom been visited by his countrymen, and of late not at all, which he imputed to the misunderstandings that were frequent between him and Mr. Phipps, on account of trade; they therefore could not pay him this compliment without offending the other. His table had ten dishes, an extraordinary show in a place of such scarcity, with variety of beer and wine, and an attendance of six negro servants, each wearing a gold chain about his neck, the largeness distinguishing grandeur, as fine cloth or lace does a livery. When dinner was over,

over, he gave them four gold rings each, (the make of the country) to remember him, and then shewed them his store-houses, large and well stocked. In the afternoon they retired to a summer-house in the garden, and in the evening his officers attended them to the boat, where they were still followed with marks of undeserved respect, three or four boxes of Brasil sugar, (then a scarce commodity) and at putting off, a salute of nine guns. But they were not used so hospitably at the English castle. —

They left Cape Corse on the first of May, 1722, and on the third came down to Whidah. Here they took a sailor out of a Portuguese ship, that had been a confederate in taking Captain Rowry's vessel, as mentioned before, at St. Thomas's; he, on the reflection of his crime, and fear of worse evil, cut his throat. About this time the author was made purser to the Weymouth; almost every body being dead who was fit for the office. He undertook it with reluctance, being unqualified himself, and neither cooper, steward, nor necessaries on board, but the indulgence he expected from a worthy commander, and some little advantage in quitting the surgeon's employ, were persuasives.

On the 5th, both men of war steered from Cape Lopez, to wood and water, (to go for the West Indies) where they arrived the 26th. This is a safe and pleasant bay; they anchored in 20 fathoms; the cape north-west by north; the watering-place south by east, each a mile and an half distance. Coming in, they brought the cape south-west, to avoid what most charts lay down, the shoal called Frenchman's Bank, about a league and an half north north-east from the cape; and there are other shoals between that and the main to the northward.

At Cape Lopez the people sell one another, but few will venture on board European ships. Their familiar way of saluting is by clasping their hands two or three times to one another. To a superior, the cabosher, or aged, they bend the knee, raising first their hands to the out parts of their shoulders, or arms, then patting the others hands gently three times, and crying Chamba each time, they fall back, clapping their own hands. To express an extraordinary friendship, they raise your hand as high as they can reach. Many of them have borrowed names from the Europeans. They do not solicit this favour till after several views, they see something to be admired, or think the persons have some fancied sympathy, or likeness with themselves. As they come down in tribes to trade, each has a captain or leader, who loves to distinguish himself by an imitation of the European dress, and is often so awkwardly set out with hat, wig, and breeches, that he makes a much more ridiculous figure than any of his naked attendants.

Jacobus was one of these, he took on him the title of king, without knowing the meaning, and came on board the Swallow in a very antique figure, an old sailor's wig turned upside down, half a pair of breeches, jacket, hat, &c. yet he seemed revered much by the others; and in drinking, two of them always hold up a cloth before his face, that he might not be seen.

The custom (says Atkins) seems to have a state in it, and is borrowed, perhaps, from some neighbouring monarch, of Monomotapa. As Jacobus and his company grew drunk, (for they drank nothing but bumpers of brandy) this respect was laid aside, and what was a great misfortune, the prince and his retinue beheld, with winking eyes, all their hovels on fire on shore. The occasion was as follows: the ships having all their colours flying, and some guns fired in honour of the 29th of May, another leader on shore misinterpreting it, as a particular respect to Jacobus, grew jealous, seized his house during the revel, his wives and his daughters, drank up all his brandy, eat all his victuals, thrashed his people, and set both his houses on fire.

Next morning, on unravelling the mystery, the

passion was over, and all became good friends again. — They have very little knowledge or use of fire arms, because they have scarce any trade, their weapons being spears, arrows, and clubs; and it is a bloody battle among them when half a dozen of a side are knocked down. — Wood is sold at the rate of a fathom for an old Guinea sheet; their water free and easily come at, but is a standing pool, and not so well tasted as from springs. Here they purchased wax for making candles, now exceeding scarce, and it is the most convenient place for ships of war at leaving the country.

Leaving Cape Lopez and the coast, on the 5th of June, they came in sight of the island Annabona, the breezes small at south, and calms alternately. They cruised three or four days for their consort the Swallow, which they lost in a fog, and then went forward. July the first, they made Cape Augustine in Brasil, a Portuguese colony, and anchored the 4th in Farnambuco-road, the next great port of trade in this province to Bahia.

The 12th they left Brasil, having found the trade-winds blow home, and increased in their strength to this continent, bringing a dangerous swell into the road. August the 3d, they anchored in Carlisle Bay at Barbadoes, where they took in a supply of rum and provisions. They left it the 9th, and on the 23d they arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica, where they found the Swallow had arrived a week before; but on the 28th, a hurricane drove the prize pirate ship on shore, blew away all their masts, with other damages, that detained them here six months to refit.

Both ships having fixed their jury-masts, on the first of January they left Port Royal, and anchored at the Kays. February the 7th, they left the Kays to make the windward passage, and worked up to Portmorant in six or seven days, a distance of 12 leagues, where the passage is, in a manner, gained, because the lee of Hispaniola makes a smooth water, and intercepts the trade wind often in flaws to advantage. They met calms however for three or four days, but on the 17th got sight of the little island Novatia, where the people of Jamaica kill guanias. The 19th they put into Donna-Maria Bay, at the west end of Hispaniola; the usual stop, especially of the king's ships, in those parts for wood and water. They filled their casks at a valley a mile southward of the two brown cliffs, where is very good water, except in some winds, when the sea gets over the bar. There are two other places nearer those cliffs, and not so easily overflowed. Here they bought some jerked hog's flesh from two or three friendly hunters, belonging to Petit Guavas. — At leaving the bay, a strong south wind soon set them between Cape St. Nicholas and Maize, when they came into small winds, and a current in their favour, made by the old Bahama-freight and islands disposed here.

The 26th, near the Island of Heniago, they recovered the true trade wind, east half north; the 28th saw the rocks, called Hogties, by their observations in 21 deg. 38 min. being something more north than the charts. At noon they came round Atkin's Kays, (pretty high out of the water) and before night made Crooked, or Well Island. The last from which they took their departure, was Watlin's Kay, 24 degrees north, the trade wind continuing with them to the latitude of 32 degrees, but faint and weak from 27, caused, as supposed, by the contest between the variable wind and that. — From 26 to 37 degrees latitude, as far north as Virginia, they found every day large quantities of gulf-weed floating about the ship, and lessening in proportion to the distance; so called from a conviction of its flowing from the shoals of Florida, and by being found 3 or 400 leagues north-east, a-breast of the continent. This argues, the author says, in favour of a current, though insensible; or that it is longer or more to the northward than southward in those latitudes; and contrarily, in higher north latitudes, near the seas, the continent, have a tendency southward, which is demonstrated in those islands of ice, that drive all the summer from the north-west, along

along the coast of Newfoundland, even as far as New-England.

To the northward of Bermudas the winds grew variable, and as they advanced, stronger, having a very hard gale at north-west, to 68 degrees of latitude, which put them to a reefed forefail for a fortnight, so

great a sea following, that they could not help dipping it up by tuns at their stern.

From hence they proceeded on their course, and arrived in England in the month of April, in the year 1725.

VOYAGES TO THE GOLD COAST, BY Mr. WILLIAM SMITH.

IN the year 1726, the Royal African company of England being willing to have an exact survey taken of their settlements on the coast of Guinea, came to a resolution to send a person fitly qualified for that undertaking, and accordingly, after an examination of his abilities, gave their instruments to Mr. Smith, dated August 11, 1726, empowering him "To take plans, draughts, and prospects of all their forts and settlements; as also of all the principal rivers, harbours, and other places of trade on the coast of Africa, from the Gambia to Whidah.

Mr. Smith having received these instructions from the court of Assistants, embarked on Saturday, August the 20th, 1726; on board the Bonetta sloop, Captain Livingston; lying at Gravesend, in company with Walter Charles, Esq; governor of Sierra Leona. On August the 22d, they sailed through the Downs, with a fair wind; and on the 25th reached the Start Point, from whence they took their departure. They had for many days; north-east winds and fair weather, till they got into the true trade wind, at north-east, with which they passed the Tropic, of Cancer the fourteenth of September: Here they saw several whitish birds, having but one long feather in their tails. These fly very high, and are called by the sailors Tropic Birds, being only seen in the Torrid Zone, between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn.

On the 22d of September they made the land six leagues distant, being a low sandy beach, a little to the north-east of Cape Verd; which they descried in four hours. Mr. Smith took a draught of this, as his first attempt in the company's service. Next day, they got round the cape in sight of Goree, a French factory; and the 25th, entering the Gambia, anchored at James island.

The next day landing, they were conducted to the castle, where they found the emperor of Fornia and his retinue, who saluted them by shaking hands after the European way, repeating in their language, "God bless you." Being seated, the author was diverted to see the emperor's grantees, and nobles of quality on the floor, like monkeys, on their buttocks. An hour after his arrival, they all embarked on board their canoes, except the emperor, whom the governor complimented with his boat, men, and union flag, saluting him, at his departure from the fort, with five guns.

Some time before their arrival, there entered the Gambia, a Rhode Island built sloop of 80 tons and six guns, called the Ark, commanded by one Edmonson, who having several times communicated a piratical design to his crew, which they would not consent to, they all, (except three white boys) went on shore at James's fort, and informed the governor and council, upon oath, of what they knew. Meanwhile, Edmonson, fearing a discovery, sailed down below le Maine Point, beyond reach of the fort guns; where meeting the sea-breeze and tide of flood, he was obliged to anchor, thinking himself safe there, at least till morning. The suddenness of his departure confirming the sailors deposition, the gentlemen in

council sent the Gambia sloop, manned with a stout crew of whites and blacks, to bring him back, and prevent his doing other mischief. It was commanded by Mr. Orfeur, one of the company's factors.

This gentleman knowing the channel, took advantage of the midnight ebb to carry him below the Ark, without being discovered by any of Edmonson's crew, who were but nine, viz. the three boys, and six ignorant, new purchased slaves. At day-break both sloops weighed, and the pirate, knowing the Gambia-sloop; was resolved to force a passage. Mr. Orfeur being come within hail, called to Edmonson to bring to, who made no answer, but by firing a brace of musquet balls. This so enraged the blacks on board the Gambia sloop, that they begged leave to fire on him, which Mr. Orfeur prevented, and again called to Edmonson to strike, but he discharged a loaded piece at the factor, who bade his men fire, and one of the black boys shot Edmonson through the breast, on which the sloop ran the Ark aboard, and took possession of her. Edmonson leaped into the river, and was seen no more. Mr. Orfeur brought up the sloop, which lay at anchor in the river when Mr. Smith arrived.

Mr. Smith began the survey he was sent out to make on the 27th of September, which held till Monday October the 10th. He met with some difficulties in it; for the first day he went on shore at Jillfray, opposite James's island, he found the shore such a deep swampey mud, it was hardly possible to measure or get from one station to another: and there was no going on the dry land, it being so woody, that both the sight and passage was intercepted. Besides that, the trees swarmed with great black ants and venomous wasps.

The author being one day on shore at Bunior Point in the kingdom of Cumbo, near the mouth of the Gambia, in order to take the distance from thence to Barra Point, on the opposite side, the chief mate who was with him, being desirous to see the method of taking inaccessible distances, they landed on a sandy, level beach, close to a small town, where they saw fifty or sixty black cattle tied by the horns to some stakes drove into the sand. While he was fixing his surveying instruments, some of the natives came down to the water-side to look at him, and not comprehending his theodolite, or measuring wheel, discovered some signs of fear. Mr. Smith did not regard this at first; but having occasion for a stake or two to set marks, walked towards the cattle to chuse a couple of good ones, upon which the natives, afraid of their cattle, ran and drove them up the country, alarming the town, so that the women and children ran to the woods, and the men came down in arms.

Mr. Smith asking the company's slaves, who rowed the boat, the meaning of this, they told him, the natives were terrified at his surveying instruments, believing he had a design to bewitch them. Therefore, to guard against the worst, the chief mate followed Smith with a loaded blunderbuss, one of the slaves rolling the theodolite, which the natives endeavoured

voured to oppose, by running across the passage, but not daring to touch it. The man who drove it, watched every opportunity to push the wheel at their legs, but they were too nimble for him skipping to the right and left like goats. When Mr. Smith had done his survey, he returned to the place where the boat lay: and being very hot, sat down under the shade of a large tree, ordering some punch to be made. The mate going down to the boat to fetch the ingredients, Mr. Smith, who was left alone, as soon as he was out of sight, saw himself surrounded by the armed natives.

At last the mate appeared with a bowl of good punch, a draught of which, raised his courage so, that he gave a sudden spring from the ground; at which the negros ran away in such surprize, that several threw down their weapons and stood at a distance; believing, as he found afterwards, that it was in his power to destroy them. On this, Smith took up a gun they had dropped, and ventured to fire with powder amongst them; but the piece scarcely went off before they were all out of sight. The mate would have had him pursue his victory, but he thought it wisest to return to the shore, and get on board the Bonetta. —

On the 10th of October, he went with governor Rogers to visit the king of Barra: who having been informed before-hand of their coming, met them about a quarter of a mile from his town, attended by about 400 of his subjects, several beating on large loud drums, others sounding trumpets of elephants teeth, which all together made a war-like noise. The king welcomed them on shore, and conducted them to the town of Barra: his people expressed their joy by loud acclamations and firing of guns; with many strange postures. At their arrival, the king caused his cannon to be fired, that lay dismounted near his palace, which was a mud-walled cottage, thatched with palmetto leaves.

When they were seated, this prince sent for his musician, who played on an instrument called a ballafo. This instrument was well toned, and gave an agreeable sound. His majesty also for their diversion, caused several natives to dance before them with drawn swords, which they flourished with great dexterity. This done, the king made a short speech, expressing the regard the negros bore to white men, as far as their interest was concerned in encouraging them. When Mr. Smith took leave of the company, to finish his survey, the king's brother and several of his noblemen would follow him. Going along, they asked the king's brother who Smith was, and what he was going about, as he left the company suddenly? He told them, that Mr. Smith was a great, ingenious man, sent by the company to measure all the kingdoms, islands, and rivers in Guinea. They replied, it was very proper, and that they were over-joyed he came to measure their country. To shew their approbation of the work, they made many grimaces, running round Mr. Smith by way of compliment.

The Pagans, who are here more numerous than the Mahometans, have no other religion but that of worshipping their fetishes, for which any thing serves, a feather, a pebble, a bit of rag, a dog's leg, or the like. The word *fetish*, is to perform divine worship. They carry their fetish about them, which is so sacred, that they will let no body touch it but themselves. The day Mr. Smith dined with the king of Barra, he observed the musician had on the top of his cap the tufts of a Crown Bird, which being very beautiful, he went to take it off his head, to look at it, but, to his great surprize, the man got up and ran away. It proved to be the musician's fetish.

The languages on the Gambia, are so many and different, that the natives on one side cannot understand those on the other, which is a great advantage to the Europeans, who trade there for slaves; because the Gambrays, who are naturally indolent, hate slavery, and will attempt any thing for freedom.

On the 11th of October, Mr. Smith sailed from

the Gambrays, in the Bonetta sloop, in company with the Byam Gally of Antigua, Captain Hester, both bound for Sierra Leona. That day and the next they steered south-west, and west-south-west, to sea, to avoid the shoals of Grande. The 13th, they steered south for Sierra Leona. Next day they had a stark calm which continued fourteen days. The sloops passed their time in visiting each other daily, though their mirth was often interrupted by tornados which generally lasted an hour, and gave notice of their approach by excessive thunder, lightning, and dark clouds, which are succeeded by rains as heavy as water poured through a sieve. This weather continues all the wet season in Guinea.

These tedious calms brought them into such distress for water, that had they not been supplied by their consort the Byam, they must have inevitably perished. During these calms they tried the current, which set north-east one knot.

On the 3d of November they made land ten leagues distant, in twenty-five fathoms, which being very high, they supposed it to be the high mountain of Sierra Leona, and crowded sail to come up with it before night. About eleven, they saw a sail in shore, and perceiving she lay by, to wait for them, it gave them apprehensions, as knowing how busy the pirates had been on this coast the preceding year. They put themselves in the best posture of defence they could, and held on their course till five in the afternoon, when they found the ship in question was a friend, being the Queen Elizabeth, Capt. Creighton, bound from Sierra Leona to Rio Nunez, to trade for gold, teeth, and cam-wood. He, suspecting by their standing in for shore, that they were bound for Sierra Leona, lay by to let them know that these high lands were the Idoles, which are small rocky islands, twenty leagues to the northward of Sierra Leona. After thanking Capt. Creighton for this kind information, they proceeded, and at ten next morning, discovered the Saufaws, exceeding high land, twenty miles up the country. When they got a-breast of the Cape, which was about sun-set, they hoisted the union flag at the main-top-mast-head, and saluted with seven guns, as did also the Byam. (All Guinea governors are by charter empowered to use the union flag in their respective districts.)

Though it was night, they sailed into the river, founding as they went. To prevent accidents, they hung out a light at their ensign-staff, and the Byam kept one at her gibbon end. They kept close under the high hills. When they got up as high as Frenchman's Bay, they saw two lights close in shore: one belonged to a small trading bark, the other to the Friendship sloop of Barbadoes, Captain Croker; who seeing their two ships that afternoon in the offing hung out lights to direct them where to ride. As soon as they anchored, Captain Croker came on board the Bonetta, to know who they were, and then welcomed them to Sierra Leona. As they had only Madeira wine, their limes being expended, he sent on board for a handkerchief full of limes, and gave them an account of the company's affairs at Bonal Island.

On the 5th, they found themselves in a small, pleasant bay, surrounded with exceeding high hills, all covered with beautiful trees, full of various kinds of birds, who at day-break make the woods resound. Captain Croker saluted the union flag with five guns, and had three in return. In this bay is extraordinary good water, which gushing out of the rock, falls down like a spout, so that they could fill all their casks without a tun-dish. They watered here, and the bottom of the bay being clear of rocks, they drew their seyne, and got a great many mullets and other fish, also an alligator, which the negros devoured greedily.

They all went up to Benfe Island, on which there is a regular piece of fortification, mounted with twenty-two pieces of heavy cannon; besides a battery under the fort wall, with eleven guns more. This is

the

the residence of the governor; and Mr. Charles landing, took possession of his post, and received the compliments which are usual on that occasion; though the author unluckily spoiled his; for not recollecting the name of the island, he mentioned out Barataria, (which is one of no repute) instead of Benfe.

On the 27th he began his survey, meeting with no opposition from the natives, as at the Gambia, the inhabitants here being more used to the European manners and customs.

“It is not certain, (says the author) when the English became masters of Sierra Leona, which they possessed unmolested, until Roberts the pirate took it in 1720; Plunket who was afterwards blown up in James’s fort, being governor here. The case was thus: Roberts having three stout ships under his command, put into Sierra Leona for fresh water, and finding a trading vessel in the bay of France, took her thence, and carried her into another near the cape, which is very deep, and has a long narrow entry. This the author in his survey has called Pirate’s Bay, because when Roberts had rifled that ship, he set fire to her, and part of her bottom was to be seen at low water, when Mr. Smith was there. The next day, Roberts sent up a boat well manned and armed to Governor Plunket, desiring to know if he would spare him any gold dust, or powder and ball? Plunket sent word, he had no gold dust to spare, but that as to powder and ball, he had some at his service, if he would take the trouble to come for it.

“Roberts anchored with his ships the next flood, before Benfe Island, and a smart engagement followed between him and the governor for several hours together, till Plunket having fired away all his ammunition, fled in his boat to a small island called Tomba, but being overtaken again by the pirates, was brought back again to Benfe Island, where Roberts swore heartily at him, for his Irish impudence in daring to resist him; Plunket finding the bad company he had got into, fell to cursing and swearing faster than Roberts, which raised much laughter among the pirates, who bade Roberts hold his tongue, for that he had no share at all in the discourse with Plunket; however, it is said, that by mere dint of swearing, old Plunket saved his life. When Roberts had rifled the warehouses he went on board, and sailed out of the river next ebb, leaving Plunket again in possession of the fort, which the pirates had much damaged.”

The river Sierra Leona, is very broad at the entrance, being four leagues from the cape to Leopard’s isle, on the opposite side of the river’s mouth. The middle is shallow indeed, being in some places dry at low water. For the deepest part of the channel lies close in by the cape, and those who enter must keep on the starboard shore, sailing close under the high land, where they are sure of regular soundings, and in all the bays good anchoring ground, but near the edge of the shoals, the bottom is uneven and foul.

In this river the company have another island, viz. Taffo, which is large and flat, near three leagues in circumference. Here their slaves have a good plantation. The rest of the island is covered with wood; especially silk cotton trees of a prodigious size. It likewise produces other sorts of cotton and indigo.

The river of Sierra Leona abounds with several sorts of fish, most of them good, except the oysters, which grow there on the branches of the mangrove trees. These are found in shallow places, their branches having a material tendency towards the water. The author said he cut off one of these branches so full of oysters, barnacles, &c. that he could scarce lift it into the boat.

Captain Livingston lost no time during Mr. Smith’s survey, in sending on shore the goods and arms designed for the use of the fort. But the ship wanting to be careened, and to get up a new mizen-mast, they thought this a good opportunity to survey the river Sherbero, and for that purpose obtained of

the governor one of the company’s sloops, with proper hands; Mr. Charles having instructions from the company, as the other governors had, to give all the assistance to the survey.

Mr. Smith sailed from Benfe island in the Sierra Leona sloop, on the 14th of November, Captain Kirkman, in company with the Jaquin sloop, Captain Ridley who went with them, in order to get a knowledge of that river. The 16th, they reached the Banana isles, the largest of which is well inhabited. Here Mr. Smith had found some white people who had quitted the company’s service, and set up for themselves, having sloops of their own, in which they traded northward, to Rio Pungo, and Rio Nunez for slaves, teeth, and cam-wood, by which means they had brought a considerable trade to these isles, there being few ships bound down the coast, but what touched here.

They were becalmed at the mouth of Sherbero river, on the 12th, and saw several water-spouts near them. The next day they got up as far as a small town, belonging to Mr. Zachary Cummerbus, a Mulatto, son of a late English agent on York island, where he was kindly entertained; but Mr. Smith being impatient to see the state of the company’s affairs on York island, proceeded directly up the river; and on the 20th landed on that place, where he found no white men, but one Mr. Holditch a factor, who was destitute of defence against the natives. They had paid him several visits, and always took care to carry away what they liked of the company’s effects. The fort was then in a ruinous condition.

The king of Sherbero hearing of Mr. Smith’s arrival, came on the 21st with a train of at least near 300 men to visit him, bringing with him, by way of present, two quintals of rice, two goats, and a fine wild boar. In return, the author presented his majesty with two brass pans, two pewter dishes, a fathom of sletias, (a thin sort of linen cloth) and four bunches of beads, which he gladly received. The sletias he tied immediately round his neck, with a double knot under his chin, the two ends hanging down before, over a surplice of Cape Morte, which was of cotton, striped blue and white. Then the king pulled out of his bosom the bushy end of a lion’s tail, which he flourished several times about, and made a long harangue, the meaning of which (as explained by Mr. Cummerbus) was, that the lion’s tail was his majesty’s fetish, and that he flourished it to shew his power, and the extent of his dominions; and, lastly, that in his harangue he desired some vic-tuals to refresh himself and his people.

The third day, after taking an inventory of the company’s effects, and appointing one Allen a writer, to be assistant to Holditch, Mr. Smith saluted the king with five guns, and sailed down the river. Holditch and Allen imagined on this, that the king would have returned to Sherbero; but finding themselves mistaken, and knowing his stay would be expensive, they came to a resolution to intreat his majesty to return home. At this, the king fell into a great passion, swearing by his fetish, that the country was his, and that he only suffered the English to reside on York island on certain conditions; that the ground, and all the goods on it belonged to him, and that he would make them sensible of it, as they had not paid him his cole or tribute.

To this Holditch replied, That it was not three moons since his cole had been paid, and therefore his majesty could have no just claim on the company. This answer so enraged the king, that he struck Holditch, and seizing Allen, dragged him to the water-side, and threw him into a canoe, ordering his people to carry him to Mr. Smith, and tell him, that he had sent Allen to him, as having no business on York river; but as none would venture on the message, Allen got leave to return to the fort. In the mean time, Holditch had written a letter, which he privately dispatched by a single man in a canoe, to acquaint Mr. Smith with what had happened, and that

the king was then loading his canoe out of the company's warehouse, and unless prevented, would carry off all the goods.

The author, on receiving this letter, communicated it to Captains Kirkham and Ridley, giving it as his opinion, that they ought immediately to go to the assistance of Holditch and Allen; that they had nothing to fear, having a good ship mounted with eight guns, and therefore ought not to stand tamely by, and see the company robbed before their faces. Kirkham expressed his readiness to second Smith, being directed in his instructions from Mr. Charles to take his orders from him: but Ridley said it was madness with six or eight men to attack three or four hundred. However Kirkham being resolute, the other consented, and accordingly they weighed, and having a strong tide of flood, and the sea breeze, soon reached York Island. By the way they charged all their guns with musquet ball. The channel being bold, they came to anchor within twenty yards of the shore, on the outside of the king's canoes, to whom and his people their arrival was no small surprise; especially when they saw Mr. Smith land, followed by the two captains, and two of the company's stout young fellows, all armed with cutlasses.

They marched to the old gate of the parade, which was then standing, where stood about 100 of the king's negroes left to guard it, all armed with guns, javelins, scimitars, stilletos, or cutlasses. Smith observed them terrified; for they opened to the right and left to let him march in. They proceeded directly to the factory house, where the king stood with his guards before the door. These guards made some opposition: but Smith with Ridley forced a way through them into the house, where he was pleased to see a third white man with Holditch and Allen. This was one Wild, a soldier of the company's, who had that day come down the river. Mr. Smith then addressed the king (who understood English, and could speak a little) in a stern manner, asking him, Where all his canoes, loaded with the company's cam wood, were bound? The king made no reply, but Holditch and Allen poured out their complaints of the ill usage they had met with from his majesty. Smith asked the king, If these allegations were true? but had no answer; on which he told him, He had given him a rope to hang himself, and seizing him by the collar of his new neckcloth, which he had still on, he dragged him out of the house into the middle of the parade: where, before all his guards, he beat him over the back with his sword, (an action very rash and imprudent;) what followed was still more so; for Mr. Smith afterwards carried him forcibly to the water-side and put him into a canoe, with orders to Ridley and Wild to carry him on board the sloop, and put him in irons: but his subjects incensed to see the king's person so used, opposed his being carried away: laying hold on the canoe, till the English, by wounding several of them, got her launched off. They even followed it into the water; and one of them had got behind Mr. Smith with a Turkish scimitar lifted to cleave his skull: but being seen by Ridley, he jumped out of the canoe time enough by a back stroke to disable the fellow's hand, breaking his cutlass with the blow, which he replaced with the negro's scimitar. The natives now grown desperate at seeing their king a prisoner in the canoe, guarded by Wild with a cutlass, and Ridley with his scimitar, attacked them very closely, so that Smith was scarcely able to defend himself. In the mean time the people on board the sloop being alarmed, called on shore to know if they should fire; but the boat lying next the vessel, Smith would not permit it. It was now duskish, and one of the natives was coming round in order to stab the author in the back: but Ridley guessing at his intention, advanced a step or two forwards, and with a Portuguese stiletto made a stroke at his face, which laid his mouth entirely open from ear to ear; on which account not being able to speak, he set up a terrible

bellowing. This so frightened his comrades that it gave Mr. Smith an opportunity of making a strong thrust at one who had borne hard on him, whom he ran into the thigh; on which the negro dropped his sword, and ran off, the rest following, whom they closely pursued to the woods. Ridley, in the mean time carried his royal prisoner to the sloop; but when they had got along side of her, and Ridley, was busy fastening the canoe with a rope to the sloop, the king slipping off his hat and surplice, unperceived stole into the water, and swam on shore. The captain having fastened the canoe, ordered two of the men to come and draw his majesty up; but they could find no more of him than his outside case. Enraged at the disappointment, they came directly on shore, and gave Mr. Smith the king's apparel, with an account of his escape. He by this time judging that this accident might be attended with unlucky consequences, as the king had such a number of armed men on the island, who, as well as himself were exasperated at the treatment they had met with, he thought it proper to concert with the rest of his company the proper measures for their security, and to prevent the enemy surprising Benise factory. Their council was held in a large canoe, which lay under a mangrove-tree. It was there resolved, (according to the author's proposal) that Holditch, Allen and Wild should repair to the factory house, and put their black people there, in a posture of defence: that they should walk all night on the parade, and if they saw any negro they should directly fire at him; and that Mr. Smith, with the two captains, and the two Gro-mettas, should take care of the company's effects on board the canoes, which were towed off and fastened to the sloop. These being safe, and the two captains and slaves on board, who had directions to stay and fire on a proper signal, Mr. Smith returned on shore, intending to reinforce the garrison of the factory; but by the way a shot from the woods grazed his left ear, and singed his wig. This put him into such a fright that he ran to the factory, where, though several shots were levelled at him by the way; he got safe within the parade gates, at the distance of three furlongs from the water-side. Here he ventured to peep out, and could plainly see a large body of negroes rallied under a great silk cotton-tree, which shewed him what an eminent danger he had escaped. Seeing the enemy in the same place, he called to Ridley on board the sloop to fire two of his guns as near the root of the tree as he could; which had such success, that eleven of the negroes were killed or mortally wounded. This dispersed the enemy, who carried off the dead into the woods. Mr. Smith then gave orders to the white men to fire from the parade, if any number of men should appear near the factory; and went to repose himself. Finding all things quiet when he awaked, he ventured down between two slaves to the water-side, and was rowed on board the sloop, where he kept watch all night on the deck. About one o'clock Holditch called to him with the trumpet, to let him know he saw a body of negroes marching up to the parade-gate, Mr. Smith ordered him to fire, which he did, and killed one and wounded another, who proved to be the company's linguist, Antonio. About three o'clock, Mr. Smith heard the rustling of a canoe near the shore, on which he sent two slaves to see what the matter was; they discovered three men, who jumped overboard at their approach, and swam on shore amongst the mangroves. The slaves brought the canoe on board, and at day-break one of the men brought Mr. Smith a lion's tail, found in the canoe they had taken, which he knew to be the king's fetich; whence he concluded that prince would have made his escape in the night, if they had not intercepted him.

Mr. Smith went on shore with Mr. Cumberbus, Ridley, and two others at sun-rise, to consult about removing the company's effects from York Island. The first object he saw at entering the factory was Antonio, who lay on the floor, groaning with his wounds.

wounds. Mr. Smith, seeming surpris'd, Holditch told him, Antonio was amongst the men he had directed him to fire at in the morning. Antonio said, "It is true, master, I have two tongues, tongue for white man, and tongue for black man; I desire to die; but I came that white man should not kill black man, but be friends." Mr. Smith asked, why he came in a hostile manner? He replied, there were seven; that the one who was killed, was a messenger from the king, with offers of peace, and the other five went back. Mr. Smith ordered his wounds to be dress'd with some excellent salve he had brought from England, and told him he should live if he had spoken truth.

They afterwards held a consultation, and Smith propos'd removing the company's effects down to a town called Jamaica, in possession of Mr. Cummerbus, as the place they were in, was no way defensible, in case hostilities continued with the natives. Mr. Holditch objected that such a removal might be prejudicial to the company, but declining to give his reasons, it was thought proper to examine Antonio, before they determin'd. Holditch being named chairman, Antonio was called in, who appear'd with many extravagant signs of submission and joy. By his account they learned, that the king had been impos'd on by his treasurer, in relation to his cole, or tribute, of which, being sensible, he had sent six of his subjects with Antonio, to acquaint the English with the error, and negotiate a peace; that the king had, in the mean time, order'd all his subjects to disarm, and not shoot or offend a white man, on pain of death; he added, that his majesty, with his attendants, were in great want of provisions at that time.

The examination of Antonio was scarcely finish'd, when one of the watch came and inform'd them, that a single black unarmed, was coming from the woods; and that as he walk'd at certain distances, he threw himself prostrate on the ground. Antonio rejoic'd at this, leaping and crying, That he was a messenger from the king of Sherbero, who by proving the truth of what he said, would be the means of preserving his life.

The messenger being introduced by Mr. Cummerbus, inform'd them, "That the king his master, was sorry he had offend'd the white men, by demanding of them cole which was not due, as he found by the confession of his treasurer, whom he put to death, as the cause of this difference. That his majesty was desirous to be at peace with the white men, and had order'd his subjects to lay down their arms, and forbid them to offend any white man on pain of death; adding, that the king and his company being short of provisions, begg'd their assistance, which should be repaid when he return'd to Sherbero." This message agreeing with Antonio's information, sav'd his life; but as the envoy made no mention of the preceding embassy, Mr. Smith ask'd him about it, and found it was as Antonio had said, with this addition, that it was by Antonio's means this discovery concerning the king's cole was made.

The envoy being withdraw'n, the king's message was taken into consideration, and it being the opinion, that it was against the company's general interest to remove their effects from York island, provided a secure peace could be made, they thought it would be proper to take advantage of the king's present distress to bring him to surer terms. It was therefore resolv'd to send Mr. Cummerbus as their ambassador, to acquaint the king they were desirous of living in good harmony with him and his subjects; but that as his majesty had, by the ill counsel of his ministers, committed hostilities, by attacking the English, and seizing the company's effects, they were determin'd, for their better security, to remove from York island to Jamaica town, in case his majesty would not grant the following privileges to them: First, that he would swear by his fetish, that he would not for the future visit York island with more than 24 attendants, and

these unarmed. Secondly, That if any negro or negroes should land on the island in a hostile manner, he or they should be put to death. Thirdly, that when his majesty's cole became due, no more than six persons should come to receive it. Fourthly, that those Christians or whites, who inhabited in Sherbero, should have the free exercise of their religion.

When this had been resolv'd upon, Mr. Cummerbus set out with the king's envoy for the woods, to execute his commission, carrying with him the king's fetish, found in the canoe two days before. The king was sitting at the foot of a silk cotton tree, surrounded by a crowd of his subjects. He rose to meet Mr. Cummerbus, who, having paid his compliments, deliver'd his message; to which the king replied, he was unwilling to be at enmity with the whites; that when he return'd to Sherbero, he would hold a Syndic, and decree the privileges the English desired; begging they would not remove from York island, and promising them slaves, cam wood, and ivory, to a good value.

Mr. Cummerbus being return'd, and the king's answer consider'd by the council, it was in half an hour resolv'd to remove the company's effects from York island to Jamaica town, for the following reasons: Because the king of Sherbero was a man whose word was not to be relied on; that York island was unfortified, whereas Jamaica town was a place of strength; and their provisions being much exhausted, the peace offer'd them might, through treachery, prove their ruin; or, at least, be an additional weight to the company. Besides, the removal would at least save the company the cole, or tribute, paid to the king.

Mr. Cummerbus return'g to the king, kept him in talk till he heard the gun they had agreed on as a signal, when he told him, in an angry tone, he had been very impolitic in treating the English as he had done, by offering to rob the factory; that the English had already put the company's effects on board, to be carried out of his kingdom down to Jamaica town, of which the gun he had then heard, was a signal. The king seem'd very uneasy at this account, and his subjects began to mutiny. Mr. Cummerbus, attend'd by Antonio, repair'd to a point of the island, where one of their canoes receiv'd him; but he left Antonio behind to watch the enemy. The canoe had not got far from shore, when several of the natives appear'd in pursuit of him, and let fly some javelins and arrows at him. He could see their numbers increase, but was out of their reach in a little time. The next day towards evening, Antonio and six others, found means, in the hollow of a tree, to paddle down to Jamaica town, and inform'd them, that after Mr. Cummerbus's departure, a dispute arose between the king and his subjects, that the king, to avoid their fury, order'd them to pursue Cummerbus, the ambassador, whom he accus'd as the cause of the English leaving York island, as appear'd by their removing to his town of Jamaica, charging them to bring him dead or alive. This scheme had its effect, for while they were busy in the pursuit, the king, (who dread'd their resentment for losing the advantages of the company's trade, might induce them to destroy him) took the occasion to withdraw, and was never heard of more. The natives, who, at their return, found their king had absconded, proceeded to chuse a new one.

This new chief, whose name was Maximo, dispatch'd a slave in a canoe to Sherbero, with orders to the caboshirs to send a number of canoes directly to convey him and his people from the island. He then repair'd to the factory, where he pass'd the night; and the canoes arriv'g the next morning, he embark'd, after reject'g the proposals of some of his nobles to burn the factory.

In the mean time, the sloop with the company's effects arriv'd safe at Jamaica town. Here Smith went on shore with Cummerbus, and pitch'd on two good houses, which he bought of him for the company's

use, at an easy rate. At his first landing, he was received by a number of people at the water-side, and Mr. Cummerbus spoke to two of his chief captains to bid the people to pay the author the highest compliments, which was done thus. They first surrounded him, and then two of them catching him up in their arms tossed him on their shoulders and ran away with him to the town, roaring and squalling as if possessed; some leaping and skipping, others charging and discharging their musquets as fast as possible. At first Mr. Smith was afraid of some trick, but he was soon convinced they designed no ill, for they carried him thus, through every corner of the town, the women and children gathering to their doors and clapping their hands for joy. During this ceremony (which lasted about a quarter of an hour) Mr. Cummerbus had a drum beating, and a trumpet sounding at his door, where Mr. Smith was at last set down, his bearers having ran him and themselves out of breath; Cummerbus saluted him with a salvo of seven small guns planted near his house, after which, he conducted him into a large open room, where the cloth was laid for dinner, or rather supper, it being past four o'clock. The table was served with several dishes of boiled and fried fish, with roots, as yams and potatoes. The second course of roast meat, was a fore-quarter of a young kid, as good as venison, and four large fowls. Mr. Smith never wanted plenty of victuals here, and tolerably well dressed. He found his strong liquors himself, and when his sugar was out, they drank Madeira wine.

Having settled the factory here, November the 29th, he sailed, saluting the town with seven guns, which were returned in order. When they were under sail, Captain Kirkham told Mr. Smith they had but eight bottles of Madeira left; which was no good news, a much greater quantity of liquor being necessary in these hot climates than in Europe. However, anchoring at low-water near a place where (as one of the Gromettas said) some wild sugar-canes grew, they sent him and two slaves in the canoe, who in two hours returned with a bundle. These they cut and pressed, steeping them in water, till it was sweet enough to make punch, for they had rum and limes on board. November the 30th they got out of the river's mouth, and anchored at the Plantain isles.

Kirkham being acquainted with Messrs. Pearce and Sanderfon, who resided there, took Mr. Smith on shore, who was in hopes of getting some knowledge of the country up the river, where the cam-wood grows, having hitherto had but a very imperfect account from the negroes. These latter told him, that when they sailed a good way up the river Sherbero, they came into a very hilly country, where the river is very crooked, winding amongst the hills, but not raised, except at two or three cataracts; that one of them is large, the river falling over the rocks, for twenty foot perpendicular, with a great noise; the two other falls being inconsiderable; that at the first they are obliged to go on shore and drag their canoes above the fall: that at the other, if their canoes over-set, the cam-wood sinks to the bottom, and in the dry season, they come and take it up, the channel being then quite dry. They always go up at the end of the rainy season, which generally lasts five months, to cut wood and search for teeth, returning with the next rains. They see many sorts of wild beasts, but seldom receive any hurt. Mr. Smith was informed, that a large branch of the river Sherbero emptied itself into the sea near Cape Monte, but was not navigable for any vessel by reason of the great bar near the mouth, called Shea-bar; otherwise it would be a short cut from Sierra Leona to Cape Monte.

Sherbero River is a very plentiful place, and chiefly supplies Sierra Leona with fresh provisions. Mr. Smith was disappointed in the information he expected in the Plantain isles; for going on shore with Captain Kirkham, they found Pearce and Sanderfon were gone in their sloop, trading to the north for slaves, at Rio Pungo: however, they found Pearce's

wife at home, like a good housewife, with her women slaves about her, stringing beads, and counting bujis. She treated them kindly, and sent some of her slaves to gather cocoa-nuts for them; and though she had no sugar, she made them some good punch with fine honey, of which Kirkham, unknown to Smith, begged a pot to carry on board the ship.

There is a ledge of sunken rocks, that run off into the sea, about a league to the west of these isles, which may be easily discovered and avoided by the breakers. On the outside of this ledge their sloop lay about four miles distant from shore. It was duskish when they left the isle, and before they got a mile, it grew so dark, they could not see land, much less their sloop; nor was there a star to be seen. However, they rowed a long while up and down, uncertain which way they went. Mr. Smith at last grew uneasy, and desired Kirkham to lie by all night, for fear of running in the dark so far off to sea, as to be out of sight of land in the morning. However, fearing a tornado, they agreed to row a little longer, in hopes of seeing land, or the sloop. About an hour after they found themselves near some small breakers, supposing them to be the ledge of rocks above-mentioned, which stretched from the shore to the sloop. Keeping these to the right, they rowed along them, hoping they would guide them either to land, or to the sloop; but when they reached the end of them, they could see no light from the vessel. This was owing to Captain Kirkham's staying so long on shore bargaining for a man slave, that night stole on unawares. And now they were suddenly surprised with the roar of some wild beast, which Mr. Smith supposed to be a lion. As the noise seemed to be near, they rowed towards it, and presently saw the land, being a bright sandy beach, with a few rocks upon it. Behind one of these rocks they just held their canoe, so that they were sheltered from the swell of the sea, but durst not venture on shore, the noise of the wild beasts increasing.

It was now about two or three o'clock, and they had not been long there when it began to thunder and lighten, which was the fore-runner of a violent tornado. The tornado was followed by excessive rains. They had no shelter in their canoe, and durst not seek any amongst the trees, for fear of the wild beasts. At day break it gave over. They found then that they were in Yawry-bay, two leagues to the northward of the Plantain-isles, which they could plainly see, but no signs of their sloop. This last misfortune was the more grievous, as there was no possibility of getting dry cloaths. In this sad condition they agreed to row to the Banana-isles then in sight, four leagues distant, to refresh themselves at one Mr. Bonnerman's, and if they could hear nothing of their sloop, to continue their voyage along shore in the canoe. They accordingly put off, and, though it was a long stretch for the poor hungry Gromettas, yet necessity made them row stoutly, till about ten o'clock, the sea breeze met them in the teeth, and increased their toil and sorrow. As it happened, neither lasted long, for seeing a sail standing in for land, they rowed up for her, and found she was their own sloop, which had been driven out to sea by the violent tornado in the morning, and was returning to the Plantain isles, to inquire about them, fearing some mischief had befallen them. As soon as they got on board, they ran between the Bananas and Cape Shelling, on the main, and so proceeded to Sierra Leona, where they arrived next day, and at Benise-island the day following. Here the author was seized with a malignant fever, which confined him to his bed till the 29th, nor was he able to get on deck till the 4th of January, which day they arrived at Cape Mendurado.

On the 18th of December, they sailed from Sierra Leona, and on the 25th, anchored at Gallinas. Here lay the Queen Elizabeth, Captain Creighton, before mentioned, who invited Captain Livingston to take a Christmas dinner with him. A letter from one Benjamin Cross, (third mate of the Expedition, Captain

Captain Meltisse) who had been seized on by the natives of Cape Monte three months before, and detained there by way of reprisal for some of their men carried off by an English trader. Cross hearing of the Queen Elizabeth's arrival at Gallinas, and being left by his own ship, wrote to Captain Creighton to redeem him; but he being bound for Sherbero, Capt. Livingstone agreed to do it; when he got to Cape Monte, as he was bound down the coast after the Expedition.

The Friendship brig, of Bristol, Captain Barry commander, came into the road the same day. He likewise dined on board the Queen Elizabeth; and, towards night, having drank pretty freely, insulted the two captains, who returned proper marks of resentment. This so enraged Barry, that he went on board his own ship and fired a shot at the Queen Elizabeth; which had like to have taken away her foremast; having also threatened Livingstone to come on board and whip him. Livingstone returned on board his own sloop, to put himself in a posture of defence; and perceiving the brig standing for him, he fired several shot at her, which obliged her to sheer-off.

They sailed from Gallinas, the 26th of December, and arrived at Cape Monte on the 29th; where they staid four days. In this time Livingstone redeemed Cross at the expence of about fifty pounds sterling, and brought him on board the Bonetta, where he staid till the 26th of January; when they arrived at St. Andrews; where there were several English and French ships: amongst which was the Expedition, Captain Meltisse, who repaid Livingstone, and took Cross again.

Mr. Smith observed at Cape Monte, that the natives who came off to trade with him, were very cautious of coming on board for fear of being trepanned; and even those who ventured on board, if they saw any arms about the ship, immediately leaped into their canoe, and got on shore. They seemed to be very industrious; being all dressed in their own manufactory.—

They departed for Cape Mensurado, on the 2d of January, where they arrived the 4th, and anchored in eight fathoms water behind the Cape, about two leagues distant from the mouth of St. Paul's river; here they lay till noon next day. But seeing none of the natives came off to them, and being loth to venture on land, they weighed; sailing as close in shore as possible, in order to take a true survey of the coast, which retarded their voyage, being obliged to anchor every night. On the 5th, they anchored before Rio Junco, in five fathoms water; and Mr. Smith went in his long-boat to take the soundings and bearings.

The next morning they weighed; and Mr. Smith proceeded on his survey down the coast. January the 9th, they anchored off Rio Sestos, where they lay six days in company with the Providence brigantine of London, Captain Cutler. This time Mr. Smith employed in taking soundings and bearings of the river. The natives here are civil enough to strangers, though rather shy of the English. Provisions are not dear, though very scarce, except rice, of which they bought a good quantity, and some fowls. The 14th they had a hard gale of wind at east-south-east, which obliged them to let go their best-bower anchor, and lower their yards and top-masts.

The next day, the weather being fair, they sailed, and the 26th, they arrived at Santa Cruz, where they anchored in sixteen fathoms. About an hour after, a canoe came off, and they asked one of the negros, who spoke a little English, if they had any goats, hogs, or hens on shore? They were answered in the affirmative, which gave them hopes of finding provisions plenty and cheap. Next day Mr. Smith and the chief mate went on shore, and were received by a great number of the natives at the water-side, who conducted them to the town: the houses of which were built five feet from the ground. He imagined by the people's gazing at, and following them, that

they were not used to see strangers. However, the mate being desirous to inquire about provisions, went to the chief man of the town, who is a sort of petty king; to obtain a liberty to trade; which granted and being at dinner, he desired Mr. Carse to sit down and take part with him. Their dinner was boiled rice and Palm oil; and one of the lords in waiting gave Mr. Carse a shell by way of spoon. When he had dined, the king bade him put his spoon in his pocket, which he did; but in coming away, the king told him he must not stir till he gave him a present instead of his shell. Mr. Carse gave him some trifles out of his pocket; which he greedily took, and dismissed him. They were disappointed as to provisions, here being nothing to be got but some Malaghetta pepper, and a few pine-apples.

On the 22d of January, they left Setra Crue, and on the 24th doubled Cape Palmas: About seven leagues to the north-east of which, there is a town called Ostend, where they were informed that the people of St. Andrew's, the next town, had lately made war upon Drewin and burnt it to ashes, selling the men, women, and children very cheap to the ships then lying at St. Andrew's. On this account they passed by Drewin; and January the 26th arrived at St. Andrew's River, where they found the Expedition; Captain Meltisse; besides several other English and French ships. They staid no longer here, than just to survey the Bay, and then proceeded along the rest of the Quaqua coast, which extends from Cape Palmas east and by north about 100 leagues to the river Mancha; by some called Rio Cobra; by others the Gold River. These parts are not near so well inhabited as the Grain Coast.

They anchored five miles to the west of Axim; where is a pretty little triangular fortification, which mounts 11 guns, each angle having a battery; viz. the two to the land, three guns each, and that to the sea; five. Here is a large, populous negro-town; built under shelter of the fort guns, as all the European forts on the Gold Coast have.

Seven or eight leagues south-east of Axim, is another large and beautiful fort; built by the Brandenburgers, but was in the hands of the Dutch; and well known by the name of Conny's Castle, as already mentioned.

They anchored near this famous castle in six fathoms on the 6th of February towards night, a Canoe came off from the Dutch chief, to acquaint them, that if they wanted wood or water, they might be supplied: On the 7th they departed from Fredericksburg; Dixcove, Secundi, and Commenda (at all which places Mr. Smith staid to take surveys) On the 17th they anchored in Cape Coast road, where they found several ships: When they lay at James fort, they found a letter left by an English ship from Holland, directed to the Dutch general at El Mina, which they brought to Cape Coast; and Mr. Smith thinking this a good occasion for him to take a view of that castle, went thither with Captain Livingstone, in a large canoe, to deliver it to the Dutch general; who it seems, had pretty good intelligence: Mr. Smith imagining himself unknown and unobserved, innocently walked out to look about him, but was immediately followed by the general, who pulled him by the sleeve, and in an abrupt manner had him back to the great hall; where he told him, that though he came abroad to carry all Guinea in his pocket, yet he should not take El Mina castle with him. This at first surprised him: but recovering a little, he told the general, he thought him a person of more knowledge, than to imagine a man could attempt the survey of a place without proper instruments; and as he had none, he wondered how he should suspect it. On this, the general paused a little, and seeming concerned for his treatment of Mr. Smith, he desired him and Livingstone to stay and dine with him; which they consented to. He then shewed Mr. Smith some unfinished draughts left by the last Dutch surveyors, sent by their West-India company, on the same

same survey Mr. Smith had in hand. The work was well begun, but the undertakers had died, before they could finish the business.

They sailed from Cape Coast on the 23d of March. As it was the latter end of the dry season there. Water was so scarce in the garrison, that they could spare none for their ships use: there being no water within eight miles of Cape Coast, but what they preserve during the rainy season, in a great vaulted tank or cistern under ground, to which all rain is conveyed from the tops of buildings by leaden pipes. On the 24th, touching at Tantomquerri, the 27th, 1727, they anchored at Winnebah in five fathoms. Here they were supplied with good fresh water out of the tank of the fort, and though they drew several tons, Mr. Smith could not perceive they had lowered the water six inches, whence he concluded it had a spring in it, the bottom being an entire rock.

The 28th they sailed from Winnebah, and on the 30th anchored at Achera in six fathoms. It being fowl rocky ground, they bent their sheet cable, in order to let go, in case their others parted. The landing-place is pretty safe, being sheltered by some small rocks which lie off before it, and break the violence of the waves. While Mr. Smith staid at Achera, he, one evening, in company with an English factor, walked by the gate of the Dutch fort, where stood some of the Dutch gentlemen, who being known to the factor, he talked a while with them; but they, contrary to custom, never asked him in, or invited him while he was there. Smith supposes, they guessed who he was, and had orders from their general at El Mina, not to admit him, for fear of his making observations.

In weighing from Achera on the 3d of April, their cable parted, but they let go their sheet anchor, which bringing their ship presently up, they set sail for Whidah. On the 5th, they crossed the mouth of the great river Volta, so called by the Portuguese on account of its rapidity, which is so violent that it causes a rippling, and changes the colour of the water, at least eight leagues from shore. At day-break on the 7th, they came to anchor in Whidah road in seven fathoms water, and saluted the fort, which is more than a league from shore. They found lying here three French, and two Portuguese ships. This is the most dangerous landing-place in all Guinea, the sea breaking and rolling at such a vast distance from shore, that no European boat can come within 200 yards of it, but must anchor at a good distance, and wait for canoes to come off, and carry the goods and passengers on shore. This the dextrous canoe men generally do with safety, though the contrary too often happens. Upon notice of their arrival, hammocks were sent down to the water-side, and a large canoe came off to their boat to carry them on shore, which it did without any damage, but a little wetted. Mr. Smith was amazed, when they got amongst the large breakers, to see with what dexterity the negroes carried them through, and ran their canoe on the top of one of the rolling waves, a good way on shore. This done, they all leaped out, and dragged it up the beach several yards beyond the reach of the next returning wave.—

Ships trading here have always tents on shore by way of warehouses, to shelter their goods. At Mr. Smith's landing, he walked up to one of the French tents, where the mate, who had the charge of the tent, being an Irishman, offered him a glass of brandy, which he accepted. There were a great many ankers piled up in the tent, which seemed all wet on the out-side; Mr. Smith asking the reason, was told they had been driven on shore that morning from their long-boat, and that one of his men, venturing a little too far into the sea after an anker, which was carried on shore, happened to be seized by a small shark, whom he encountered with his knife, and disengaged himself; but the return of the next wave, which set him a float, brought in two other sharks, that in a moment tore him in pieces, and devoured him.

The hammocks being ready to carry them to the fort, they got in, and were taken over three rivers: Being arrived on the other side, they chose to walk, the country being very pleasant. The English and French have forts here within musquet shot of each other, being composed of thick mud walls, moated deeply round. The English fort, which is very large, has good strong batteries, mounted with 17 pieces of heavy cannon. Subordinate to this government is the factory of Jacquin, about 18 miles distant to the east, and that of Sabi five miles distant to the north, which was then reduced to ashes by the king of Dahome. His first conquest was that of Ardrah, fifty miles to the north-west of Sabi, in 1724. The king of Ardrah having at that time some dealings with Governor Baldwin at Whidah, and accounts not being settled, he detained one Mr. Lambe, an English factor, at Ardrah, in hopes to bring Mr. Baldwin to account. In this interval the city of Ardrah was besieged by the king of Dahome's army, and after a stout resistance taken, the king of Ardrah himself being killed at his palace gate. Mr. Lambe was brought prisoner before the king of Dahomey's general, who, surprised at so strange a figure as a white man, spared his life, and carried him as a rarity to the king his master, who was then 200 miles within land, where never a white man had been seen before.—During his confinement here, he wrote a letter to Governor Tinker, who succeeded Mr. Baldwin at Whidah, and forwarded Mr. Smith the copy.

This prince, in the beginning of February, 1726, laying siege to the great town and city of Sabi, the capital of Whidah, where the king resided, and the English, French, and Portuguese, had factory houses. In a few hours he served the place as he had done Ardrah; only his majesty of Whidah, who was very fat, thinking himself too bulky to fight, was conveyed away in a hammock by a couple of sturdy negroes, and so saved his life. The European factories were plundered, and the white men taken prisoners, and carried up to the camp at Ardrah, where the king of Dahome then was. When Governor Tinker was admitted to an audience, he told his majesty his molesting the whites could be of no service to that country which was become his by conquest, but on the contrary, would deter all ships from trading there, and what would then become of his grandeur? The king said, It was very true, and assured the governor he had given no such orders to his general, but that he and the rest of the Europeans were at liberty to return to their forts, as they did a few days after. But when the English and French governors were on their march through Sabi to Whidah, the Dahome general took occasion to set the factory houses on fire, before their faces, without the king's orders. This misfortune was a great grief to them, especially to the French director, who had no design of returning to Europe, as governor Tinker had, but rather hoped to see Sabi rebuilt, and trade restored; but the general soon put an end to such hopes. In order to train up the youth of his army to spare no blood for the sake of plunder, this savage caused the boys of his camp (some of whom were not above seven or eight years old) to cut off the heads of the old and wounded slaves who were not fit for sale.—

The city of Sabi was about five miles in circumference; the houses neatly built, though only mud walls, covered with thatch, having no stone in all the country. However, the factories were built after the European manner, being lofty, spacious, and very airy, containing many neat, and convenient apartments. Each had a fine large open hall, with cool balconies, all upon the first floor, and underneath were the warehouses. These contributed very much not only to the comfort and satisfaction, but also to the health of the Europeans. The town was so exceeding populous, that it was difficult to pass the streets, though very broad. Here were daily markets stored with many sorts of European, as well as African commodities, besides variety of provisions.

Near the European factories, there was a spacious place shaded with tall trees, under which the European merchants and captains transacted business as on a change. All these places were reduced to ashes by the conquerors.

Before we conclude this account it may not be amiss to bring the reader acquainted with the proceedings of the king of Dahome, as we find them related by one of our countrymen.

“ At Whidah, before its dissolution, there were two European factories. The road was a free port for all nations, and it was computed that above two thousand negroes were yearly exported from thence; and from the neighbouring places, by the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, and that the people were so civilised by this commerce, that it was a pleasure to deal with them. The greatest inconvenience they suffered was, the thievery of the common sort, who were very dexterous and bold in that practice: though if taken in the fact, they become slaves to the person robbed.

“ By the custom of polygamy, (it being usual for a great man to have some hundreds of wives and concubines) the land was become so stocked with people, that the whole country appeared full of towns and villages, and being a very rich soil, and well cultivated, it looked like an entire garden. A long flourishing trade had likewise enriched the people, by which means they grew luxurious, and so effeminate, that though they could have brought at least 100,000 men into the field, yet they were driven out of their principal city by about 200 of their enemies, and at last lost their whole country to a nation they had formerly contemned.

“ The king of Whidah coming to the crown about fourteen years of age, the government fell into the hands of the grandees; who, by indulging his humour, kept the power entirely to themselves till this revolution, when he was past thirty years old. He was a very lascivious prince, having several thousands of women in his court, by whom he was served in all capacities, for no other servants were allowed to be there. This weakness ended in his ruin; for the grandees pursuing each his particular interest, became so many tyrants, which divided the people; and so they became an easy prey to their common enemy, a far inland prince, the king of Dahome. This prince had formerly sent to request of the king of Whidah an open traffic to the sea-side, offering to pay his usual customs on negroes exported, which being refused, he vowed revenge when opportunity offered. This threat was so much slighted then at Whidah, that the king told the author soon after, that if the king of Dahome should offer to invade him, he would not use him when taken according to their custom, which was, to cut off his head; but would keep him for a slave to do the vilest offices.

“ The king of Dahome being a politic and courageous prince, had in a few years conquered as far towards the sea coast as the kingdom of Ardrah, the next inland country to Whidah, where he thought to have remained quiet till he had settled his conquest; but an accident soon called him again to arms, for the king of Ardrah having much injured his own brother, named Hassar, the latter sent privately to him, offering him a large sum of money to revenge for him his brother's affronts. This the politic prince soon listened to; and the king of Ardrah discovering the design upon him, sent news of it to Whidah, begging assistance: but the latter imprudently refused it, suffering the Ardrah army, of 50,000 men, to be totally defeated, and the king himself taken: soon after which, he was beheaded in the conqueror's presence, according to the barbarous custom of the black princes.

“ There was at that time in the country of Ardrah, a white gentleman, named Bulfinch Lambe, who having been sent by the governor of the African company's settlement at Jaquin, on some business to the king of Ardrah, was detained by him, under

pretence that the company owed him for a hundred slaves formerly sent down to their factory. The king sent word also to the governor, that if he did not forthwith discharge the debt, he would make Mr. Lambe. This the governor refusing, Lambe remained a prisoner, (but very kindly used) about two years, till he was taken in this war by the king of Dahome.

“ Being brought into the king's presence (who never before had seen a white man) he was treated very kindly by his majesty, who soon after gave him an household, with many servants, and some of his near relations for wives. After he had remained thus near three years, he was at his own request, dismissed by this prince, with a noble present of gold and slaves, in order to go to Europe. Moreover, the inhabitants of the towns and villages he passed through, in his way to Jaquin, were ordered, by an express messenger, to shew him all possible respect, and provide nobly for his entertainment.

This Lambe had always dissuaded the king of Dahome from invading Whidah, as well on account of the great numbers of the inhabitants used to fire-arms; as of the assistance they would have from the whites resident and trading there for their own interest. But after his departure, this prince finding by his spies, how much the great men and people were divided, and that the king was only a cypher in the government, marched against them. The first part of the country he invaded was the northernmost, of which a great lord, named Apparagah, was hereditary governor, who forthwith sent to the king for assistance; but having enemies at court, who wished his destruction, was refused; wherefore, after making some little resistance, he submitted to the king of Dahome, who received him very kindly. The conquest of Apparagah, gave the king an easy entrance into the heart of the country; but there he was obliged to halt at a river which runs about half a mile to the principal town of the Whidahs, called Sabi, (already mentioned) the residence of their king. Here the king of Dahome encamped for some time, not imagining he could have found so easy a passage and conquest as he met with afterwards: for the pass of the river was of such a nature, that it might have been defended against his whole army by 500 resolute men. But instead of guarding it, these cowardly, luxurious people, thinking the fame of their numbers sufficient to deter the Dahomes from attempting it, kept no guard; they only went morning and evening to the river side to make fetish, that is, to offer sacrifice to their principal god, which was a particular harmless snake they adored and prayed to on this occasion, to hinder their enemies from passing the river. This sort of snake is peculiar to their country, being of a singular make, very big in the middle, rounding in the back like a hog, but very small at the head and tail, which renders their motion very slow. Their colour is yellow and white, with brown streaks. They are so harmless, that if they are accidentally trod on, (for it is a capital crime to do it wilfully) and bite, no bad effect ensues, which is one reason they give for worshipping them. They have likewise an antient tradition, that they have always been delivered from any impending calamity, by imploring the snake's assistance. But however this fell out formerly, it now stood them in no sort of service; neither were the snakes themselves spared after the conquest; for they being in great numbers, and a kind of domestic animals, the conquerors found many of them in their houses, which they treated in this manner, holding them up by the middle, they said to them, “ If you are gods, speak and save yourselves;” which the poor snakes not being able to do, the Dahomes cut their heads off, ripped them open, broiled them on the coals, and ate them.

“ But to return to the king of Dahome, he was so polite as to send to the Europeans, then residing at Whidah, to assure them, that if they stood mute, they should not receive any harm, in case they proved

conquerors, but he would remove many impositions laid on their trade by the king of Whidah. On the contrary, if they appeared against him, they must expect his resentment. This message put them to a dilemma, for they would have gladly retired from Sabi to two mud-walled forts, belonging to the English and French African companies, which are within three miles of the sea-side. However, finding this would have been resented by the king of Whidah, as a discouragement to his people, they were obliged to remain in the town; never suspecting the inhabitants would have ran away in such a cowardly manner as they did, or that they should share the fate of war with them.

The pass of the river being left without a guard to the care of the snakes, the king of Dahome's general sent 200 men to ford it, which having done without opposition, they marched towards the town of Sabi, sounding their musical instruments. On this, the king being informed of it by the out-guards, who ran into the town, immediately fled with all his people, making no resistance, and with a great number of his subjects went to an island on the sea-coast, which was parted from the main land by a river; but a great many having no canoes, were drowned in attempting to swim to the islands near Popo, the next country on the sea coast to the westward, and many thousands, who sheltered themselves among the bushes, perished afterwards by sword and famine.

"The Dahome soldiers entering Sabi, immediately set fire to the palace, and then sent their general word of their success, who brought the whole army over the river, hardly believing his own eyes. Mr. Dupont, who was then the African company's governor, told the author, that when the Dahome soldiers, who had never seen a white man before, came to his house, they stood in a maze, and would not venture near him, till he beckoned and held out his hand to them. On which they laid hold of him, and finding him a man in all respects like themselves, except colour, soon laid aside their reverence, and taking from him what he had valuable in his pockets, made him prisoner, with about 40 other white men, English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, who were served in the same manner; amongst them was Jeremiah Tinker, Esq; who had but just before resigned the African company's affairs to Mr. Dupont, and designed to have embarked in a few days for England; but Signor Pereira, the Portuguese governor, escaped from Sabi to the French fort. Next day after the town was taken, the white prisoners were sent to the king of Dahome in Ardrah, about 40 miles off, hammocks being provided for them, as is usual in this country. They were brought into the king's camp, and separated according to their different nations; but for some days badly accommodated, till they obtained an audience of the king, who excused it by the common fate and hurry of war; but promised it should be otherwise for the future. Accordingly, in a few days, they were set at liberty, without any ransom, and sent down to their respective forts, but could never recover what had been taken from them. The principal gentlemen were presented with slaves, and his majesty assured them, as soon as he had settled his conquest, he would make trade flourish, and have a particular regard to their interests."

The king of Dahome having destroyed Sabi, attacked and drove the king of Whidah to great distress, who retreating to some barren islands fortified the passes, and thus prevented his enemy's design of destroying him, who now contented himself with keeping possession of the country, by an army encamped at Sabi. But, in time, this army dwindling, encouraged Captain Ossue to settle himself near the French fort, about four miles from Sabi, trusting to its great guns for his protection. The king of Dahome having notice of this, resolved to send an army to drive out Ossue, who, upon that report retired, with many of his people, into the French fort, little thinking of the governor's treachery.

Next day, the Dahome army came down, and attacked the fort, which could not have availed much, since they had only small arms; but it seems the thatch of the house took fire, which so alarmed the whites, who knew there was a great deal of gunpowder in the magazine, and no possibility of stopping the fire, that they fled to the English fort, within musquet shot of their own; but the magazine blowing up, killed above one thousand blacks, besides wounding many. However, Captain Ossue, and several of his people, escaped likewise to the English fort, where Governor Wilson, the African company's agent, gave them proper protection. He also to prevent accidents, ordered all the houses in the fort to be unthatched, and firing on the Dahomes, killed a great many, and kept the rest at a proper distance.

The Dahomes sheltering themselves in the French fort, sent thence to Governor Wilson, to know the reason why he had fired upon their army; to which he replied, That seeing them come down suddenly, and fell upon his neighbours, he thought it the common cause of all the Europeans. The Dahomes answered, that when they came down, they had no design to attack the French fort, having no quarrel with the whites; but that the governor having taken Captain Ossue and his people into it, contrary to his promise, obliged them to act as they had done. At the same time, they told the governor to his face, that he had first sent to the king by a French surgeon, then residing with their master, to persuade his majesty to send an army down to destroy Captain Ossue and his people, promising to give them no protection. This, though denied by the governor, yet gained credit by all present, who looked on it as a contrivance to get money from Captain Ossue for protecting him; however, he met, (says the author) with a suitable reward afterwards, being killed by the Whidah's, whom he had so much injured.

As soon as the king of Dahome was informed of the taking of the French fort, he sent to the governor, to let him know that he brought this misfortune on himself by his perfidy, for that he had no quarrel against his nation, therefore would order his soldiers to repair the fort, which had been greatly damaged by the powder; or if he did not desire this, he might depart with all his Frenchmen, to his own country.

The king of Dahome having conquered and depopulated several countries within a few years, the king of Wimey's sons, with other princes, whose fathers this country had taken in war and beheaded, fled to a far inland, potent nation, called I-os. The king of Whidah, after Ossue's defeat, having found means of sending messengers to the king. They and the others, who had fled to him for protection, obtained of him an army to march against the king of Dahome, whom they all looked on as a cruel destroyer of mankind. This nation of I-os fight all on horseback, and living a great way to the north towards Nubia, they can only march southward, but when the season for forage and dry weather set in.

The king of Dahome had notice of their coming, and having formerly experienced the disadvantage of his army, consisting of foot only against horse, buried his riches, burnt his towns, and then fled to the woods and thickets with his people, which is a common thing among the negros for the weaker side to do when at war, having no fortified towns, as in Europe; so they that are masters of the field, command the country far and near.

Thus the king of Dahome disappointed the I-os; but Appragah and his people, lately conquered by the Dahomes, not moving in time, abundance of them were taken, with all Appragah's riches, and himself narrowly escaped, with only a few servants.

After this, the I-os marched on in quest of the Dahomes, who still secured themselves by keeping in the bushes, till the rainy season came on; which obliged

obliged their enemies to retire, the Dahomes returned to their own country, and rebuilt their towns again.

About this time, Governor Wilfon departed from Whidah, and left in his room one Mr. Testefole; who had resided there many years, but was no ways equal to him in prudence, as his unhappy fate will shew.

Though this person had been often at the king of Dahome's camp, where he was always used with great civility, yet now, believing the king reduced, he advised the Whidahs to re-enter their country. These accordingly being assisted by the Popos, through a view of re-establishing their trade, raised together an army of 25,000 men, and encamped under the king of Whidah, near the English and French forts.

This the Dahomes knew nothing of, till the king sent some traders down with slaves; they returned with news that greatly embarrassed his Majesty; for he had lost many of his best soldiers, whilst the I-os kept him in the bushes, and besides, had lately sent an army into the country to take slaves; for he drives no regular trade in slaves, but only sells such as are taken in war. However, he extricated himself out of this difficulty by the following stratagem.

He ordered a great number of women to be armed like soldiers, and appointed officers to each company, with colours, drums, and umbrellas, according to the negro fashion. Then commanding the army to march, the women soldiers were placed in the rear to prevent discovery. The surprise of the Whidahs at seeing such numbers as they supposed, of soldiers, brought a panic upon the greatest part of them, who cowardly flying, gave the Dahomes an opportunity of falling upon Ossue's party with Popos, and soon obliged them to fly in their turn. The king of Whidah used all endeavours to stop his party's flight, wounded several with his lance, but all in vain, and at last to save his life, was forced to run into the dry ditch of the English fort, where, by the help of two of his sons, he got over the wall, and so escaped the enemy's fury: but many of his people were killed and others taken.

This affair put Mr. Testefole under some difficulties, but at last he persuades the king to leave the fort that night, and escape to his barren islands again: however, the king of Dahome being informed of all, and that the governor had been the occasion of the revolt of the Whidahs, highly resented it, and having surprised him, afterwards at the French fort, put him to death by torture.

This prince left a small army at Sabi, and returning into his own country, many banditti of other nations resorted to him; so that in a few months, he found his power as considerable as when he fled from the I-os.

Mean time it must be observed, that though his large territories of many hundred miles extent, in a fine country as any in the south part of Africa, yet is he only a great king in name, for want of subjects; for having destroyed most of the inhabitants of the countries he conquered, his cruelty drove the rest away to other nations. In the next place he gave his word to a great number of the former inhabitants of those parts, that in case they would return, they should enjoy their privileges as before, on paying a certain tribute. This brought many thousands to return into the kingdom of Ardrah. But as soon as they were settled, the Dahomes surprised them, and killed or took captive, all who could not escape. Hence no body will venture to trust him, and the country in all probability, will remain a waste during his life. By this means the trade of Whidah is almost ruined: for the far inland people having no markets, and the Dahomes using no trade but war, few negroes are brought down to be sold to the Europeans.

After Mr. Testefole's unfortunate fate, two white men running away from the English fort, informed the king that he might easily take it, there being only four whites left in the place. But he replied, He had no quarrel with the English nation; for that what had been done to the late governor, he had brought

on himself by his imprudence; and he hoped the African company would send a fitter person to command the fort for the future.

Some time after this, considering he should certainly be invaded by the I-os, as soon as the season permitted; he sent large presents, together with one of his handsomest daughters, to their king. His ambassadors presenting the great men at court with large pieces of coral (which the I-os esteem above all things) obtained an advantageous peace: for confirmation of which, the king of I-os sent a little while after, one of his daughters to the king of Dahome for a wife, who was received with great joy by the king and his people.

The king of Dahome having concluded a peace, as above related, with the I-os, being a restless ambitious man, marched far inland against a nation called the Yahus; who defended themselves amongst their woods and mountains till the rainy season came on; the king's army mutinied, desiring to go home: on which he put some of the principal officers to death, only for mentioning it to him. Upon this, some of his captains deserted him, with many soldiers, amongst whom was one of his sons, who fled with 4000 men to the king of Wimey.

Finding himself in these circumstances, he resolved to make one grand effort on the Yahus; in which, though he prevailed, yet they made a brave retreat, where his wearied soldiers could not pursue them. So that the king returned soon after to his own country, with the loss of most of his forces and his reputation.

Upon this, the people of Jaquin began to take heart, hoping he might at last be destroyed. There resided at this place a Dutch gentleman, called Mynheer Hertog, who carried on a considerable trade into several distant countries, by means of a river that runs from Jaquin into the bay of Banin. This person, in conjunction with the king of Jaquin, stirred up the king Wimey, and several other princes, against the king of Dahome, and supplied them with ammunition: of all which he being informed, resolved to be revenged. But the better to deceive them, gave out he intended a second expedition within land; and accordingly ordered his general to march towards the inland parts; but in the night the army wheeled about, and with great expedition came by the way of Whidah to Jaquin, without being discovered, (though there were about 15,000 of them) till they were just entering the town.

The king of Jaquin, with many of his principal people, escaped in canoes (which were always kept ready for such occasions) to an island he had fortified in the middle of the river towards Appah, ten leagues to the east; but he lost all his riches, and his mother was taken. Mynheer Hertog also fled to Appah, but lost every thing in the factory, then full of European goods to a very great value. However, the conquerors not satisfied with the rich plunder of the town, according to their barbarous custom, made a terrible carnage of the people, and to complete the destruction of the country, set all the towns and villages on fire.

Several European gentlemen and factors were made prisoners on this occasion, and, among the rest, one Captain Robert Moor, who commanded the Squirrel galley. This gentleman (as well as the rest in his factory) was obliged to walk on foot with the conquerors to Ardrah. The French and Portuguese accompanied them, and were brought into the presence of the king of Dahome, to whom Mr. Moor could not help making some remonstrances (though evidently at the hazard of his life) on the ill usage he had received at the hands of his majesty's troops, and in particular remarked that he had no victuals; but this was soon remedied by the king's breaking up a cask of beef with a hatchet, and supplying their necessities; though the Portuguese thought nothing less than that the conqueror was about to execute them all with his own hands.

Having

Having refreshed them, they were distributed according to their nations, under the care of several great men. Captain More and his people were delivered to Allegi, the English caboshir, that is the person appointed to trade with them in particular; who treated them with great civility; but was seized and beheaded a few days after, though they could never learn the cause. More, and the other Europeans, continued a good while prisoners, till Mr. Dean, the African company's governor at Whidah, came to Ardrah, and obtained their freedom; thereupon a guard was ordered to see the captain safe down to Jaquin, but he chose to go by the way of Whidah, from whence he took his passage to Jaquin on board a French vessel.

It is to be observed, that the king of Dahome was by this time grown very jealous of the Europeans, and seemed to disapprove their method of trading for slaves, which appeared by an extraordinary sort of declaration he made as an overture for re-establishing it, but which could hardly be understood as such by the English, to whom it was addressed; namely, "That the natives might and would sell themselves to the English—*Condition of not being carried off.*"—A condition which he well knew would never be accepted.

Most sensible and humane men have considered the slave trade as a disgrace to humanity in general, and to Christianity in particular. The account given of it by such as have been concerned in it, with their defence of the practice, may not be here improperly introduced to the consideration of the reader.

First, it is observed, that the negroes, by a long custom, make slaves of all their captives taken in war, who were put to death before the slave trade was established.—Most crimes are punished by fines, which they, who cannot, or will not pay, are made slaves; but the latter class are redeemable by their friends, and consequently seldom sold to Europeans. Though the people on the sea coast never sell their children, but when they find themselves reduced to great extremities; yet those of the inland parts often adopt this practice, without being under such necessity.

From what has been observed, they say, It appears that a number of useful lives are saved. They assert, that negroes live much better than in their own country; are of great use if carried to the sugar islands, where they can cultivate the lands better than the white people, and that is doing a service to the negro nations to transport these slaves so as that they may not return again to their native country, whereas, on the contrary, they are much wanted by the European nations.

The concluding argument made use of by those who are concerned in this savage trade for man's flesh, is, That the advantages far outway the inconveniences, and at the worst it will be found like all sublunary things, a mixture of good and evil.

Yet it appears that the negroes themselves, who ought to be the best judges of their own happiness, are of a different opinion. Most of the slaves are hardly used, and many, even where that is not the case, prefer death to that slavery, which is thus glossed over, with the specious name of convenience.

Hence arise so many mutinies, hence the whole crews of European vessels are so often cut off by the rising of the negroes, who hazard every thing to regain the liberty which they are deprived of by the most cruel of all policy.

According to the account of those who declared in favour of this trade, these unhappy wretches are generally coupled together with irons, and often beat and buffeted about by the sailors, and even used in such a manner, that some of them conceive the Europeans to be cannibals, who delight first in torturing them, and afterwards in feasting upon their flesh. They are kept confined below decks, except at such times as it is necessary (to prevent their sickening, dying, and infecting the ship's company) to come upon deck for the air in fair weather. They are fed indeed twice a-day, but often scantily, and always on

the worst of viands, such as horse-beans, where they are to be had, and the like coarse fare. If we follow these poor creatures to the West Indies, shall we see them better treated? Certainly not. Some few excepted, they are put to the hardest of labour, go naked in the fields, are driven about like dogs, and have only the force of custom to reconcile them to their wretched situation. When this is considered, we may fairly infer that the slave-trade is the most unjustifiable traffic ever carried on by Christians in any part of the world.

We shall conclude here, taking our leave of the Coast of Guinea, with a summary description of those parts of it, which have so often occurred in this work.

Guinea is a large extent of coast, reaching from the river Senaga, to Cape Lope Gonfalso, and even as far as Cape Negræ. The name, which is unknown to the natives, and in use only with Europeans, was first imposed by the Portuguese; probably from the country of Ghenehoa, mentioned by Leo and Marmol, which first occurred on the south side of the Senaga.

It is commonly divided into two parts, the North and South Guinea; the first extending from the Senaga to Sierra Leona; the latter from one of the capes above-mentioned.

South Guinea, which we come now to treat of, is subdivided into six parts, or coasts, the Malaghetta or Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast. There are other divisions of it, according to the fancy of navigators and geographers, but this seems the most just and natural.

The Malaghetta, the Pepper, or the Grain Coast, taken in its largest sense, extends from Sierra Leona to Growa, two leagues east of Cape das Palmas, the space of 160 leagues. Others make it commence at Cape Monte, 53 leagues to the eastward of Sierra Leona; and some confine it between the river Sestro and Growa, which reduces its extent to 55 leagues.

The coast from Tagrin, to the island of Sherbero, is encompassed by the Baixos de S. Anna, or Shoals of St. Anne, and runs south-east by south, forming the large Angra, or Bay of St. Anne, which reaches almost to Rio de Gamboas. On the north side of this bay are the islands Bravas, or Bananas; the largest of them is the highest land, and affords wood, water and provisions.

The five islands, called Sombreros, lie on the south of the bay, producing plenty of oranges, lemons, piniento del cola, or rabo, a long pepper, wild wine-palms, and sugar-canes; bananas, bees-wax, and cam wood; besides angelim, a timber fit for building ships. The natives make soap with palm-oil, and palm-tree ashes, which is so highly valued by the Portuguese in these parts, that they will not suffer it to be exported to Portugal, lest it should undo the soap-boilers of that kingdom. The natives pretend there are gold and iron mines in their little island, and that they were separated from the continent by an earthquake.

The depth of the bay is from five to eight fathoms mud. Four rivers run into it, whose banks are lined with man-grove trees, loaded with oysters. The Rio Banquo is navigable for large ships; the rest are not much frequented, the adjacent countries being overgrown with thick forests, and abounding with wild beasts.

The Rio Gamboas is two leagues to the south of the Sombreros, having a bar at the mouth. The town of Coucho lies 15 leagues up it, whither sloops trade. From this river, to the Rio Sherbero, the coast lies south-east. It is formed by the island Sherbero and the continent, very large at the entrance. At the west end of Sherbero lie the three isles of Tota, in a line. They are low and flat, with rocks on the north-east side. Their produce is much the same as on the main land. They are called Plantain Islands by the English, from that plant.

The island Sherbero, as the English call it, is named by the Portuguese, Farulha, or Furelloens; by the Dutch, St. Anne, or Mafta Quoja; and by the French, Crebera. It extends east south-east, about 10 leagues, and is all over flat land. The country abounds in rice, maife, as also in bananas, potatoes, Indian figs, ananas, citrons, oranges, water-mellons, and the fruit cola. The insulars are pagans, and use circumcision.

The river Sherbero, called by some Madre Bomba, by others Rio Selboba, and Rio das Palmas, is very large, and rising far within land, descends to the sea through the country of Bulm Monu, a land full of morasses. It is navigable for ships of burden twenty leagues upwards, to the town of Bagas, or Baga, where the English have a factory, belonging to Bulam, and sloop of 70 or 80 tons may ascend 30 miles above Kedham, 250 miles from its mouth; but the channel grows narrower the higher one goes up, and in many places is almost choaked up with bushes, which grow along the sides; besides, in April and May, the fit time for getting the cam-wood, of which there is great plenty, it has scarcely nine or ten feet water; but in August and September, after the rains, its depth is sixteen or seventeen feet. The navigation is interrupted also by frequent tornadoes, at whose approach the sloops must cast anchor, or be fastened to the trees growing along the shores, which are well inhabited by very civil people.

This river abounds with crocodiles, and water elephants, a wild and dangerous animal.

The lands of Silm Monu, are fifteen or sixteen leagues farther, and beyond Silm, is QuunaMora, a populous town, but the inhabitants not the best natured. It stands behind a great wood, not to be seen from the ships; is very large, but the houses mean and low, excepting one in the middle of the town, where the principal negroes hold their assemblies.

The adjacent country is very populous, the natives like those of Sherbero, commonly wear a frock of striped calico; having all the same customs and manners. The soil likewise produces the same kind of plants and animals with that island. The cam-wood here is a much better kind of red wood for dying than Brasil, and reckoned the best in all Guinea. It will serve seven times for use.

The Sherbero receives near the sea, the Rio Torro at north-west, and Rio de St. Anna at south-east, both large rivers. The Torro overflows twice a year, but being shallow, and choked up with little islands, is navigable only for small barks. From the south point of the Sherbero river, to that of Galinhas, the coast stretches east south-east, eleven leagues, flat, low, swampy, and marshy, all covered with trees, and inhabited.

Rio de Galinhas, called by the natives Naqualabari, rises in the lands of Hondo, and runs through the countries of Bulm Monu, and Quilliga Monu, to the sea, having two islands in its mouth. It takes its Portuguese name from the plenty of poultry. The Europeans bring from hence dry hides, and elephants teeth, brought down the river from Hondo, and Carudoba Monu, countries continually at war and the subjects to the king of Quoja, who resides at Cape Monte. The tide runs very high to north-east, along the coast, and the wind blows mostly fresh from the north-west. The winter season here is from May to October.

Rio Maguiba, the next river, denies entrance to large ships by a bar. The Portuguese, (who call it Rio Nunez, and Nueva) traded to it formerly, as did the French: but at present, it is frequented most by the English, for elephants teeth; sailing up to the village Dova Ruja. Higher up it is choaked with rocks and falls of water.

The coast from Rio Galinhas to Cape Monte, is low and flat, stocked with villages. The river Mavah, or Maffah, descends from the mountains, 30 leagues inland, near the Galvi negroes, and running into a large and deep channel through the Danwate

country, about a league on the north side of Cape Monte, is so choked with sands, that it never enters the sea above once a year, at the time of its overflowing.

This river before the conquest of Folgas, was inhabited by the Puy Monu negroes, whose king Flam-burre, commonly resided at the village Jog-Wonga, on the west side, about a league and a half from the sea; after he had quitted the town of Tomwi, at Cape Monte, to the Quojas. The king of the Folgas dwells on an island in the Lake of Plizoje, the better to avoid the insults of the Dogas. The town Tochu lies opposite to Jog-Wonga, where Flam-burre resided for a time, when threatened to be attacked by the Folgas. Two leagues farther up the river, on the same side, is the village Tiji, where formerly lived Tiji, the brother of Flam-burre. Two leagues higher, on the south-side, is Cammagoja, and a league behind it, Jerbofaja, over against which, the king had another village, from whence there is a road through the woods to Jera Ballifa, three leagues distant towards the sea, belonging to Flam-burre's eldest son.

The coast between Rio Maffah and Rio Maguibah, is full of villages and hamlets, where the negroes make abundance of salt.

Cape Monte, called by the natives Wash King, is discovered at a good distance from sea, shewing like an island in form of a saddle, being a very high mountain, appearing like a lofty island.

[At three leagues distance, one meets with thirty fathoms water, black clayey bottom. The best anchorage is about three quarters of a mile north-west of the point, in eight or twelve fathoms, where vessels may ride safe from the wind; but as the sea is always rough on this coast, the sailors are always obliged to wade, and carry the officers and goods on shore; the negro canoes, if not well manned, being apt to over-set.]

The land which is low, produces a small quantity of yams, as also potatoes, and abundance of rice. The fruits here, as well as on the Gold Coast, are, panguavers, bananas, pine apples, &c. They are but indifferently stocked with cattle, having neither cows nor hogs, and but a few sheep. Nor have they much poultry, but what they have is good. Here are numbers of elephants, tygers, harts, buffalos and other wild beasts, and the river abounds with fish, which they catch with nets.

The course of Cape Monte river lies north-east and south-west, and it waters a very fertile country. At a hundred paces from the sea, is a plain of several leagues extent, covered with oxen, cows, sheep, goats and hogs, amongst which the deer, roebucks, and antelopes graze peaceably. This plain is full of villages, abounding with poultry; such as common fowls, pintadoes, or Guinea-hens, geese and ducks, which increase wonderfully. Millet, rice, maife, pulse, are also equally plentiful: so is fish. The palma wine is excellent, and the air very temperate, from the north winds, and innumerable rivers of pure water, which run through the country.

The natives of Cape Monte are generally agreeable, mild, sociable, faithful, disinterested, and very industrious. Their chief employments are, planting of rice, and boiling of salt, both which they are obliged to do for the king, whose slaves they are. They seldom are at war with their neighbours, chusing rather, if any difference happens, to end the matter amicably. Each man marries as many wives as he can maintain, and as the women here work hard, their keeping is not very expensive. They are very contented, and seem not much concerned at what liberties they take with other men. All acts of government are determined by the votes of their caboshirs, who are the principal of the leading men at all towns, their experience or courage, having given them that superiority.

The dress common to both sexes here is the tomi, and the plaiting or braiding of their wool. The tomi

the women tie about their hips, and it falls half way down their thigh all round; but the men bring it under their twist, and fasten it just upon the girdling part behind. Both take great delight in twisting the wool of their heads into ringlets with gold or stones, and bestow a great deal of time and genius in it.

The natives of Cape Monte are cleaner in their way of eating than the rest of these nations. They use bowls made of a hard wood, and basons of pewter or copper tinned, which they keep very neat: they roast their meat on wooden spits, but have forgot what the French taught them, to turn it about, for they first roast one side, and then the other.

It is certain the Normans had formerly a trade here, and the Rouen company, in 1626, a settlement; though it is at present uncertain how, or when they abandoned it. When the India company, in 1666, and 1669, sent ships here, the king, then reigning here, received the French commander with great kindness, and conversing with him in French, granted him a free trade. This prince was a tall, venerable, old man of sixty, called Fallam Boure.

The English and Dutch, and others who trade here, buy many fine mats and pagnes made of grass, which are very beautiful, and of a bright yellow. Also great quantities of ivory of the same goodness as that of Sierra Leona. The teeth which these people bring from the north, are not so white, but much larger, some weighing 200 pounds weight. The Europeans buy here the skins of lions, panthers, tygers, and other wild beasts, and about 1500 slaves every year. These last are brought by the Mandingo merchants from the inland parts of Africa, for only criminals are sold here, and for the king's profit.

Here is also some gold to be had, which is probably brought down by the same merchants; so that it would be worth while to have a factory here. The forests yield plenty of woods fit for dying, especially in red. This wood the negros cut, and bring it to the shore in blocks of four or five feet long. The English, who buy a great deal of it, prefer it to Brasil wood, which was formerly so much esteemed.

Cape Mensurado, is about sixteen leagues distant from Cape Monte, there being a high land between them. This mountain, which is not near so high as the latter, is round and large, being almost surrounded by water. The side fronting the sea, is steep and high, that to the land, more gentle and accessible. The top is level, and the ground much better than might be expected at such a place. On the east is a bay of considerable extent, terminated by a high land, covered with large trees. On the west side is another large bay formed by the river, whose mouth is in the middle of it. These two bays are separated by a long narrow neck of land. The cape lies in six degrees nine minutes of north latitude. That part which projects most to the sea, runs south-east. A river smaller than the Mensurado, which comes from the east, falls into the western bay, and is navigable at high sea for twelve or fourteen leagues. The water of it is always brackish, but it abounds with fish.

The Portuguese call the river Mensurado, Rio Duro, on account of the cruelties of the natives when they massacred some Frenchman there. It runs first north-west for eighteen or twenty leagues, after which, it makes a turn to the north-east. Its course after this is unknown.

The tide flows up the river Mensurado twenty leagues at the season of the equinoxes, and eight or nine the rest of the year. They observe, in the rainy months, the water is salt only about three leagues above the king's isle, because of the freshness of the land floods. The river is very pleasant, in some places as broad as the Thames at London; and fringed on each side with thick groves of mangrove-trees, which are always green.

Though it is uncertain how far the dominions of the king of Mensurado extends inland to the north and north-east; it may be presumed they are not small,

from the number of forces he can raise on particular occasions. His limits to the east are the Rio Luneo, twenty leagues from Cape Mensurado; and to the west, a small river, half way between that and Cape Monte.

All this country is very fertile, gold is to be had here, but it is unknown where they get it, or whether it is the produce of the soil. They have as good red wood here as at Cape Monte, and several kinds of wood proper for being wrought in cabinet work. Sugar canes, indigo, and cotton, thrive here without cultivation. Their tobacco, (of the management of which, the negros are wholly ignorant) would be excellent, if it were carefully manufactured. The lions and tygers do not hinder their flocks from increasing prodigiously; and their trees are loaded with fruit, in spite of the devastations of the monkeys: in a word, the country is rich, the commerce advantageous, and might be greatly augmented by those who could cultivate the friendship of the people, for it would be in vain to think of making a settlement by force.

The natives are of a good stature, strong, and well proportioned, have a martial air, and are very brave, as their neighbours have experienced, as well as the Europeans, who have ventured to provoke them. They are sensible people, who think justly, express themselves well, and understand their own interests as well as their ancient friends the Normans.

Their dress, cattle and fruits, are like those of Cape Monte. The caboshirs wear a striped frock, reaching to the knees, and if they can get an old hat they are very proud of it. Else they wear a party-coloured ozier-bag upon their heads.

Their arms are lances about five feet long, with pointed iron-heads; small bows, and arrows as slender as a reed, most of which were always poisoned with some black ingredients, which, if it touches the blood kills inevitably, if the part affected be not immediately cut off: their arrows have no iron heads or feathers, neither do they ever shoot them point-blank, but at random, but notwithstanding by this method they will come very near the mark they aim at. They carry square targets of thin board, about four foot long, and two broad, with conveniencies on the inside to hang them on the left arms, but so as their hand is free to manage their bow.

The country is very populous. The villages are large, and swarm with children, because the women are very fruitful, and polygamy is allowed; besides none of the natives (criminals excepted) are sold for slaves.

In the midst of each village, is a sort of stage raised like a market hall, about six foot above the ground, to which you ascend by a ladder. It is called the calde, or place of conversation. The floor and roof are like that of their houses: it is open on all sides. Here they meet to transact all their business: so that it is the exchange of this country, or rather a kind of negro coffee-house; the indolent go there to smoke and chat, the politicians to hear news. The rich have their mats carried there by their slaves to sit down; others carry their own; some hire them from the king's officers appointed to take care of the place.

Their houses are very neat, and their kitchen even with the ground; open on the side freest from wind, and walled on the other three sides, with stakes covered with red clay, which binds well, though not mixed with lime, and lasts long. Their bed-chambers are raised three feet from the ground, to avoid the inconvenience of the dews. These houses resemble pretty much our mountebanks stages in Europe.—The front is open, and the floor has a jutting out of five or six feet broad, where the negros, laid on mats, pass the day with their wives and family. The walls of these chambers are of red clay near a foot thick. The roofs, raised like a tent, is covered with reeds or palm leaves, so close interwoven as to admit neither sun nor rain. To the right and left are two estrades

or benches, one foot high and four broad; on these are mats a foot thick, which are covered with cotton cloth, or calico, and surrounded with curtains of the same. At the upper end of this room, they place their trunks or boxes, and their arms upon the walls:

In the middle of their apartments, they raise a square elevation of about six inches high, and two feet on each side, on which they keep a constant fire night and day; in the day to smoke, and in the night to drive away the flies, and defend themselves from the cold and moistness of the air. There are as many chambers as the person has wives, with whom he lies by turns, and they are proportioned in bigness to the number of each family. The wife in whose chamber the husband is to pass the night, has her lord's supper ready. They have likewise places in which they store their provisions.

Their religion is a confused idolatry, often changing their divinities, or fetishes. Their adoration of the sun is more fixed and constant, to whom they offer sacrifices of palm-wines, fruits and animals. Formerly they offered human victims; but this custom has ceased since they found the profit of selling their prisoners of war to foreigners.

Between Cape Mensurado and the river of Sestos, there are several rivers; the first is that of Junco, (called also Rio del Punte) in five degrees, 50 minutes north latitude. The mouth or entry, lies south south-east. It is known by three trees, on a small rising ground opposite three mountains, a great way in land. The mouth is broad, some say four or five hundred paces, but has little water. It is planted with trees on each side, which form an agreeable prospect. All the shore is bordered with orange, citron, and palm-trees. The coasters who trade here, usually anchor at the mouth of the river, where discharging a gun, the negros light a fire on the point when they have goods to sell, and this serves as the signal for trading. —

The country between Sierra Leona and the river Sestos, is divided into several territories, particularly those of Bulm, Silm, Quilliga, Hondo, Galas, Caradabo, Galivey, Folgias, Quoja, and several others. To each of these names is commonly added, either Monow, or Bercoma; Monu, or Monow, signifying people, Bercoma land, in their language.

Forty miles to the south-east lies Silm, where there are several towns seated on the river; and amongst them the city of Quanamora, containing 5000 families, a treacherous people. The Sherbero, which is the chief river in the country, divides towards the mouth, into two branches: one running westward, the inhabitants name Torro; the other descending south, the Portuguese call Rio de S. Anna. Torro twice or thrice a year has but little water, and by reason of many islands in its channel, is navigable only for boats.

The country of Quilliga lies near the river Maqualbary, by the Portuguese, Galinhas, (or of Hens) upon which, about 230 miles, dwell the Caradabo Monow. It rises in the country of Hondo, more to the north. All these countries are subject to the king of Quoja.

The country inward from Wabcongo, or Cape Monte is called Quoja. It is inhabited by two distinct people, the Vey-Bercoma, and Quoja-Bercoma, which were both subdued by the Karows. The Vey-Bercoma are the remains of the ancient inhabitants of the river Maffah and Cape Monte, once a populous and warlike nation, extending as far as the country of Monow, but, at present, reduced to a handful of men.

The territory of Hondo is somewhat to the north of Galavey. It is divided into four principalities, Maffilagh, Dedowach, Danguirro, and Dandi, the chiefs whereof are named by the king of Quoja, each having equal authority, and paying a yearly acknowledgment to him, by their envoys, in presents of brass kettles, basons, qua-qua cloths, red cloth, and salt,

The Conde Quojas, that is, High Quojas, are neighbours to the Hondo Monow, and have a language different from that of the Quojas. The Folgias, and Monow countries are watered by the rivers Junk and Arveredo, which separate the Folgias from the Karow Monow, although the king of Karow resides near the country of Folgias, ever since their union, which with their conquest over the natives; occasioned a great change.

The Folgias, as well as the Bulm and Silm, call the subjects of this emperor, Mendi, that is, Lord; the Quojas, Mendi-Monow, the People of the Land. This is to honour themselves the more, as being his tributaries. But each of these petty kings has an absolute authority in his own districts, and can make war or peace without the consent of the emperor, or any other of whom they hold:

The Quabi-Monows live about the river Sestos. They were formerly subdued by Flenfire, king of the Folgias, but have since recovered their former condition, depending solely on the Monow emperor.

The vegetables, animals, &c. in this part, particularly the country of the Quojas, are much the same, as those in the former divisions of the coast.

Here is found the filla vandoch; it is the size of a hart, of a yellowish colour, blended with white streaks; the horns about twelve inches long, with each a hole, through which the animal breathes. It is fleetier than a deer.

They have porcupines both great and small. The quaggelo, is an amphibious animal, about six feet long, shaped and covered with hard, impenetrable scales, much like a crocodile. It defends itself from other beasts, by erecting its scales, which are pointed at the end. It has a broad tongue, with which it catches pismires.

They have four sorts of eagles; and there are abundance of blue parrots, with red tails. Here is a little bird of the wood-pecker kind, about the size of a sparrow, which by degrees makes a hole with its bill in the trunks of trees, there to nestle and breed young ones.

The Jouwa, which is the size of a lark, generally lays its eggs in beaten paths and roads. The blacks believe, whoever breaks them, their children will soon die. They eat of all the birds abovementioned, except this last.

There is a great variety of fish along this coast. One has been seen of a monstrous form on this side of Cape Monte. It was about eight feet long from head to tail, about a foot and a half in diameter, and four and a half in circumference. It had no scales, the skin was thick, hard, and rough, like that of the shark: it was taken with a large hook with an iron chain. When they got him near the ship, they flung a rope with a running-knot, round his tail, by which they drew him up, but took care to kill him before they brought him on board. The throat was large, armed with twelve teeth, six above, and six below, thick and sharp, about two inches long; his snout extended half a foot beyond his under-jaw, and was a bone, covered with the same skin as his body, of a greenish colour, though the throat and lips were of a bright red. His eyes were large, red, and sparkled like fire. Instead of gills, he had five gashes, or incisions, on each side the body, which he opened and shut at pleasure, and just beyond them, an extremely strong fin, of a middle size. He had two others, less, beneath his belly, and one larger on his back. His tail was scolloped, thick, large, and strong, and covered with the same skin. A shark approaching him while he was in the noose, he received a stroke with his tail, which sent him away in haste. Near the Cape Mensurado, the sea produces also some fishes, as extraordinary as that above described. —

The blacks in general of both sexes, are very luxurious, which occasions diseases, and shortens their lives. They are extremely fond of strong liquors, especially brandy, when given them, but will seldom buy any. The women use certain liquors made of

herbs and barks to excite vicious inclinations. The natives, however, in those parts, are generally well tempered, civil, and tractable; not apt to shed human blood, unless much provoked.

They live in great union and friendship, being ready to assist each other with cloathing or provisions upon most occasions, and often making presents of such things, and sometimes slaves, or other goods of value. If a person dies and leaves not enough to bury him, his friends defray the charges. Although they are not addicted to stealing from one another, they make no scruple to take whatever they can from those who are strangers.

It has been already noticed that they have many wives. The first wife called Makilmah, has a superiority over the rest. Their marriage ceremony is the same as in other parts; only it must be observed, that the bridegroom must make his bride three distinct presents. First, the foglo, or cola, consists of a coral, or bugles; secondly, the jasing, a few pagnes, or cloths; thirdly, the lesing, a trunk to put up her things; else a brass kettle, a bason, or, according to her quality, a slave. The bride's father sends a present of one or two slaves, two frocks, a quiver full of arrows, a scimitar and belt, with three or four baskets of rice. The husband maintains the boys, the woman the girls. They scruple not to marry women who have lost their virginity, provided they have good portions. These blacks, as well as those of Gambia, strictly abstain from their wives, as soon as they appear with-child.

They give names to their children ten days after they are born. On the day the boy is to be named, the father, attended by his domestics, armed with bows and arrows, walks about the town howling and singing, the inhabitants, as he passes, join him with their musical instruments. After this, the person appointed for the ceremony, taking the child from the mother, lays it on a shield in the midst of the company, and puts a bow into its hand. Then he makes a long discourse to the people on the occasion: after which, turning to the child, he wishes he may be like his father, industrious, hospitable, a good builder and husbandman: that he may not covet his neighbour's wife, be a drunkard, glutton, or the like. Then taking up the child, he gives him a name, and delivers him to his mother or nurse. Then they go hunting, and afterwards feast upon the game they have taken.

If a girl is to be named, the mother or nurse bringing the child, where most of the people of the village are assembled, lays her on a mat on the ground, with a little staff in one hand, and then exhorts it to be a good housewife, a good cook, chaste, and a dutiful wife; that her husband may love her above all his other wives, and she attend him at hunting; such wishes being finished, the name is given her.

The eldest son of the deceased inherits all his goods, wives and concubines; and he dying without issue, all falls to his younger brother if he has any. The other children are generally provided for by their father in his life-time, that they may not be reduced to poverty after his death. But if a man dies without male issue, the son of his brother is his next heir, though he should have several daughters; and in case there is not a male left of a family, then the king becomes the sole heir, but is to maintain all the daughters that are left behind.

The chief business of the blacks in this quarter, is tillage, for they are not much addicted to trade. They have few or no slaves to dispose of: and the great number of European ships that pass along their coasts, soon exhaust the teeth, wax, and little cam-wood they have.

The Quoja blacks between their harvests, employ themselves in fishing, hunting, or building: but none can hunt buffaloes without leave from the king, who has the moiety of that, and a third part of all other game. Water elephants belong wholly to the king or chief of the land, who returns the hunters what he thinks fit.

The houses of the Quojas are all built round as at Rufisco. They have both open and fortified villages. The former called Fon Serah, are built in a circular form, encompassed with trees planted very near each other. The fortified towns called San Siah, have four coberes, a sort of bastions, through which they pass in and out of the village, by a gate so low and narrow, that only one can pass at a time. Over each gate there is a centry box, made of the branches of a tree, called Tambo Bangoela. These towns are likewise inclosed with the tombo or wine palm, (which are long, thick, and very hard wood) fastened to the surrounding trees, so that nothing can be seen through their inclosure: but at certain distances there are narrow lights, or loop holes, with shutters to shoot through on occasion.

The river in the Quoja's country being choked with falls and sand, so as to render canoes useless; they have a sort of bridges, made with staves of tombo, tied together with a rope (of certain roots twisted) on each side, and stretched a-cross at the height of three feet, and fastened to trees, to prevent passengers from falling into the water.

Their funerals in general are the same with those of other blacks already described, though varying much in circumstances and additional ceremonies. When the corpse is well washed, they trim the hair of its head into locks, and set it upright, supported by props, and clothed in the best apparel that the person wore whilst living; or had been given since dead, as is usual; with a bow in one hand, and an arrow in the other.

Then the nearest relations or friends make a sort of skirmish with their arrows, which lasts a considerable while. That done, they kneel round the corpse with their backs towards it, as if much provoked; and thus shoot their arrows round the world, as they call it, to signify they are ready to revenge the deceased against any person who shall offer to speak ill of him; or might have been instrumental to his death. After this, they strangle some slaves of the deceased, to attend him in the other world; who, by way of preparation, are feasted with all the delicacies the country can afford.

During this time, the women acquaintance of the village keep about his wives, and throwing themselves at their feet, desire them to be comforted and dry up their tears.

After this, laying the corpse on a board, or small ladder, two men carry it upon their shoulders to the grave. With the body they cast in the strangled women and slaves, mats, kettles, basons and other things belonging to the deceased; they cover all with a mat, and hang his armour on an iron rod, set up in the ground at one end of the roof, which they erect over the grave to keep off the rain; and every day for a long time after, they leave eatables and liquors there for him to feed on in the other world. If a woman is buried, they set up an iron pole, or rod, her basons, and Dutch mugs in lieu of the armour.

They bury all of the same family in the same place, though the person die at ever so great a distance. The burying places are commonly in some forsaken or ruined villages, which they call Tomburoy. Of these there are many on the river Pligoge, and in the island Massah, behind Cape Monte.

Their reason for strangling the persons who are to be buried in the graves of men of note, is, because they think human blood is too precious to be spilt or wasted on any account. They strangle them with a bit of string, by twisting it about the neck. They also burn in their presence, the remaining victuals that had been prepared to feast them before their exit, adjudging it to be sacred.

This cruel custom, however, begins to lose ground; for generally at all places where it is practised, the people hide their daughters or children, as soon as the king's sickness is thought mortal, to prevent which, those who attend him use all precautions to conceal it. And when those who have absconded return to

their dwellings, they are severely reproached with the want of courage, which among them is the greatest affront; and told how unreasonable it is, that they, who had eaten the bread of their lord or husband, should be afraid to die with him.

It is also customary for the nearest relations or friends to keep a fast after the funeral; of ten days, for the common sort; which are called Bolli Guwe, and thirty days for a king, or considerable person. Such as keep this fast make a vow; lifting up both hands, not to eat rice during that time, nor to drink any liquor but what is kept in a hole for that purpose in the ground; as also to abstain from the company of women, and the women vow to cloath themselves with nothing but white or black rags, to go with their hair loose, and to lie on bare ground at night.

The fast being over, the penitents lift up both their hands agains, to denote that they have very punctually accomplished it. After this, the men go a hunting, the women, at their return, dress what they kill, and all together feast on it; lastly, those who have kept the fast are dismissed, with each of them a present of a bason, a kittle, a cloth, a basket of salt, or an iron bar, and other things.

No people among the blacks are so formal and ceremonious as the Quojas, and the surest way to make them tractable, is to comply with their customs in general.

A woman accused of adultery, is to take the oath in order to clear herself. If afterwards convicted of perjury, she is, in the evening, carried to the public market-place of the village, by her husband, where the council is sitting. They first invoke the Jannanin; they then cover her eyes, that she may not see the spirits that are to carry her away, after which follows a very severe reprimand on her disorderly life, with dreadful threats, if she does not amend it; and so she is discharged, after a confused noise of voices heard, expressing, that though such crimes ought to be punished, yet, since it is the first offence, it is forgiven, upon her observing some fasts, and mortifying herself; it being expected, that she should live so chaste, as not to admit any boys, though ever so young, into her arms, nor yet so much as to touch the cloaths of any man.

If, after this, she happens to relapse, and is again convicted, persons appointed for the purpose making a noise with a sort of scraper, comes in the morning to the criminal's house, and brings her into the public place of the town. There they oblige her to walk three times about it, still making a great noise, that all who are of the brotherhood of Belli, may see what is doing, and take warning, such as are not of it, not daring so much as to look out, for fear the spirits should carry them away. After this, they convey her to the holy wood called Belli; and from that time, she is never heard of more, being probably sacrificed there, but the blacks fancy that the spirits of the woods carry such women away.

If a man is charged with theft, murder, or perjury, and the evidence is not clear enough against him, or that he is only suspected of this or that crime, he is to take the trial of Belli, a composition made by the priest, with the bark of a tree and herbs, which is laid on the persons hand. If he is guilty of the indictment, the blacks say it will presently burn the skin; but that, if innocent, will be productive of no harm.

Sometimes the priest causes a person to drink a draught of liquor made of the barks of the nelle and quoni-trees, which are thick, and reckoned a perfect poison. If he be innocent, he will vomit it up immediately, but, if guilty, it will foam about his mouth, and thereby prove him guilty, and punishable with death.

They usually execute criminals, thus convicted, in some remote place, at a great distance from their village: there the criminal kneeling, with his head bowed down, the executioner thrusts him through with a small javelin. The body being fallen on the ground,

he cuts the head off with an axe, or knife, and quarters it, delivering the limbs to the wives of the person executed, who commonly assist him at the execution, and are to cast them on some dunghills about the country.

These people acknowledge a Supreme Being, Creator of all things, but cannot form any just idea of him. The blacks of Bulm and Timna make strange representations of him. They call that Being, Canow, or Canuo, attributing to him an infinite power, universal knowledge, and to be present every where. They believe that all good proceeds from him, but not that he is eternal; holding, that another light or being, is to come to punish the wicked and reward the virtuous.

These people believe that the dead become spirits, which they call Jannac, or Jannanin, that is, Patrons or defenders; their business being to protect and assist their former relations and kindred, which is the reason they put such questions to their dead, as are beforementioned. Thus if a man happens to escape some imminent danger in hunting, at his return he sacrifices as the grave of his supposed deliverer, an heifer, rice, and palm-wine, as an acknowledgment, in the presence of the relations of the deceased, who dance and sing at the feast.

When a man has received an injury, he repairs to the woods, where they believe those spirits or souls reside, and with their howls and cries, intreat Canow and Jannanin, to chastise the malice of the party whom he names. In like manner, when he finds himself in some difficulty or danger, he conjures the soul of his best relations to help him out of it. Others consult them as to future events: for instance, whether any European ship will soon arrive and bring goods to traffic, or the like.

In short, they have a very great veneration for these departed spirits, and rely on them as their tutilar gods. They never drink water or palm-wine, without first spilling a little of it, as a libration for the jannanin; and to assert the truth of any thing, they swear by the souls of their deceased parents. The kings themselves do the same; and though they seem to have a great veneration for Canow, or God, yet, all their religious worship seems to be directed to those souls, each village having a place appointed in the nearest wood to invoke them.

These blacks, at three several times of the year, carry abundance of provisions, for the subsistence of the jannanin, into the woods and forests. And thither persons in affliction repair, to implore the assistance of Canow, and the jannanin with very loud cries.

It is sacrilege for women, maids or children to enter those sacred woods, and therefore they are made to believe from their infancy, that the jannanin would immediately kill them.

They say they have magicians and forcerers among them, as also a peculiar sort of men, whom they call Sovah Munusin, that is, Poisoners and Blood-suckers. These they fancy will suck the blood out of man or beast, or, at least, corrupt in such a manner, as to occasion lingering and painful diseases. There are others called Pilli, who, by their enchantments, they believe can hinder the rice from sprouting or coming to maturity. They say the Sovah possesses such, who being overwhelmed with melancholy, or grown desperate through misfortunes, withdrew themselves from the company of all other men into the woods and forests, where the Sovah shew them what herbs and roots are to be used in their enchantments; as also the gestures, words, and grimaces, proper for those wicked practices. These men, when taken, are put to death. The blacks will seldom travel through the woods without company, for fear of meeting them, as well as the wild beasts; and carry with them a certain composition, which, they fancy, preserves them against the malicious Sovah, of whom they tell a thousand uninteresting ridiculous stories.

When a person is suspected to have died a violent death, the custom is not to wash the corpse, till a strict enquiry be made. To this effect, they wrap up some pieces of the dead person's garments, with the parings of his nails, and clippings of his hair; on these they blow the scrapings of cam-wood, fastening the bundle to the pestle, which two blacks carry about the place. These are preceded by the priests, who beat with two hatchets, one against the other, and ask the corpse, where, when, and by whom, he was thus deprived of his life; and whether Canow, their deity, has taken him into his protection; when the spirit by moving the heads of the bearers of the corpse, after a certain manner, as they pretend, give them to understand, that the Sovah Munusin was the cause of it, they ask him again, whether the forcerer is male or female, and where he lives? This the spirit also declares, in the same manner; and leading them to the place where the forcerer abides, they seize and put him in chains, to be examined on the charge laid against him by the spirit. If he persists to deny it, he is compelled to take the kquoni, a horrid bitter drink; and if, after drinking three full calabashes, he vomits it up, he is absolved; whereas, if it only foams out about his mouth, he is immediately put to death; his corpse is then burnt on the spot, and the ashes are thrown into the river. or the sea, be he ever so great a man. This drink is composed of the bark of a certain tree, beaten in a wooden mortar, and infused in water. It is a very sharp, dangerous liquor, and commonly administered to the prisoner in the morning, in case of suspicion of a high crime.

All these nations circumcise their children at the age of six months, as a divine institution practised time out of mind. Yet some mothers, through fondness, defer the operation till they are three years old, that they may bear it with greater ease and safety. They heal the wound with the juice of certain herbs.

Having mentioned Rio Sestos, we shall give the reader a description of that river and the adjacent country.

The entrance of this river from the sea is full of rocks, which lie six feet under water, so that it is easy to pass them with loaded boats; except two, which appear above water, and are to be avoided. The mouth of the river lies south-east, and north-west, about a league broad, with large trees on each side. The water is foul: there are some rocks under water, and some above. There is, however, in the pass or channel on the south side three fathoms water, and often six or seven, which is sufficient for small vessels, boats may enter the river without any hazard.

The going in is between the point on the starboard or east shore, and the rock in the middle of the river. The entrance is about half a cable's length wide, and the depth thirty-seven and thirty-eight fathoms. When it is entered, it will be found a very fine river, where vessels of an hundred tons may ride safe. About a gun-shot from the aforesaid point, upon the same shore close to the side of the river, is a well of good fresh water, where, for a few cawris, (the shells commonly called black moor's teeth) the negro women brought them water, and filled their casks in the boat. The negro men being furnished with hatchets, will, for a small quantity of the aforesaid shells, cut fire wood enough, and bring it to the boats, but they must have a bottle of brandy now and then to encourage them; so that for expedition, this is the best place to wood and water at.

The source of this river is far within land on the north-north-east, some say, it is navigable for barks for twenty leagues up. Higher it is full of sands and rocks, which allow no passage but for canoes.

It is described as a fine pleasant river. The banks on each side are thick set with trees. Several rivulets or small springs discharge themselves into it; and what adds to its beauty, is a multitude of villages along the sides.

The country about Sestos is very fertile, well furnished with poultry, rice, and millet; of this they

make all their bread, which they carry in their canoes when they go a fishing. Here is good advantage to be made of rice, pepper, or ivory, which last is excellent.

The land here is low, level, and watered with many rivers: so that it is no wonder the soil is rich and fertile; and produces all vegetables in abundance; but the climate is unhealthy to strangers, who are exposed here to long and dangerous distempers. Besides provisions, which are cheap, the place yields ivory, slaves, gold-dust, and above all, Guinea-pepper, which is the produce of the country.

They find in this river a kind of flints, like those of Medoc in France; but harder, clearer, and of a better lustre. They cut easier than a diamond, and, with a good foil, make a great shew.

About a cable's length from the mouth of the river, is a negro town, of about thirty or forty houses, neatly built, and so high, that some of them appear three miles off at sea. These houses have more stories than those of Mensurado.

The town is large, and built after a different model from those on the Grain Coast. They run up the houses (square or round) four feet from the earth. At that height is the first and chief room, to sit, talk, or sleep in, lined with matted rinds of trees, supported with stockades, and in the middle of it a fire-place for charcoal. This serves a double purpose, driving off insects and vermin, and drying their rice and Indian corn. Of the upper loft they make a store-house, that runs up pyramidal thirty feet; making the town at a distance, appear like a number of spires, each standing singly.

About a league up a rivulet near the mouth of the Sestos, is the king's village. It contains about thirty little houses, built of clay, and inclosed with a mud wall, about five feet high. It stands on a rising ground, just at the mouth of a little river, and the country round about it full of either banana, or palm-trees. Every house has an upper floor, and some two, neatly whitened within, twelve or fifteen inches above the ground, where the wall appears black, or red, round about it; but the stories are so low, that people must sit or lie down. The floors instead of boards, are made of round sticks, or boughs of palm-trees fastened close together, which renders it very inconvenient to walk on. The roof is composed of the same materials, set close also, and covered with large banana and palm-tree leaves.

In the council house, built in the same manner, there is a piece of square timber, about three feet long, on which was carved in half-relieve, the figure of a woman, and a child by her, but very indifferently done, and two square holes cut-in pretty deep at each end of the timber, probably, to hold meat and drink for the use of the fetish; that being the place where they administer an oath, or swear to the performance of contracts or agreements.

The king resides constantly at this village, which wholly consists of thirty of his wives, and their children, none else living there. The king's sons, or his sons-in-law, wear a long ozier cap, like their father; which is the only thing that distinguishes them from the common sort, and peculiar to those only of the royal blood: but in all other things they toil and work like slaves, when occasion requires it.

The king of this place is very absolute, but seldom punishes criminals with death; it being more to his advantage to sell them for slaves.

The people here are very civil, and for a glass of brandy, will do you all the good offices in their power. They are tall, well-made, and strong, and have a martial air; courageous, and often make incursions on their neighbours, to take slaves to sell. This hinders the negro merchants from trading here; and deprives them of the advantage their neighbours share in the commerce for gold.

Most of these Sestos negroes are fishermen. Every morning there sails out of the river a small fleet of canoes, which disperse themselves along the coast.

They

They fish with a line, and generally return home laden. The king has a certain duty of so much out of what they catch.

These people never cover their heads, bearing without any inconvenience the heaviest rain, or most violent heats. The men and women here go the most naked of any on the coast, having at best only a slight rag tied about their middle. They breed abundance of cattle, and poultry of all kinds; not so much for their own use (for they live chiefly on fish, pulse, and fruits, which are excellent) as to sell to ships that frequent the coast.

The manner of salutation is the same along the coast. They take the person's finger and thumb into their hands, and putting them into a certain posture, pull them hard and make them snap, crying when they have done, *aquio*; which is equivalent to, your servant with us.

Their marriages are not very ceremonious. Those who are able to buy a wife, after agreeing with the woman, apply to the parents or relations, who haggle about the bargain. The price agreed on being paid, the wife is delivered. The husband, after drinking some bottles of brandy with his new relations, conducts his new spouse to the hut designed for her: where his other wives come to see her, and help her to dress the wedding supper. This being over, the husband stays all night with the bride; who next morning goes to work with the rest of the women, according to the season.

The wife who brings the first boy, is regarded as the favourite and chief, but she buys this dear enough; for she is obliged to follow her husband, and is buried alive in the same grave.

A French author who was witness of this ceremony, gives us the following account of it. "The captain or chief of the village, dying of a hard drinking bout of brandy, the cries of his wives soon spread the news through the town. All the women there ran and howled like furies. The favourite wife distinguished herself by her grief, and not without cause. However, as several women in the same case have prudently thought fit to make their escape, the rest of the women under pretence of comforting her, took care to watch her so closely, that there was no means of escaping the blow. The relations of the deceased all came to pay her their compliments, and take their farewell. After the marbut had examined the body, and declared he died a natural death, he, with his brethren, took the corpse, washed, dried, and then rubbed it with fat from head to foot. After this they stretched it on a mat in the middle of the house. His wives were placed round it, and his favourite at the head, as the post of honour. Several other women made a circle round them. All these endeavoured to out roar one another, tearing their hair and scratching themselves methodically, like people who knew perfectly the part they acted. Sometimes they left off and kept silent; at others they repeated the praises and great actions of the deceased, and then began their lamentations anew. This mock music lasted near two hours, when four lusty negros entering the house, took the dead body and tied it on a hand-barrow, made of branches of trees: then lifting it on their shoulders, they carried it through the town, running as fast as they could, and realing from time to time as if they had been drunk, with a thousand ridiculous gestures, very suitable to the exclamations of the wives of the deceased, and the other women who attended this whimsical procession. The cavalcade over, the body was taken from the hand-barrow, and deposited in its place. After which, the songs, the cries, and extravagancies of the women began again.

"During this, the marbut made a grave deep and larg enough to bury two bodies. He also stripped and skinned a goat. The pluck served to make a ragou, of which he and his assistants ate. He also caused the favourite wife to eat some; who had no great inclination to taste it, knowing it was to be her last. She ate some however, and during this repast,

the body of the goat was divided into small pieces; broiled, and eaten. The lamentations began again: and when the marbut thought it was time to end the ceremony; he took the favourite wife by the arms, and delivered her to two lusty negros. These seizing her roughly, tied her hands and feet behind her, and laying her on her back, placed a piece of wood on her breast, then holding each other with their hands on their shoulders, they stamped with their feet on the piece of wood, till they had broken the woman's breast. Having thus at least, half dispatched her, they threw her into the grave with the remainder of the goat, casting her husband's body over her, and filling up the grave with earth and stones. Immediately the cries ceasing, a quick silence succeeded the noise, and every one retired home, as if nothing had happened."

The language of the Sestos negros is the most difficult on the coast; so that trade here is carried on much by signs, in which they excel. They preserve many French words, which have been handed down to them by their ancestors, who learned from the French the art of tempering steel, which they yet retain, and in which they have even made great improvements.

The French being expelled from all their settlements on this coast by the Portuguese, tyrannizing over the natives; and the profits of their trade exciting the jealousy of the English and Dutch, their power began to decline; so that by degrees they lost most of their possessions and forts, and were forced to retire up the country, where, to maintain themselves they married with the negros, from whence are sprung the Portuguese mulattoes and blacks, to be found along the coast. The European Portuguese, out of policy and affection, acknowledge them in general for their countrymen.

These African Portuguese, by means of their alliance with the natives, trade freely every where. They have penetrated even to the Niger, by the north of the kingdoms of Gago and Benin. Those settled on the river Sierra Leona, Junes, Sestos, and Sanguin; trade frequently to the Gambia, as well as to the Cafamansa, Rio S. Domingo, and Rio Grande. One of their traders, who lived 100 leagues up the river Sierra Leona, went almost every year to trade with the Mandingos on the Niger, beyond a considerable branch of it, which he believed to be the Gambia. It is certain, that these advantages, joined to the regard the natives have for them, would enable them to carry on an extensive and rich trade, if they had European goods more regular, and dealt for themselves instead of other nations.

The country abounds in rice, which yields such a prodigious increase, that a large ship may be soon loaded, at the rate of about an half-penny a pound; but it is not so large, white, or sweet as that of Milan, or Verona. The better sort of people drive a constant trade in this commodity, Guinea pepper, and elephants teeth, though the last they have but in small quantities.

Besides ivory, Guinea pepper, and rice, are maize, poultry and cattle, all very cheap here. The dogs here, as in other parts of Guinea, are eaten by the blacks as good meat. There are but few swine, and the sheep differ much from those in Europe; they are not so large, and have no wool, but hair like goats, with a sort of mane like a lion's, both on the neck and rump, also a brush at the end of the tail. They are very indifferent meat, but sell there for a bar of iron each.

These blacks are circumcised, but can give no other reason for it, than that it is an ancient custom, transmitted to them by their ancestors.

The Malaghetta, or Pepper Coast, extends from Rio Sestro to Growa, a little beyond Cape das Palmas, about 55 leagues, being generally low flat land, and the soil clammy, fat, all over woody, and watered by several rivers and brooks, at the mouth of which lie villages of the same name.

From

From Rio Sestos to Little Sestos, (or Sestro) are four leagues, south-east. Before this place there is a mountainous long rock, on which grows a high tree, with five other rocks to the southward, and one to the northward.

The blacks here are generally fishermen; and there is little or no trade. About two leagues farther east, is the point called Baxios Swino, running out into the sea, and near it a great rock, white at top, closes to the land, which, at a distance, westward at sea, looks like a sail, easily seen from Sestos road, in clear weather.

A little below this rock, is the village Sanguin, at the mouth of the river of that name, which falls into the sea at south south-east, and will carry small ships twelve leagues up, though its entrance is very narrow, the banks being shaded with fine tall trees. The village contains about 100 houses.

The English had formerly a settlement here, but abandoned it on account of the ill temper of the blacks. The king is tributary to the king of Rio Sestos. He commonly wears a blue Moorish frock, and goes often on board the ships in the road. Formerly the Dutch and Portuguese carried on a great trade here for elephants teeth and pepper, but of late, through the great resort of ships, the natives have so extravagantly advanced the price, that there is little to be done worth while, which indeed is the case throughout all the coast of Guinea. In case of necessity, Sangwin is a convenient place for wood or water, and provisions.

About a league and an half east of Sangwin, is the village of Bassa, where there is some little trade for elephants teeth, but much more for pepper. This place is easily known by a plain sandy point, environed with rocks. Some of the blacks here, speak a little Portuguese, or Lingua Franca.

Seterna, or Serres, is about two leagues east of Bassa, having some rocks out at sea on the east point, and a good trade for ivory and pepper. Not far off to the east, in the village Tasse, or Dasse. Next follows Bottowa, a town situated on the shore, easily known by two great rocks, one appearing out at sea about two English miles west of it, by the Portuguese called Cabo do Sino; the other four miles east of the town. It is distinguished likewise by several high hills beyond it. Here is abundance of malaghetta, or pepper, which the blacks exchange for blue perpetuanas, pewter basons, iron bars, and annabasses.

They usually come on board to traffic, but ought to be well looked to; for they are dextrous thieves, and will never pay for what they buy, if they can any way avoid it.

The village Sino lies south-east from Bottowa, about a league and a half distant, and distinguished by a great rock on a sand point, running out a little to sea, behind which is a fine large river, rising far within land, as the black report, and not much inferior to that of Sestos.

The village of Souweraboe, or Sabrebou, is a league from Sino to the south-east. That of Sestro Carow five leagues from Sabrebou, is a large, beautiful village. The place is easily known by a head or cape of three black hills together, planted with trees, which at some distance at sea, look like masts of ships. The cape or point is encompassed with rocks, some of which run a little out to sea: it is likewise known by two great rocks on the shore, about two English miles asunder, the land being low and flat. Here is good watering, in case of necessity, in the bulging of the shore, which shows at a distance like a little bay.

The village Wappow, or Wapp, is five leagues from Sestro Carow, is situated on a little river. It is known by a ridge of about twenty or more high straggling trees, which appear on a flat, long, high ground, beyond the shore, with five palm-trees at the end thereof. It is remarkable also for a very flat island or rock near the coast, if not joining to it, environed with other small ones.

At the village within the river, as well as at Bottowa and Sestro Carow, the elephants teeth are commonly large. The country abounds in malaghetta, which they commonly carry on board ships in the road, in great large bull-rush baskets, made in the form of sugar-loaves.

Droe (Drue, or Drew) and Neffo, two other villages, are between Wappo and Grand Sestro; they produce abundance of pepper. The blacks about Wappo and parts adjacent, are more tractable and better conditioned than those farther west; but importunate enough in begging their dashi, or present, before they deal. Their language can scarce be understood.

The sea affords great variety of fish, much the same with those on the Gold Coast.

The shore from Wappo to Grand Sestro, or Sestro Paris, stretches south-east-by south. This last is a large village on the Rio das Escravos. The tide at low ebb carries along the shore, and at sea on the return of flood.

Grand Sestos (or Sestro) is about two leagues and an half to the south-east of Droc. It is easily found out by a rock to the north-west, and by a cut in the coast, over which are three palm-trees up the land. The Dutch call it Batteries-hoeck, from the name of a black who formerly lived there. To this town the French of Duppe, formerly gave the name of Sestro Paris, because of its greatness; being one of the largest and most populous in all Guinea. They had a settlement here for trading in Guinea pepper and ivory, (which are both very plenty) long before the East India pepper was known in Europe. But the Portuguese having conquered Princes island in the Bight, over-run all the Guinea Coasts, settling factories and driving out the French. This place is called Great Paris; and Petit Sestro, a few leagues farther, Little Paris. The natives here still preserve their antient affection to the French.

It is three leagues and a half from Grand Sestro to the village Goyane, or Goyava; four from hence to Goawai, and two more to Cape des Palmas. This cape had its name from the palm-trees to be seen from most places, especially near the shore, and from the two hills that form the cape; which stands exactly in four degrees fifty minutes of north-latitude.

Behind the cape is a bulging in the coast, which is a good shelter for ships against the southerly winds; about a league from it, is a great rock just by the shore; and from the point runs a ridge of shoals, or small rocks, even with the water, a league into the sea at south-south-east, where ships in former times have been cast away. There is likewise another bank two leagues farther out to sea, about which, the tide runs very swift at east, in nine or ten fathoms water.

Two leagues east from the cape stands Goawa, where the pepper coast ends.—It is observed that the vapours arising from the many rivers and brooks along the coast, causes malignant fevers, dangerous to Europeans. This bad air is most pernicious about Cape Palmas, being sometimes felt four leagues off at sea; for, when the weather is foggy, it carries a perfect stink with it.

The country in general has plenty of peas, beans, pompions, lemons, oranges, bacchos, bananas, and a sort of nuts, the shells very thick, and all of a round piece, without any peel within, like European nuts, which eat very luscious and sweet. Great numbers of cattle, goats, hogs, chickens and many other sorts of fowls are found here. Their palm wine is excellent, as is likewise the dates, which they are very fond of. But the principal commodity on this coast, as has been said, is the malaghetta, or Guinea pepper, it being very plentiful and cheap.

The plant which bears the Guinea pepper, according to the goodness of the soil, requires strength enough to support itself, and become a small tree, or standard, sometimes for want of this, it is a creeping shrub, unless it be propped up, or can fasten to any

tree to sustain it; in which case, like ivy, it covers the whole body. When it creeps along the ground, the seeds, though large, are not so good; for the higher its branches are exposed to the air, the drier and smaller the fruit; but then it is hot and sharp to the taste, and has all the true qualities of pepper. The leaf of the maleghetta is twice as long as it is broad, and narrow at the end. It is soft, and of a lively green in the rainy season; but, when that is over, it withers, and loses its colour. When you bruise them in your fingers, they yield an aromatic smell like cloves, and the extremity of its branches have the same effect. There issues from the under part of the leaves, small, curled filaments, by which they take hold of the tree, or prop. No good description can be given of the flower, as it appears at a time when there is no trade on the coast. It is certain, however, that the plant does flower, and that the flowers are succeeded by the fruits, in the shape of angular figs, of different sizes, according to the soil or exposition. The outside consists of a thin skin, which dries, and becomes very brittle. It is usually of a dark, reddish brown: the negros say it is poisonous.

The seeds in this skin are placed close together in order, divided only by a thin pellicle, which turns to small threads of a sharp, biting taste, somewhat like ginger.

This grain is of the size of hemp-seed, the superficies almost round, but angular, of a reddish colour before it is ripe, deeper when it comes to maturity, and black after it has been wet, in which condition they pack it up. This moistening of it produces a fermentation, and greatly diminishes its virtues: its taste should be biting and sharp, like that of India pepper, in order to make it sell well.

The rind or husk of the berry is thin, first green, and when dry, of a fine scarlet, about the size of a fig, and soft, as not being filled with any pulp, but within it is the maleghetta, growing in four or five rows, and covered with a white film, which also separates each grain or seed.

Before they ripen they are red, and of a grateful taste. The best are the chestnut colour, large, ponderous, and very smooth; the black are the smallest. They take their colour as they lie on board their ship, being put up green. The seed is neither so large nor round as the Indian pepper, but has several angles. The stalks of it taste somewhat like cloves. There is another sort of maleghetta, growing like large leaved grafs. That which is bought from the middle of November till March, is certainly a year old; for the new begins to bud in January.

They gather the fruit whenever the leaves begin to blacken at the end. This they dry, and sell through the country in exchange for goods, by which they make large profit. The seeds have been long used in France, and other parts of Europe, instead of pepper, especially when the latter is scarce and dear. The retailers also adulterate the India pepper exceedingly.

The maleghetta on the river Sestos, grows on a sort of shrub, and is the largest of all this part on the Pepper Coast. The bushes are so close together, that in some places at Sestos, they look at a distance like thickets, or small coppices. There grows also a fruit on shrubs, which, in taste and figure, resembles cardamums. At Benin, and in land, there is pepper like that of the East Indies.

The last sort of pepper, called here Pimento, and in Europe, Spanish pepper, grows here in abundance, on shrubs almost of the same size, though somewhat lower than the gooseberry bushes in Holland. There are two sorts, great and small, both at first green, and change, the small to fine red, the large to a red and black. This fruit is much hotter than common black pepper, especially the smaller sort, which is not above a quarter as big as the other; but the trees grow six times as high, and spread considerably wider than the other.

The Dutch used formerly to export a great quantity of it yearly, loading whole ships; but it is now less sought after. But this sort of pepper being now little used in Europe, the trade of it is inconsiderable, most of their ships that ply on this coast, look chiefly for elephants teeth, of which the English and Dutch got the largest share.

Before the coming of the Portuguese, the merchants of Barbary came hither quite across the continent, to fetch this pepper, and that from Barbary some quantity was transported into Italy, where it was called Grain of Paradise.

On the Pepper Coast the natives are very intemperate, and luxurious to excess, always talking of their indelicate amours. They are much given to pilfering, and, when on board ships, steal eatables or goods, nay even rusty knives, broken nails, and in short, every thing that come in their way. They are intolerable in begging for a present.

The language of the blacks of this coast cannot be understood at all, trade being carried on by signs and gestures. They are generally well shaped; and are very strong and laborious. When they happen to meet from different places on board a ship, they take one another by the arms, near the shoulders, saying, Toma, and letting the hands fall to the elbows, Towa: then take one another's fingers, as those of Sestos, and press them, uttering the words, Enfanemate, Enfanemate; in signification, My friend, how do you do?

They have pretty good black-smiths who know how to harden and temper weapons, knives, &c. Others make canoes large and small, very neatly. They are also good husbandmen to improve their lands for rice, millet, and maleghetta, which is their chief dependance for food and trade.

Their taba, or taba-seyle, and by others, tabo-seyle, that is, their kings, are very arbitrary, and effect much state when they go abroad, having an absolute authority over their people, who pay them great submission. They are gross pagans, praying to their Grigri, or images, and to dead men, to grant them a peaceful and holy life in this world: they salute the moon with plays, songs and dances, and great admirers of what they suppose to be sorcery.

The Gold Coast, of which our author treats, was discovered by the Portuguese, though the French have disputed their pretensions, asserting, that this discovery was made by some adventurers of Dieppe in Normandy. However, it is certain, that the French traded to the Coast of Guinea at an early period. In the time of Prince Henry of Portugal, a ship was fitted out at Lisbon to make discoveries along the African coast, which vessel was driven to an island in the Bite of Guinea, on St. Thomas's day, to which island they accordingly gave the name of that Saint. Here finding plenty of necessaries, they staid to refit, and formed the first Portuguese colony.

These adventurers returned to Lisbon in the year 1482. King John the second, to secure the trade of his subjects, sent thither ten caravel in 1681, laden with all sorts of materials for building a fort, and 100 masons, under James de Azambuja. This commander, upon his arrival, sent advice to Casamanfa, lord of the country, with whom he had before concluded a treaty of commerce, desiring him to come and ratify it. In the mean time he landed his men privately armed; he took possession of a little hill, where there were about 500 houses, not far from Casamanfa's residence, as a fit place to build the intended fort. Here he set up a standard with the arms of Portugal, on the feast of St. Sebastian, whose name was given to a valley where the Portuguese landed. Afterwards Azambuja being informed of Casamanfa's approach, ranged his men in order, and sat down in an elbow chair. He had on a gold brocade waistcoat, and a gold collar set with jewels. All his followers were clad in silk, making a lane before him, that the black prince might admire his grandeur. Casamanfa on his part was not wanting to shew his state, which appeared

appeared by a great number of armed blacks, with a mighty noise of trumpets, horns, tinkling bells, and other instruments, all together making a hideous noise. The principal blacks were dressed after their own manner when they go to war, and followed each of them by two pages, one carrying a buckler, and the other a little round stool, their heads adorned with gold after their fashion.

After the first ceremonies and salutes, Azambuja made a long speech, signifying the great affection which the king his master had for Casamanfa, and desiring liberty to build a fort for carrying on trade with his subjects, and rendering him terrible to his neighbours.

Casamanfa, who was a man of good sense, made several objections to the proposal of building a fort, but was at last prevailed on to consent to it. Next day, Azambuja set his men to work, and the masons breaking some rocks on the sea side, the blacks, whether out of superstitious veneration for those rocks, or that they could not approve of erecting a fort in their country, began to shew their resentment. This Azambuja perceiving, caused considerable presents to be distributed among them. Being by this means appeased, the Portuguese carried on their work with such diligence, that the fort was put in a posture of defence in less than twenty days, and the tower raised to the first story; the materials brought by Azambuja being so fitted, that there was nothing to do but put them together. Soon after this he sent home his caravels with a vast quantity of gold.

It was stipulated by the treaty of peace made at Alcavoves, in 1479, between Ferdinand of Castile, and king Alphonso the 5th of Portugal, that the commerce and navigation of Guinea, with the conquest of the kingdom of Fez, granted by the Pope to the kings of Portugal, should remain to them, exclusive of the Castilians, who engaged not to trade or touch in those parts without permission from the court of Portugal; and on the other hand, that the Canary Islands should entirely belong to the crown of Spain.

But we find, that contrary to these articles of peace, the Castilians, in the year 1481, having sent a fleet to trade on the Coast of Guinea, King Alphonso dispatched a squadron to obstruct them, under the command of George Correa; who meeting with thirty ships of Castile on the Coast of Mina, after a sharp engagement, obtained a complete victory, bringing several of them to Lisbon.

King John of Portugal, granted letters patent to some undertakers, himself joining in partnership with them. Three ships were fitted out, and whether the fort was erected in 1471 or 1481, is not known (so uncertain are the Portuguese historians). King John gave it the name of St. George, and afterwards granted many privileges and franchises to such as should be willing to reside in it. He also gave it the name of a city, and caused a church to be built in it, dedicated to the same Saint. After this, he took the title of Lord of Guinea, and commanded that those employed to make discoveries for the future along the southern Coast of Africa, should, at every place of note, erect a square monument of stone, six feet high, with his arms on it, and two inscriptions, one on each side in Latin and Portuguese. Containing the year, month, and day when that discovery was made by his order, with the name of the captain who commanded such expedition. He ordered also a stone cross to be cramped into that pedestal; whereas in former times, they used to set them up of wood. Some years after, the king of Portugal formed a Guinea company, with the privilege of an exclusive trade. At first they made a very considerable profit, and caused Fort St. Andrew to be built at Axim, another small one at Acra, and a lodge at Sama, on the river of St. George, for the convenience of supplying the garrison of Mina with provisions, which before was maintained by the king of Portugal: who reserved to himself the right of appointing a governor

and other officers, every three years, to gratify such of his subjects as had served him well in Europe and in Africa, in his wars with the Moors of Fez, without making their fortunes.

Thus the garrison of this place, as well officers as common soldiers, came to be commonly composed of lewd and disorderly persons, (used to commit outrages, and to plunder) or of such as were banished Portugal for their crimes.

In the reign of Henry the third, of France, the civil wars there being at an end, the French began again to frequent the Pepper and Gold Coast, but could not prevail with the blacks of Mina to deal with them, those people being deterred by the threats of the Portuguese. On this they sailed thence to Acra; upon intelligence that the negros, provoked by the barbarous usage of that nation, had surprised their little fort, destroyed the garrison, and razed it to the ground, in the year 1578.

From that time the Portuguese credit and interest on that coast began to decline, after they had reaped all the advantages of the Guinea trade for above 100 years, and fell into the hands of the European nations; who, by degrees became sharers of the wealth. But this was not without bloodshed, particularly many of the French lost their lives by the hands either of the Portuguese or blacks, who received an hundred crowns reward from the former, for every head of a Frenchman they brought, which were exposed on the walls of the fort.

Mean time the French, who had hitherto traded on the Maneghetta, or Pepper Coast, seeing the great profit the Portuguese made by their trade on the Gold Coast, sent some ships there also. But the negros durst not deal with them, for fear of offending the Portuguese as they freely owned. However, coming to Acra, the French were well received by the negros, who gladly traded with them, when they found they were enemies to the Portuguese.

The Portuguese finding other methods fruitless, sent two stout ships from Portugal to guard the coast. With these they sunk a ship from Dieppe, called the *Esperence*, killing the greatest part of the crew, and making the rest slaves, in the year 1582. But no prohibition or force prevailing to deter the negros from trading with the French, the Portuguese managed so as to exclude by force not only the French, but all foreign nations from trading on the coast. Not content with this, they fell on such interlopers of their own nation as the hope of gain had brought here, confiscating the ships and goods, and punishing the men with death. A Portuguese ship that had then traded here, was, on her return to Lisbon, condemned to the king, and the crew put to death.

Not long after the year 1600, a bark, bound from Port-a-Port to Rio del Ardea, was taken by the pirates. The crew put into the castle of Mina for fresh water and provisions; but though they were Spaniards, yet the governor refused them this liberty, on account of their not having the king's leave to trade here, and even threatened them with slavery if they did not quit the coast.

The Dutch met with no better treatment from the Portuguese, when they had an opportunity, but would not desist from the Guinea trade, being encouraged by the mighty profit they found on that coast, to bear with the outrages offered by those people, till at last they had their full revenge. For when the war broke out between the Hollanders and Spain, the former calling to mind the injuries done them by the Portuguese, at that time subjects to Spain, took from them not only one half of Brasil, but likewise all the forts they had on the Coast of Guinea, driving them from that nation for ever, by forcing them to surrender the castle of Mina, in the year 1637; and that of Axim in 1643.

The Portuguese authors say, the Dutch treated the blacks even worse than themselves had done, and that the latter gained more upon the blacks by drunkenness, giving them wine and strong liquors, than by

by force of arms, and instructing them, as ministers of the Devil, in their wickedness: but that their dissolute lives and manners, joined to the advantages which the Portuguese of Mina, though inferior in number, had gained over them in some rencounters, had rendered them as contemptible among the blacks for their cowardice, as want of virtue. That they held, without any other right than force, the fort of Bantrae, four leagues from that of Axim; also the settlement of Cora, Coromantin, and Aldea del Tuerto at Commendo. That they peaceably enjoyed the commerce of Mina itself, where they purchased above two millions of gold yearly, and exported all that could be furnished them by the Fazars, and other inland nations: that the quantity of merchandise brought by the Dutch, and their cheapness, had made the barbarians more greedy of them; though some people would willingly have paid double for the Portuguese goods, as suspecting the Dutch to be of less value, buying them only for want of better.

When the Portuguese of El Mina, found the Dutch trade on the coast increase to their great loss, still endeavoured to excite the natives against them. A Dutch ship, trading at Cape Corso, was thus circumvented by the negros, who pretended to the captain, one Simon de Tave, that their king was coming on board to visit him. The Dutchman sent his boat on shore to receive the king; but the negros in their canoes surrounding the boat, attacked and killed the crew, except one or two, who by swimming escaped to the ship. This was done at the instigation of the Portuguese, who also taught the natives how to adulterate their gold, and put it off to the Dutch.

The Portuguese governor at El Mina, at this time engaged one Voctian, a great negro trader, who had large dealings with the Dutch, to betray some of them into his hands. For this end, some negros came on board a Dutch bark that was trading on the coast, and pretending friendship, informed them, that there was plenty of deer and other game where they lay. The Dutch on this, sent three men on shore to hunt. In the mean time they talked in so friendly a manner with those on board, who suspected no harm, that they put out their matches; which the negros perceiving, fell suddenly on them, wounding and killing some, and throwing others over-board, so that they had all perished, if the carpenter, who was cutting wood, had not run to help them, with his hatchet falling on so furiously, that he forced them to escape by swimming. However, the three men, who went on shore, were seized by the negros, and carried to the governor, who kept them in slavery. The Portuguese here having no power of putting any to death, without an order from the governor of Portugal, unless when a slave attempts to escape.

Five Dutchmen going in a canoe to Mawri, were by a calm detained at sea near the castle, in 1599, which the governor observing, sent some negros, who fell upon them, and wounding them, carried them on shore, where they cut off their heads, which they presented to the governor.

In January, 1600, the Portuguese, by the assistance of the negros, surprised another Dutch bark, but were so warmly received, that they were glad to get away.

The same year, the Commendo and Fetu blacks, animated by the Dutch, who supplied them with arms and other necessaries, rose against the Portuguese.

The Dutch now resolved to erect some forts on the Coast of Benin and Angola. Then practising under-hand, with several of the kings, that of Sabow gave them leave to build a fort at Mawri, three leagues east from Cape Corso, which they finished in the year 1624, and gave the command to Adrian Jacobs, at the time the crown of Portugal was at war with the Dutch, but possessed by Philip IV. King of Spain.

In December, 1625, the Dutch made an attempt on the castle of Mina, with 12,000 of their own men, and 150 Sabow blacks, under the command of

their rear-admiral, Jan Dirk Lamb, who landed at Terra Pequena, or Ampena, in the country of Commendo, but were totally routed by the Portuguese auxiliaries, the blacks of Mina alone. Those natives attacked the Dutch before they could form their body; at the foot of a hill, a little before sun-set: the action was over before night, with the slaughter of 373 soldiers; and 66 seamen, besides all the auxiliary Sabow blacks, and most of the Dutch officers. Their general being wounded, was rescued by the Little Cormani blacks.

Some years after, the Dutch made over the property of fort Nassau, at Mawri, to the West India company, Nicholas Van Vpren, their general in that place, made interest from time to time, by presents and promises, with the black kings along that coast, to drive the Portuguese from thence, and settle themselves in their room. He succeeded so well, as even to foment a division among the Portuguese garrison of Mina. Having thus disposed all things for a change, and gained the caboshirs, and captains of the town to assist the Dutch in a second attempt upon the castle: he sent an account to the directors of the company.

These gentlemen having some years before gained a footing in Brasil, by taking St. Salvador, and Bahia, had bent their thoughts on securing a place of arms on the Coast of Africa; that being thus masters of both points, on the two opposite continents, they might have the command of the ocean; and of the passage to the East Indies; and bring the whole trade into their own hands. They had often sought out for such a place of arms along the Coast of Africa; from Cape Verde, to the Cape of Good Hope: but failed in their several attempts, and particularly in that before mentioned, in 1625, against the castle of El Mina, which was reckoned the most convenient for their designs.

Prince Maurice, of Nassau, a near relation to the Prince of Orange, arrived at Brasil with a fleet of thirty-two ships, (twelve of them men of war) carrying 2700 soldiers, being by the Dutch West India company appointed governor general of that country, and of South America; where he made several conquests. Van Vpren being informed thereof, sent a vessel over to give him an account of the favourable opportunity then offered for reducing the castle of El Mina, and thereby driving the Portuguese from the Gold Coast. Count Nassau sent him nine men of war of his squadron, under the command of Colonel Hans Coine.

This squadron arriving at Cape La How, on the Quaqua Coast, on the 25th of June, 1637, the commander immediately sent advice to Van Vpren at Mawri, and proceeded himself with his squadron to Iffeni. There he received that general's orders to bring his squadron to Commendo road, where he waited with two hundred canoes of blacks, and some transport ships. Mean time Van Vpren had gained over to his party, most of the youth of Commendo, to whom he promised a considerable sum of gold, in case he reduced the castle by their assistance.

Thus the fleet proceeded towards Cape Corso, and the forces landed the 24th of July, in a little creek, about half a mile west of the Cape. They were in all eight hundred soldiers and five hundred seamen, each carrying three days provisions; besides the auxiliary blacks, and marched in three bodies. They all halted at the river Dana, to refresh. And Coine, who brought up the rear, being informed that a body of one thousand Mina blacks was posted at the foot of the hill of St. Jago, to oppose his taking possession of it, which it was absolutely necessary to do, as commanding the fort; he detached four companies of fusiliers to beat them off; but most of them were cut to pieces by those blacks, who struck off their heads, and carried them to the town.

Major Bon Garzon being sent with another detachment, forded the river Dana, and falling on that body vigorously, obliged them to abandon their post, which

which he took possession of, with the loss of four whites and ten blacks, the natives afterwards endeavouring twice to recover that post, were obliged to retire. Bon Garzon pursuing them down into the village, between the mountains, and the hill of St. Jago; where the rest of the Dutch forces immediately joined him.

The Portuguese, no longer able to keep the field, retired into the redoubt they had built on the hill of St. Jago, where they were soon after attacked. Colonel Coine having caused two ways to be cut through the thickets; which covered one side of the hill; the one leading on the river Dana, and the other directly to the redoubt itself; and two pieces of cannon and a mortar were brought up the hill, and mounted on an advantageous spot, which commanded the castle so entirely, that ten or twelve bombs the Dutch threw from thence, were very near falling into the place.

Another detachment of Dutch and Commendo blacks, was sent out to attack the Mina blacks; and afterwards the west end of their town. The Commendo blacks attempting to drive away some cattle, had been cut to pieces, but for the conduct of their officers, who kept them close in a body along the river Banja, which covered them. Next day the Dutch being reinforced from their main body, attacked the town of Mina, but were forced to retire, by the excessive fire from the castle.

The day after, the general, to prevent his enterprise from miscarrying by delay, summoned the castle as soon as it was light, protesting, that he would put all the garrison to the sword, if they refused to surrender immediately. The Portuguese governor demanded three days to consider of it, which being refused him, Coine the next morning drew up his forces on the hill of St. Jago, and threw several bombs into the city with little effect; but the following day, having caused his grandees to draw nearer to the castle, the Portuguese beat the chamade, and sent out two persons to capitulate, the articles being such as the Dutch general would impose, viz.

First, The governor, garrison, and all the Portuguese, to march out that day, with their wives and children, but without swords, colours or any weapons, each person being allowed but one suit of wearing apparel.

Secondly, All the goods, merchandize, gold and slaves to remain to the Dutch, except only twelve slaves allowed the inhabitants.

Thirdly, The church stuff, which was not of gold or silver, allowed to be taken away.

Fourthly, The Portuguese and mulattos to be put on board the squadron, with their wives and children, and carried to the island of St. Thomas.

The fort was delivered up to the Dutch, on the 29th of August, 1637, and in it they found 30 pieces of brass cannon, 9000 weight of powder, and much other ammunition, but very little gold, and no great quantity of goods. This done, Coine returned to Mawri, with his forces, leaving Captain Walraeven with a garrison of 140 men, besides several blacks, who had taken an oath of fidelity to them.

Coine, to make his advantage of the consternation, the speedy conquest of the castle of Mina had spread along the Gold Coast, sent a canoe with a letter to the governor of Fort St. Anthony, at Axim, the most important post the Portuguese had, next to Mina, to summon him to surrender that place, before he came to attack it with his forces. This governor, who had more courage than that of Mina, considering that there was no great danger of a visit during the rainy season, answered, That he was ready to give the general a good reception if he came, and was resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. This resolute answer obliged Coine to put off that enterprise to a more favourable opportunity, and the Dutch did not reduce Axim till the year 1642. Coine, on his return to the Brasil with his fleet, was received at Olinda, and at Arracise, by Count John Morice's command, under a discharge of all the cannon, and with all other marks of honour.

The Dutch now became masters of the important post of Mina; and endeavoured to engross all the trade of the coast in their own hands; to that effect, Van Vpren was called thither from Mori, to make that his residence; as general of Guinea and Angola. He caused the castle to be repaired and enlarged, and, by degrees, made it much stronger, more beautiful, and of a greater extent, than when in possession of the Portuguese.

The Dutch at first treated the blacks at Mina and the rest of the coast very gently, caressing, and presenting the chiefs of them with presents; but when the English came to put in for a share of the trade of that rich country, and endeavoured to make interest with the natives, in order to settle on their coasts, the Dutch changed their former civility into severity, to deter them from favouring their new rivals. They also seized the English fort at Cormentin, where the commander of that nation resided, which was one of the motives for the war between England and Holland in 1666.

To curb the blacks along the coast, and to engross the whole trade, they erected small forts at Boutro, Sama, Corso, Anamabo, Cormentin, and Acra, under pretence of protecting them against their inland neighbours, who often harassed them by invasions. With the same view they likewise laid duties on the fishery of the negros at Axim, Mina, and Mawri, forbidding them, under severe penalties, to hold any correspondence, or to trade with other Europeans, as has been observed. In short, they proceeded to lord it over them so absolutely, as to take cognizance of all civil and criminal matters, and to assume the power of life and death, though at the same time they were obliged to pay yearly acknowledgements to the native kings for the forts they had there. For all these precautions, the blacks were not deterred from trading when occasion offered, with other Europeans, whom the Dutch treated as interlopers.

[It seems the discontent of the Mina and Commendo blacks, as well as those of Fetu and Sabow, was grown to such a height, when Barbot was there, especially those of Mina, that they had actually broken with the Dutch, and kept their general close confined to the castle, without daring to come on board for ten months, in which time they had twice assaulted it, though without success, for want of understanding the art of war: they lost about 80 of their men, and killed but four of the Dutch. While they lay thereabouts, 30 or 40 canoes full of blacks came every day from Mina and Commendo, complaining to him of the hardships the Dutch put upon their countrymen, some of whom were for a long time kept in the Bilbos within the castle, exposed stark naked to the scorching sun by day, and the cold dews in the night. Barbot himself saw three of them in that condition on the land batteries, shewed him by the then Dutch general, who had kept them so above nine months to punish their boldness and treachery, having been concerned in the conspiracy of the Mina blacks at that time, to surprise and burn the castle of St. George; but their design being prevented, many of them, after firing their houses, fled from Town to other places on the coast, the blacks both here, and at Commendo, entertained Barbot with their grievances, and importuned him to inform the French court at his return, how desirous they were to see the French settled there, to protect them against the oppression they lay under. Being one morning at breakfast with the general, with whom he was pretty familiar, as being an old acquaintance, he spied through the gallery window, several canoes of Mina, going on board the author's sloop in the road; to trade. Hereupon he abruptly, in a passion, threatened to detain him, and seize his vessel. Barbot, to pacify him, desired him to send on board to know whether he had not left positive orders with the master, to sell nothing to the blacks; adding, that the fiscal was actually in the sloop, to observe what passed. For his farther satisfaction, the author sold him the remaining part of the

the cargo for about ten marks of gold, at which the blacks, who were on board, were much displeased at his return.]

The Gold Coast contains fifteen kingdoms along the shore, which are Adour, called also Socu, and Awina, Axim, Ancobar, Adom, named likewise Little Incafan, or Warshes; Jabi, or Jabs; Commendo, or Guaffo; Fetu, Saboe, or Sabow; Fantin, Acron, Agonna, or Angwira; Acra, or Aquambous, Labbade; and Ningo, or Limpi.—This coast ought to be reckoned to begin at Rio de Sweiro da Costa, near Issini, being the first place where gold is purchased, and to end at Lay, in the country of Lampi, 13 or 14 leagues east of Acra, where this metal is only to be had accidentally from the Amahow people, who live farther inland.

These countries contain some, one, two, or more towns or villages, lying on the sea shore, either under or between the European forts and castles. These are only for the convenience of trade and fishing; for the principal towns lie within land, and are very populous. Nine of these kingdoms are governed by their respective kings, or captains, as they were called before the Europeans came here. The other six are independent republics, under the direction of their own magistrates. The inland countries are governed by kings or lords.

In the neighbourhood of the river Ancobar, or Cobre, where the Gold Coast begins, there are a great number of villages, which compose the three different islands of Ancobar, Aborrel, and Agwira, the first a monarchy, and the other two republics.

For several years past, the Dutch had a fort in the country of Egwira, and drove a very considerable trade there; for besides the afflux of gold brought thither from foreign parts, the country itself affords some gold mines; but the Dutch lost their footing there in a very tragical manner. For the commander in chief of the negros being closely besieged by the Dutch, as fame reports, shot gold instead of lead, hinting, by signs, that he was ready to treat, and afterwards trade with the besiegers; but in the midst of their negotiation he blew up himself and all his enemies at once. To compass this design, he engaged a slave by a promise of new cloaths, to stand ready with a lighted match, with which he was to fire the powder, when he saw him stamp his foot. This the silly wretch but too punctually performed, undiscovered by any but one of the company's slaves, who observing it, silently withdrew in time, being the only one left alive to carry the news to Axim.

Eight leagues to the east of Cape Apollonia, is a village which the natives call Akxem, and the French Axim. This country was once a monarchy. The arrival of the Brandenburgians divided the inhabitants, one part of them putting themselves under the protection of the new comers, in hopes of more liberty; the rest, who were the honestest part, continuing under the Dutch. Before this time, Axim, extended seven leagues from the Rio Cobre, or Serpentine river, to the village of Boeswa, a mile west of the Dutch fort, near the village of Boutry, or Butrow.

The soil produces abundance of rice, water-melons, ananas, cocos, bananas, oranges, sweet and sour lemons, and other fruit, and fallading. Their maize is not good, nor in great quantities, on account of the heavy rains that fall there.

Axim is governed by a body of Caboshirs, who are the chief, and by the Manceros, or young men, elected thereto. The public affairs are managed by the former, but what concerns the whole land, as war and peace, and the raising of taxes (which seldom happens) fall under the immediate cognizance of both assemblies.

Axim has many fine large villages, all of them very populous, some seated on the shore, others farther inland. The chief near the shore that are called Achombene, at the Dutch fort of St. Anthony, and Pocqueso near the hill Massiro at Cape Tres Puntas.

The land is well cultivated, and the natives generally rich, by the great trade they drive for gold with the Europeans; but by the long wars between these people and those of Ante and Adem, the trade has much declined of late.

The negros of Axim carry on a very considerable trade in gold; chiefly with the English, and Zealand interlopers, notwithstanding the penalty incurred by such as the Dutch catch in doing so; yet they find means by bribing the slaves set to watch them, to carry it on; so that the Dutch have not above the hundredth part of the gold here.

Fort St. Anthony is seated on a large, high rock, running out from the shore to the sea, like a narrow peninsula, with a round, high, rocky head, on which the fort stands, so encompassed with cliffs and rocks; it is only accessible on the land side, where it is well fortified with breast-work, a draw-bridge, and a battery of large guns, to cover the whole.

The first fort which the Portuguese (who built this of St. Anthony) had here in the reign of King Emanuel, was in a little point on the shore, which they were forced to demolish on account of the attacks made by the natives; and remove to this rock. The Dutch dispossessed them of it, January the 9th, 1642, and by the succeeding peace between Portugal and Holland, it was yielded to the Dutch West India company, who still possess it.

This fort, though not large, is handsomely built, being triangular, and strong by nature. It has two batteries on the land side, and one on the sea, with proper out-works, which, as well as the walls, are of the black stone of the country; low to the sea, because the rock there is high and steep, and higher to the land side. It mounts twenty-two iron guns, besides padereros. The gate of the fort is low; and well secured by a ditch eight feet deep, cut in the rock, over which is a draw-bridge; defended by two padereros, besides a spur that can contain twenty men, with several steps, or stairs, cut in the rock, to get up into the fort from the spur.

The chief factor's house is neatly built of brick, and high, being triangular, with three fronts, before one of which, on the west side, is a very small spot of ground, planted with a few orange-trees.

The Dutch garrison here is usually twenty-five whites, with as many blacks, under a serjeant in the company's pay, and if well stored with provisions, is able to resist an army of the natives. One inconvenience here is, as in other forts on the coast is, that the violent rains in the wet seasons moulder the walls, and require a continual charge to keep up the fortifications. For this reason, the Dutch have a lime-kiln near the village, where they make lime of oyster-shells, which are in plenty here; sufficient not only to serve this fort, but even El Mina, and their other fortresses.

The natives here make it their chief business to seek gold by diving, in which some are so skilful, that they will remain a quarter of an hour under water. But the violence of it, often subjects them to ruptures, and as they know not the use of trusses, they soon die. Their way is to plunge in head-foremost, with a calabash in their hand, which they fill with sand, or whatever they find at the bottom of the river, and this they repeat till they are tired, or think they have got enough. Then sitting on the bank of the river, they put two or three handfulls of this sand or earth, in a wooden platter, like a bowl, and holding it under water, stir it with their hand. This done, they sift it, always covered slightly with water, that the water may carry off the lighter parts, while the gold, which is heaviest, sinks to the bottom of the bowl, where it lies like a yellow, heavy dust, sometimes mixed with larger grains. This is what they call washed gold, and what is found at Axim, is reckoned the best on all the coast. This river of Axim, and those which fall into it, must needs pass near gold mines, the particles of which metal are carried down by their stream. After the great floods in the rainy seasons, the negros

here

here get gold in greater quantities and larger grains than at other times. But they dare not sell their gold to any other nation than the Dutch, or trade with any ships on the coast; for their villages are commanded by the cannon of fort St. Anthony. This the Dutch have contrived, under pretence of protecting them, but in reality, to monopolize the trade; which makes their government so odious along the Guinea Coast.

The Dutch Oppor Keopman, or chief factor, here, is the next post on the coast, to the generalship of El Mina, and has a kind of sovereign authority through the whole country of Axim, determining all causes among the negros, and all fines being paid into his hands; who distributes them to the injured persons, first deducting his own fees, which are very large. For instance, if a black be fined an hundred crowns, his dues amount to two thirds, and the other third falls to the assembly of caboshirs. But in cases of murder, robbery, or debt, three fourths of the whole belong to the plaintiff, and the other fourth is for the factor and caboshirs, who divide it into three parts, the former taking two, the latter one. The fishermen here, also, pay him the eighth of the fish they catch, which produces no inconsiderable sum.

Three leagues east of fort St. Anthony, is the hill Manfro, and near it the village of Pocqueso, pretty large and populous; this is the same which we have distinguished as John Conny's town.

The hill of Manfro, is very proper to build a fort on, being close to the first point of Cape Tres Puntas, and here the Brandenburgers, or Prussians chief fortress is seated.

Cape Tres Puntas, was so called by the Portuguese, from the three little heads, or hills, which compose it, and lie at a small distance from each other; forming between them two bays, where vessels may anchor. The tops of these hills are adorned each with a grove of tall trees, visible at a great distance. It lies in four degrees ten minutes north latitude.

On the shore of the bays lie three villages, Acora, Accuon, and Infama, or, as the English call it, Dixcove.—Acora is at the bottom of the first bay, from the west. Accuon lies on the ascent of the middle point of the Cape. And Dixcove, is in a little gulph, formed by the land, between the head or point, and Acron.

Some reckon these villages to belong to the king of Warhas, or little Incasian; which lies between Axim and Anta. The whole country about the cape is hilly and woody. One sort of timber here, is of a fine yellow, of which chairs, tables, &c. are made.

Besides great Fredericksburgh, the Prussians have another fort and lodge in the neighbourhood. The fort is at Tacrama, or Crema, a village in the middle of Cape Tres Puntas, betwixt Great Fredericksburgh and the lodge. It was built by the Prussians in the year 1674, to secure the adjacent watering place. It mounts only six guns, to hinder the natives from trading with foreign ships within reach of them; the natives being entirely under the government of the Prussian director at Fredericksburgh. In 1701, the Prussian factor here suffered foreign ships to wood and water for ten pounds per ship.

The lodge, or little fort, called Dorothea, is at Acoda, about three leagues east of the Cape. It was about the year 1690, enlarged by the Dutch, who had dispossessed the Prussians of it in 1683, but afterwards restored it, by order of the company, about 1698. They have since considerably strengthened and improved it. It is only a house with a flat roof, on which are two small batteries, with about twenty guns; and a sufficient number of apartments, slightly built, and too much crowded.

At Dixcove, properly called Infamo, the English built a small fort in 1691, after they had several times disputed the ground with the Brandenburgers, who, some time before, had set up their elector's flag there;

but not finding it turn to account, quietly yielded it, and the English were six years in finishing it.

Smith, in 1726, found this a handsome, regular fortification, with four good batteries, mounted with twenty guns. This, and all the English forts, are subordinate to Cape Coast Castle, the chiefs being only allowed to carry a St. George's flag, which is Argent, a cross Gules; whereas those who are governors, or generals by permission, hoist the union flag, as at the Gambia, Sierra Leona, Cape Coast, and Whidah. At Dixcove there are two villages commanded by the same caboshir; who, whenever the flag at the fort is displayed, hoists the St. George's flag at his house, to shew his attachment to the English. Here is a very safe cove, or landing-place; and the gardens belonging to the fort are both pleasant and profitable.

The kingdom of Anta, or Hante, begins at the village of Boesira, eight miles east of Acoda, and lying between Infama and the Cape at Broetroe; and extends east to Sama, where it borders on that of the Jabs; on the north it has Adom, to the north-east Mampe, on the north-west Egwira, on the west Inkeflan and Axim, to the south and south-east, the ocean. It is about ten leagues from east to west, full of hills, covered with large trees, between which, lie spacious villages.

For several years this country was divided into the upper and lower Anta, of which Axim was reckoned the first. It was formerly potent and populous, being inhabited by a warlike, predatory people, frequently invading the Dutch: but their continual wars with the people of Adom, and others, have so enfeebled them, that no footsteps remain of their pristine glory.

But the war in 1691, betwixt the Anteans and Adomians, reduced it to a miserable condition, and stripped it of most of its inhabitants. The few now left are so dispirited, that they shelter themselves under the Dutch fort, near Boutri, leaving the land wild and uncultivated. Before that war, the author walked through this country, from Axim to Boutri, and regaled his eyes with a prospect of numerous villages, well peopled, a plentiful harvest, and abundance of cattle. Boutri exceeds other places for healthiness; for while he staid there, fewer of his people died, in proportion, than any where else.

The most delightful part of the whole Antese land, lies between Acoda and Boutri, being watered by a fresh river which comes down from the country, and runs into the sea by the Dutch fort at the latter place. The banks of it are adorned with fine tall trees, which quite overshade it. The mangroves which grow on the sides of it, under these trees, are full of oysters, growing on the boughs. This river is navigable four leagues up, but not higher.

The chief villages of Anta along the sea coast, are Boutri, Poyera, or Petri-Grande, Pando, Tacorary, the largest of all, Sacundi, Anta, and Sama; all places of trade.

Boutri, or as it is commonly called Boutrow, and Broetroe, is seated on a little river at the foot of a high hill, on which the Dutch have a small, irregular fort; it being an oblong, divided into two parts, and defended by two inoffensive batteries, mounted with eight small guns. This fort was erected by one Carlos, in the Dutch service, with the consent of the king of Anta, to whom it pays a small tribute in gold. It was called Badensleyn, and commanded the village of Broetroe, which is thinly peopled, and has but little trade, except that the inland blacks from Adom resort here sometimes with good gold.

The king of Anta resides about four leagues from the fort inland, and is often at variance with those of Adom, their territories extending between the rivers Cheina, or Sama, and Cobra, near twenty leagues distant from each other along the coast, and seem to go up the river Sama in a line, and then to turn with a narrow slip away to Cobra. The Dutch reckon the air of Boutri the wholesomest on the Gold Coast.

Poyera,

Poyera, or Petri Grande, and Pandos, or Pampe-may, two villages between Broetroe, and Tacorari, are inconsiderable for trade, being chiefly inhabited by fishermen and husbandmen. The adjacent country yields plenty of maize. These places are known at sea by a vast rock near the shore.

Tocorari, (or Toccarado, as the English call it) the principal town on the coast, stands on the top of a hill, which juts to the south-east into the sea, surrounded with several rocks, (to which the blacks pay their devotion) some above, and others under water, which run out two miles to sea, as appears by the breakers. When these rocks are passed, the town is easily seen.

The Dutch had formerly a small fort here, built on a hill at some distance from the town, called Witsen, which the English under Commodore Holmes took by storm, in 1664. The next year the Dutch retook it under de Rutyer, who blew it up as a place of no consequence, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, burnt the town. The ruins of the fort are still to be seen, the English, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and Brandenburgers having possessed it successively.

The natives here are famous for making the finest and largest canoes on the Guinea coast; some being 30 feet long, and seven or eight broad, of a single tree, that will carry above ten tons of goods, with eighteen or twenty blacks to paddle them. Ships bound for Whidah, or Ardra, commonly provide themselves with such canoes. The price of one of the largest is about the value of forty or fifty pounds sterling in goods. They are a treacherous people, and have little trade, though ships can ride safe in the bay, into which the river of St. George empties itself, a league to the east of the town.

This coast affords vast quantities of large oysters, the shells serving to make lime. These the English used to fetch from hence for their forts, along the coast: but, in 1707, the Dutch general, purely to hinder them, built a fort of seven or eight guns there, and settled a factor, with a proper garrison.

The town was so destroyed and burnt in the war between Anta and Adom, that only a few inconsiderable people dwelt there.

The village Saccundi is seated on the other corner of the bay, being as rich in gold, and as healthy a place as any on the coast. It lies sixteen miles lower than Broetroe. Before the war between Adom and Anta, it was one of the finest and richest villages, as well in money as people, upon the whole coast; but the Adomese conquerors entirely burnt and destroyed it. Since then they began to rebuild it.

The land for eight or ten miles round about these forts, is not less agreeable. At this place, and behind Tocorari, four miles west of Saccundi, the valleys are so fine; that nothing can be more delightful.

The French had formerly a settlement here; at present the English and Dutch have each a strong house or fort. The Dutch fort, called Orange, was erected before 1682, and the English had one some years after; both were of the same size, and a musquet shot asunder.

In September, 1694, the Dutch fort was surprised and plundered by the blacks, who also massacred the crew of a small Dutch ship that lay there. The first of June, 1698, the English fort underwent the same fate from the Antean blacks. It was built by Captain Henry Nurse, agent for the company; as conspicuously appeared from an inscription in the wall.

About six years, the trade being at a low ebb, the officers of the English and Dutch forts at Saccundi, grew so jealous of each other, that they both lived in miserable poverty, at the expence of both the English and Dutch companies. Not long after, the English fort was burnt and destroyed by the Antean negroes; the chief commander and some of the English being killed, and the rest plundered of all their own and the company's goods.

In 1700, only the out-walls were left standing. The Dutch being thus left masters of the place, though but little to their advantage. The year before they traded here for a large quantity of gold, which the English understanding, made several attempts to rebuild their fort, but were always hindered by the Antean blacks. However, they at length succeeded. The new fort is quadrangular, situated on a hill about fifty paces from the sea side, between two Dutch forts, the one at Tocorari to the west, the other at Shama to the east. It is built with brick and lime. The garrison commonly consists of fifteen whites, and twenty blacks. Smith, who was there in 1726, says it is much larger and stronger than that at Dix-cove, though it has but the same number of guns, viz. twenty. The landing-place and gardens are as good, if not better. The country is indeed much the same, all along the Gold Coast.

Anta and Boari, are two small villages between Saccundi and Sama, not of any note for trade, unless by accident. The country behind them is hilly and woody. Anta is only famous for the great quantity of palm-wine it produces, for which the blacks resort here from fifteen to twenty leagues round, and export it all along the Gold coast. The soil is fertile in herbs, roots and fruits, and well stocked with goats and poultry. The stones here are of a dark and ruddy colour. The natives here are afflicted with canine appetites, thought to proceed from their drinking a sort of palm-wine, called Crisca.

Sama lies on a hill, watered by the small river of St. George, which runs into the sea near its foot. It contains about 200 houses or cabins, so seated, as to form three small villages together, one of which is just under the Dutch fort of St. Sebastian, so named by the Portuguese, from whom the Dutch took it. The place is populous, but the inhabitants the poorest on the coast. They are almost all fishermen, and expert in their way. They form a kind of republic, governed by chiefs called Captains, under the protection of the king of Gavi, who resides to the north-east, some leagues from the sea, is very rich, and much esteemed by his neighbours.

The Dutch fort at Sama is about the size of that at Boutri, very small, but a little longer: it has four small batteries, and just as many guns as at Boutri. In the wars with England, it was in a manner levelled with the ground, being encompassed only with palisadoes. The English, in conjunction with the Jab blacks, attacked it, but were repulsed; ever since which, the Dutch have enjoyed it without interruption.

The river Shama, or Rio de St. Juan, is called by the negroes, Boffum Pra; they adoring it as a god, which the word Boffum signifies. It washes the Dutch fort, passing by the Countries of Jab, Adom, and Jaffer. From thence the negroes say it extended itself about 400 miles within land; it is a small matter less than the Ancober, but wide enough, and lies so that boats loaded may conveniently come into it from the sea, if the pilot be careful to avoid a rock near its mouth, which the sailors call the sugar-loaf, otherwise they are in danger of being split. This river is very advantageous to the Dutch; for besides supplying their ships with fresh water, it furnishes the castle of El Mina with fuel for their kitchens and ovens; and wood necessary for small shipping; so that the fort here is only valuable for its defence of the river.

The Dutch, on the unanimous report of the natives, that this river came down through countries rich in gold, undertook a discovery by water, and for that end sent out a sloop with six men well armed. Thirteen days after their departure, they returned, having rowed twelve days against a violent stream, and finding the river choaked with abundance of rocks and shoals under water, and exceeding large cataracts.

Near the mouth lies the sugar-loaf, a dangerous rock, on which ships have been lost for want of care, especially

especially in rough weather. There are also other dangerous rocks about half a league to sea, on the coast between this and Boari to the west. The backs of the little territory of Tabew to the east, somewhat inland, bringing down to Sama Cam-roots, fruit, and poultry.

The country of the Jabs or Yabbah, as the English call it, commences, a little to the east of fort St. Sebastian, and runs a few leagues up to the inland and along the coast, to that of Commani or Commando. It is at present but a small district, and not very potent, though the first kingdom which occurs in descending from the higher country.

The village Abrobi is the only remarkable place on the coast in this country, being seated in a bay which terminates at the Cape Aldea des Terres; Aldea, in Portuguese signifying, a village. This village is divided into two parts, with large plains behind it, between the town and the hilly country, which makes the coast appear like double land off at sea. The country abounds in corn and poultry, but there is not much gold except what is adulterated.

The kingdom of Great Commendo, Commani, Aguaffo, or Guaffo, borders west on the lands of Jabs and Tobou, north-west on Adom, north on Abramboe, east on Oddena, or Mina, a little commonwealth between Commendo and Fetu, and south on the ocean. It extends about five leagues along the coast, and is as broad as it is long. In the middle, on the shore, lies Little Commendo, or Ecki Tecki, as the blacks call it, or as some Europeans stile it, having Cape Aldea des Terres on the west, and Ampeni on the east, with some small hamlets between them.

This kingdom formerly made but one country with Sabu and Tetu, and was called Adoffenis. The chief town or residence of the king, is Guaffo, a large populous village or town of about 400 houses, seated on a hill four leagues up the inland country from Little Commendo. The Dutch called Guaffo, Commendo Grande, to distinguish it from the Little Commendo.

The countries about Dixcove, Saccundi and Commendo, do not produce such fine crops of rice, yet they abound with pleasant, fertile valleys, and beautiful woody hills.

Behind Little Commendo, the country rises gradually into small hills, covered with trees, at the foot of which are small plains curiously planted with fruit trees, and the land extremely well inhabited by a martial people; so that the king can raise, on occasion, an army of 20,000 men. His guards usually consist of 500.

Little Commendo, so called by the English, French and Dutch, to distinguish it from Guaffo, named by the same nations Great Commendo, is called by the Portuguese, Aldea des Terres, and by the natives Ecki Tecki.

This town contained about 400 houses, built on the shore, and watered by a rivulet, which falling into the sea on the south, forms a pretty channel or harbour for canoes. The east side is low, the western swellings into a hill, which being flat at top, is very convenient for a fort. The land rises by degrees at the north end of the town (where the house formerly belonging to the French stands) into small hills, at whose feet are fine fields and meadows, planted with variety of fruit.

Little Commendo was divided into three parts, containing together about 150 houses; but most of it being accidentally burnt, many of the inhabitants moved to Ampeni, about the year 1675. Some parts of the town are seated on a rivulet, which runs into the sea, forming a small harbour at the mouth for canoes, on the west side of which is a head, or small flat hill; the east side is low land, but the landing difficult, by reason of the bar. The best time for going ashore is in the morning.

The blacks here are of a turbulent temper, deceitful and crafty, and great thieves if not well watched.

They are chiefly fishermen or brokers, it being a place of considerable trade for gold and slaves, by reason of the Acanez blacks resorting here for European goods. Every morning there come out of these and other places on this coast, 70 or 80 canoes from each village, some a fishing, others to trade with the ships on the road; and return on shore about noon, when the fresh gales from the south-west begin to blow, that they may land without trouble, and have time to dispose of their fish, at Great and Little Commendo, where the inland blacks buy it for the country markets, those of Grand and Little Commendo are so well furnished with corn, fruits, (especially bananas) and roots at cheap rates, that the Dutch call it the Fruit-market.

The English fort at Commendo was large and quadrangular, with three square bastions, and one round; and within the fort is a large tower, built of stone and lime. It is seated on a level ground, fifty paces from the sea, between two Dutch forts, Shama to the west, and Verdenburgh about half a mile to the east.

Our author says, "Commendo is the largest and strongest fort belonging to the English on the Gold Coast, except Cape Coast-Castle. It was mounted in 1726, with twenty-one guns, though there were ports for almost as many more. It has the neighbourhood of a very good Dutch fort within musquet shot, but the chiefs have not always the best understanding together.

An English chief of Mr. Smith's acquaintance, having a little before had some dispute with the Dutch chief, was attacked by him unawares under a great tree between the forts, and bravely defended his life by killing the Dutchman.

The Dutch fort was built by Mr. Swerts, in 1688, called Verdenburgh. It is a square building, strengthened with good batteries, on which may be conveniently mounted 32 guns, within so many ports in the breast-work; sixty men may live in it, though at present there are not near so many, and but twenty guns. In 1695, the negros attacked it by night, when half of their twenty men were disabled by sickness, yet they were obliged to retire with loss, after a fight of five hours, and lost but two men in the action, though the negros poured their small shot as thick as hail through the loop holes, which had no doors to them. At last one of them began to hack the doors with an axe; but being killed, the rest precipitately sheared off.

The general, to whom the Dutchman had notified his weak condition, ordered two ships to anchor before the fort, to supply him with men and ammunition. The captain of one of them, the day before the attack, for this purpose sent his boat full of men, but they were no sooner landed, than the negros fell on and killed several of them, even under the cannon of the fort. The guns were all found nailed up, in all appearance by the villainy of the gunner, who was sent in chains to Mina. The general swore he would punish him exemplarily; but instead of that soon set him at liberty, and preferred him to a better place. If the negros had then stormed the fort, they were in no posture of defence; but going to eat, they gave him time to prepare for its security.

The merchandises here are glass beads of divers colours. Those they divide into lesser parts, polishing and boring them to sell again; also small brass basons, blue cloth, and linen of a good breadth, for which the country people have a great demand: yet here these goods are only sold in small parcels, so that on account of the dashes or presents to brokers and boatmen, this is the worst place on the coast, especially when many Dutch ships lie here together. The gold here is often adulterated, especially that called Cracra gold.

When the Commanians are at war with their neighbours, there is sometimes a brisk trade for slaves at Little Commendo, the negros selling them quickly off, to prevent the trouble and charge of subsist-

sitting there; as happened to an English ship here not many years ago.

Though the gold trade is not so considerable at this place, as others on the coast; yet the Normans had a factory there, the ruins of which the negros show on a hill to the north. A modern voyager reports, that the king of Commendo, who resides at Guaffo, being informed a French ship was in the road, sent the captain a present of refreshments, and acquainted him that he would make no treaty with any European nation, while he had the least hope the French would settle with him.

The natives expressed a great affection for the French, to Barbot. In 1682, the king sent him his second son as an hostage, if he would come up to Great Commendo to treat about settling in his country. Although at this time he had refused both the English and Dutch the liberty of building forts here. Barbot at his return, proposed the matter to the French ministry, and advised Ampeni as the fittest place to build a fort to bridle El Mina. But it does not appear his representations met with any success.

In the year 1688, M. Du Casse came on this coast with four men of war, equipped at Rochfort, with a design of making some settlements here for the Dutch African company, especially at Commendo, from the secret invitations of the natives, who hoped to revenge themselves on the Dutch. Du Casse settled a factory at Commendo, and proceeded to Alampi and Whidah, with the same views. But a few months after he left Commendo by the instigation of the Dutch, a war happening with the Aguaffos, they were routed, the king killed, and the factory pillaged: the French, being worsted, were obliged to fly for refuge to the English at Cape Corso, since which they have made no attempt to settle on this coast.

A little farther to the east, lies a place called Terra Piquena or Lari, where the Dutch in 1600 had no trade, on account of its being too near the castle of Mina. When the Portuguese want any goods, they send some people of this town with gold to Commendo, which is but four miles distant across the river, to buy them from the Dutch.

The village of Lari is inconsiderable as well as Ampeni. This last is the residence of one Cucumi, a Commendo black, who was sent by the king of Great Commendo as his envoy to the king of France, in 1671, to invite him to send over and build a fort in his country, the Commanians having been long disgusted with the arbitrary behaviour of the Dutch at El Mina, who had often made depredations by sea on them, and burnt the villages on the coast, not daring to enter farther up the country.

The war of Commendo made a great change in the Dutch affairs. This place was in a flourishing condition, when, by the ill conduct of the Dutch, the Commanians grew discontented, and ready to break out into an open war. It was prevented for a time by the governor of El Mina's servant, brother to the king of Commani, who having been afterwards dismissed, and ill-treated besides, the Commanians soon found a pretence to come to a rupture; for in 1694, some miners sent from Europe, were ordered to make an assay at a hill in Commani, about two miles above fort Vredenburg. This gave offence to the negros, who pretended it was dedicated to one of their gods; and in a few days, when the miners suspected nothing, they assaulted and robbed them of all they had; those who were not nimble enough to get away, having been kept prisoners some time.

The Dutch complained of this ill usage to the king of Commani, who protesting innocence, laid the blame upon one John Cabel, a negro, who lived near their fort, and with whom they had a considerable trade, alledging, that he had done it in revenge of the ill treatment he had met with from a former governor. This was plainly a falsity, for Cabel was an arrant coward. However, the Dutch governor of El Mina, without farther enquiry, marched into Commania with some forces, in order to take satisfac-

tion of John Cabel. Upon his arrival at John's village, the latter came out to meet him, (leading a sheep for a present) and to clear himself of the charge; but seeing the El Mina forces fall upon his goods, without any warning, he put himself in a posture of defence, and some on both sides were soundly beaten. After this, their affairs ran into confusion. John Cabel, to revenge the injury, invited the English into Commani. He first gave them a dwelling in one of his salt pans, about four miles from the Dutch fort; and soon after settled them in the old ruined fort they formerly possessed. The English were afterwards well fortified there. This neighbourhood of the English had done great damage to their trade, which might have been easily prevented, if the general had not been so fiery and eager for war, in hopes to have got as much honour as Mr. Swerts did in 1687, who entirely subdued the Commanians, after they had lost their king, and several of the greatest men in the kingdom.

The general had prudently enough hired an army of Juffer and Cabesterra blacks, for less than five thousand pounds sterling, which was twice as strong as that of Commani; but imprudently threatening to pay those of Fantin and Sabu a visit, after he had chastised the Commanians, they joined the latter, and overthrew the Dutch, who lost all their auxiliaries, and were so reduced, that they would never have been able to make any fresh attempt, if the negros had not fallen out among themselves. By these means the king's brother, Tecki Ancan, the present king of Commani, came over to the Dutch with the blacks of Adom and other auxiliaries. This brought them into a second engagement, in which the victory was long dubious; at last it seemed to incline to the Dutch so far, that their army fell greedily to plunder.

This being observed by Abe Tecki, the Commanian king, (who excelled all his countrymen in valour as well as conduct, and laid this bait) he marched towards them with fresh forces; but to deceive them, had their musquets turned the wrong way; accordingly, the Dutch taking them for friends, continued plundering, till the king coming up, his men turned their musquets, and fired so briskly upon them, that they left their prey, and fled to save their lives, yielding the Commanians a second complete victory.

That general's successors prevailed on the Commanians not only to make good the damage the Dutch had sustained in the war, but also to enter into an alliance with them; but the English knowing this tended them no good, insinuated to the king, that considering his two victories, and their weak condition, he ought rather to expect satisfaction of the Dutch; adding, that he was then strong enough to make them purchase a peace on his own terms; that they would make his cause their own, and assist him with proper necessaries. The king easily listening to this advice, renewed his old course, and did as much mischief as ever.

The Dutch at first made use of fair means, but finding it only made him more outrageous, they treated with the Fantin blacks, at that time their friends, who in consideration of three hundred pounds sterling, stipulated to fight the Commanians till they were utterly extirpated.

The Dutch now thought themselves secure, daily expecting the Fantins would take the field; but here the English again baffled their design; one of their governors, going from Cape Corso to Fantin, prevailed with that people, for exactly the same sum given them before by the Dutch, to stand neuter, which being opposed only by the Brasso, they soon dispatched him, substituting another in his room.

The Commanians now began to insult them more than ever; to remedy which, the Dutch agreed with the Adom blacks for less than five hundred pounds to assist them; but they falling out about the division of the money, as well as those of Acani and Cabesterra, (who had also contracted to join the others) none of them would stir. Thus baffled, the Dutch cast their

last anchor, and contracted with the Dinkira blacks for 800 pounds to take their part: but they falling into a war with their near neighbours, were obliged to neglect their agreement to defend their own country; however they were so honest as to return the money, excepting a little the messenger kept. The Dutch also got back the greater part of what they had given the Adom negros: but that which those of Fantin had, could never be recovered.

They must now infallibly have begged a peace of the Commanians, had not a critical accident helped them to a more honourable conclusion. The before mentioned brother of the king of Commani had, (for some villainy, as it was reported) together with his wife and children, been sent as slaves to Surinam by the former governor; but having been declared free by the company, were brought hither again. Upon his arrival, the Dutch employed him to sound his brother; who finding him inclined to peace, they concluded one upon very honourable and good terms: but they had no sooner began to relish the sweets of their new tranquillity, when the English, for what reason is not certainly known, dispatched the king.

This action brought on a great change of affairs on the coast. The Commanians became inveterate enemies to the English, resolving at any rate to revenge their king's death. Tecki Ancan, on the contrary, having had a hand in his brother's murder, fled from the Dutch, and agreed with the English, to fall on the Commanians the first opportunity. The Dutch were invited to join them, but refused, having found war fatal to their commerce: however, they went on with their design, hiring the negros of Sabu, Acani, and Cabesterra; with which auxiliaries, Tecki Ancan engaged the Commanians; but with four times the number of men, was totally routed. The Commanians owed this signal victory to their general, Amio Tecki.

Notwithstanding the strict neutrality of the Dutch, the negro general sent a civil message to their governor, together with several skulls of his vanquished foes, in token, that he had resolved to live and die in the service of the Hollanders. This messenger was dismissed with thanks and presents to the general.

The Dutch had here a fair opportunity to obstruct the English and resent their former injuries, by quitting Tecki Ancan, and joining the Commanians against them. But, instead of this, the governor listening to one Akim, a broker, a great villain, though his favourite, who continually buzzed stories into his ears against the Commanians, behaved so as to provoke them to offer the Dutch some injuries. This was what Akim wanted, as furnishing him with new arguments for beginning a war against them; in which he succeeded so well, that the governor, without consulting or imparting it to the council, resolved to attack the people of Fetu, subject to the Commanians, when they came, under the protection of the Dutch, to market with their goods. Accordingly, this was barbarously put in execution, and they robbed them of all they brought, some being killed, and eighty made prisoners.

The pretence for this proceeding was, that the Fetu blacks had murdered some women of El Mina, as they were passing by them: but they gave solemn assurances of their being innocent, and repaired to market, as usual, unarmed. The murder was more likely committed, by the contrivance and order of Akim himself, and Tecki Ancan, to serve their purposes. However, the gentlemen of the council were not willing to discover their sentiments, because the blame must have fallen on Akim, who might revenge himself on them.

By these practices, the Dutch trade at El Mina was at once stifled, and the Commanians and Fetuans became their professed enemies. This so animated the English, that, instead of making peace with the Sabu blacks, the stronger of the two, they strengthened themselves to the utmost, and once more engaged the

Commanians. These, with their small forces, behaved so well, that they had certainly have got the day, had not their general been wounded, and forced to retire; which so confounded them, that they fled in great disorder, leaving Tecki Ancan and his followers an entire victory; the general and several principal men being killed or taken prisoners. By this success, Tecki Ancan became king of Commani; and the Dutch reaped some share of the advantage by it as well as the English.

The kingdom of Fetu, or Afuto, as it is called by Vasconcellas, or Fetow, by the English, borders, to the west, on the river Benja and the country of Comendo, north on Atti, east on Sabu, ending below the Danish Mount of Manfrow, and south on the ocean. The kingdom is elective, and the chief town Fetu, is far up the country.

Fetu is 160 miles long, and about as many broad; beginning with the hill St. Jago, or the Salt River, and ending below the Danish Mount, passing by Cape Corfe.

This country, says our author, was formerly so powerful and populous, that it struck terror into all its neighbours, especially that of Commani, subject to it. But it is at present so drained by continual wars, that it is entirely ruined; and neither the king nor his nobles, dare stir without leave from him of Commani. This havock was owing to their division in the last wars: part siding with the Commanians, and part with the Dutch. Whence they suffered a double loss, and were very much diminished in the last battle: so that not enough remained to till the country, which for fertility and pleasantness, might be compared to Anta. Before the last wars, it abounded with fine, well built, and populous towns, enriched with large fields of corn and cattle, palm wine, and oil. The beautiful, tall trees on the hills, and in the valleys, and the fresh rivers in the country, do not a little adorn, and render it a fit situation for the chief settlements of the Dutch and English. The inhabitants mostly apply themselves, without distinction, to agriculture, some to fishing and boiling of salt; and others to trade on their own account, or as brokers for the inland blacks.

The countries about El Mina, and Cape Corso, are much the same for beauty and goodness, but more populous, and the nearer towards the slave coast, the more delightful and rich the soil appears.

Twelve miles below Vredenburg, is the village or town of El Mina, or Mine: but as no gold mines are found within several miles about it, the Portuguese probably gave it that name, because they met here with a great affluence of gold from all parts.

The natives call it Oddena; it is very long, and indifferent broad. The houses are built with rock stone, in which it differs from all other places, where they are usually made of clay, or of wood. About 1684, it was very populous, and much stronger than at present; the inhabitants being then very terrible to all the negros on the coast: but about fifteen years past, the small pox swept away so many, and since then, the Commanian wars, together with the tyrannical government of some of their generals, whereby they have been so miserably depopulated, and impoverished, that it is hardly credible how weak it is at present, (1701) it not being able to furnish out fifty armed men, without the help of the European servants; and there is no place upon the whole Gold Coast without some of the negros of El Mina: for several, who were friends to the Commanians, fled to them, but most of them from the tyranny of their governors, and the above mentioned Akim.

The Mina blacks are handsome, lusty, strong men, of a martial spirit, and the most civilized on the Gold Coast, from their long correspondence with the Europeans. They drive a good trade along the Gold Coast, and to Whidah, by sea. They are also dexterous at debasing of gold, a trade they learned from the Portuguese. Some of them are very ingenious in the

the goldsmith's art; making ornaments and toys of gold, as buttons, plain, or in filigree; curious hatbands, and sword hilts, with many other curiosities. They are also great artists in melting glass of all sorts, into figures.

The river Benja runs inward towards the country for about two miles, the water of which is saltier than the saltiest brine, or pickle, in very dry seasons: but in the months of May and June, in the rainy season, it is as fresh as fresh water. At those times the freshest fall from the circumjacent hills, as swiftly as a tide runs in from the sea; so that this place is very convenient for water-mills, since the stream would easily turn one.

The castle of El Mina, already mentioned, is strong, and well situated for protecting trade, lying near the centre of the Gold Coast, and the country near it abounding with cattle and fruits. The natural position of it is strong, being built on a rock, washed on one side by the sea, towards which it has bulwarks. It has also two more to the land side, but not so strong, there being less danger of an attack from that quarter. Both the castle itself and outworks are of stone, neatly built. Towards the sea the wall is lower, it being defended by the steep rocks on which it is founded. Those to the land side are high, a space being left to walk round the castle, which is near as big as that of Rammekins in Zealand. The walls are encompassed with a deep ditch, dry towards the land; but the part next the sea full of water. The east part being deep enough to admit barks.

The castle has two gates, one on the east side, the other on the west, of which, the latter is the largest and most beautiful. It has a draw-bridge, over which is a stone building, or tower, wherein is the governor's apartment. The east gate, which is next the custom-house, serves chiefly for importing or exporting of goods. In the centre of the castle is a large area, or square, adorned with a new church. Their church stood formerly on an eminence without the walls; but, in 1596, one Charles Huttor threatening to besiege the castle, they demolished it, and built one in the square, more out of harm's way.

The Portuguese bear this climate much better than the Dutch, which is owing to their temperance, and taking care of themselves; but the women seldom live long here, being subject to diseases, which soon carry them off.

The Dutch officers and servants in this settlement are, first, the soldiers with their commanders, out of which, formerly, the best qualified for merchandise and the pen, were chosen to serve the company as assistants: but through the misconduct of one, who had advanced himself to almost the highest post here, the company have ordered, that for the future, no soldiers shall be preferred to assistants places. Though his office is the lowest among those concerned in trade or writing, the salary appointed for this service is sixteen guilders per month, and twenty more for board wages. His first step to preferment, is that of under commissary, or under factor, with a salary of twenty guilders per month. By these sub-factors most of the gold is received, for which they are accountable to the chief factor, or him to whom the trade of the place is entrusted in chief, who is also accountable to the company; the general accounts of the whole coast being kept at El Mina, where there is also a warehouse keeper, who has all wet goods, as wine, beer, or brandy, &c. and all edibles, as flesh, beans, peas, and oats, under his keeping, and is intrusted with the sale of them: so that when a factor observes his sub-factor, or warehouse-keeper, inclined to extravagancies, he must watch him very narrowly, since the factor is obliged to make good all that is wasted by his deputies.

Out of the under commissaries, are chosen factors, to reside at, and command the forts, and take care of the trade there, with a salary of thirty-six guilders, besides an allowance of ten guilders for a servant or two, and twenty guilders board wages per month.

The oldest and most experienced of these factors is removed to Mowri, or Cormantin, with a salary of eighty guilders per month, if his election here be confirmed by the company; who, not without good reason, have reserved the supplying these important posts to themselves, as well as that of the chief factor at El Mina: or the second person on the coast, who has a salary of 100 guilders per month. These chief factors have also the same advance on merchandises, and board wages as the other factors have: besides which, the second person has ten guilders per month allowed for a servant, and the general's, or governor-general's table is at his service.

The chief factor of El Mina having served that office satisfactory three years, has a good chance for the governor-general's place, when it becomes vacant. This is the highest post, having the company's authority over the whole coast, of which the person in it is director-general, with a salary of 300 guilders per month, and a large perquisite advantage in all the company trades for, on the whole coast: so that in time of good trade, his post is very advantageous.

Besides the officers employed in trade, are the following: first, the chief fiscal, whose salary is fifty guilders per month, and ten guilders for a servant, besides the liberty of the general's table. Though his salary seems small, his perquisites are large, if he be diligent: for all the gold, or commodities, unlawfully traded for on the coast is forfeited, of which his share is one third, be the goods an European's or a negro's; besides one third of the fines set upon the latter, and the forfeiture of wages inflicted on any offending officers or servants, by the governor and council; all which together amount to a considerable sum.

Next the fiscal, the book-keeper-general takes place; whose province is to keep the great books, and the counter parts of the accounts of all the forts and lodges, or, in short, to take care of all the company's accounts in this country. His salary is seventy guilders, besides ten more per month for his servants; and for a free table, he is allowed twenty-five guilders advance. He is generally assisted by an under book-keeper, whose salary is thirty guilders per month, and two assistants. Next him, is the book-keeper of the garrison, whose salary, equal to a sub-factor's, is twenty-four guilders, though factors have thirty-six: so to make amends, he has the power of selling by auction, the effects of all persons who die on the coast, for which he is allowed five per cent. He is also commonly helped by an assistant. Sometimes here is likewise a secretary, whose salary is fifteen guilders per month, and under him he has three or four assistants.

The last office is that of under fiscal, commonly called by the rest, auditor. His salary is twenty guilders per month, and to his share falls also one tenth of all forfeitures.

In spirituality, they have only a minister, with a salary of 100 guilders, and a clerk with one of twenty, per month, besides which, the first has ten guilders per month allowed for a servant, and a place at the governor's table.

As there are not upon the whole coast, sixty persons in all, one third of which are assistants, these if they behave well, cannot miss of being preferred to a good post.

The government is principally vested in the director-general, as the supreme ruler; from whom all governors of the out-forts receive their orders, without which they cannot transact any important affairs. But difficult affairs, or those of essential importance, are cognizable by, and ought to be laid before the assembly of councillors, or council composed of, viz. the director-general, the fiscal, (in all other things besides criminal cases) the chief factors, the ensign, or standard bearer, the accountant-general, who jointly make up the council: to which are added, the factors of the out-forts, or councillors, occasional or extraordinary.

In this council every man has the privilege of voting and debating freely; but as the director-general has an arbitrary power in all affairs on the coast, and can discharge any officer, and send him off the coast, without assigning the least reason for it, therefore all the rest with circumspection watch his eye, and behave accordingly.

The little kingdom of Fetu has several villages or towns on the sea coast, the chief whereof is Oegwa, at Cape Corfe, which lies in the latitude of four degrees forty nine minutes, north, and is famous for the beautiful castle the English have there.

This town lies on a rising ground, defended by a large rock, on which the waves break so violently, it may be heard a great way off. It contains above five hundred houses, and is divided by narrow, crooked lanes, along the descent, appearing like an amphitheatre from the coast. It is governed by a Braffo, and one Griffin a caboshir, and lies wholly under the command of the castle guns.

Their houses are built of mud, kept clean, and many of them furnished with chairs or stools, good mats to lie upon, earthen pot and pans, and several changes of tomis.

The town is noted for the plentiful market held every day, of all sorts of provisions, brought from the country, as also of considerable quantities of gold, from Fetu, Abrambo, Asiento, and even Mandingo.

The town of Oegwa was formerly well peopled, but this, as well as all the others, has suffered very much in the Commanian war; besides that, the multiplicity of English interlopers hath continually stript it of its inhabitants; for, when they call here, they always carry some of them to Whidah. They give names to their children mostly by the days of the week they are born on; Quashi Yeday, Kuujo, or Sunday-Monday, Tuesday; and at Manhood, change it to something expressive of their disposition; Aquerro Okhu, Yokati, Titwi, that is like a parrot, lion, or wolf, &c. The same they do by white men, imposing a name of their own chusing.

They are of a warlike disposition, though in time of peace, their chief employment is fishing. At this they are very dexterous, especially with a cast net, nor are they less acquainted with the hook and line for ground fish. They go a fishing every day during the dry season, except Tuesday, which is their fetish day, or day of rest. They frequently venture abroad in the rains, though they are sometimes driven in again at the approach of a tornado, before they have been two hours abroad.

Cabo Corfo, as the Portuguese call it, and Cape Corfe, or Coast, as the English have corrupted it, is formed by the shore jutting out a little, and making an angle, whose south and east sides are washed by the sea. About nine miles to the east of El Mina, on this cape, is situated the English fort called Cape Coast Castle, being an irregular square, two of whose sides lie along the shore.

This is the principal fort and factory of the English company to which their ships continually resort; and here they receive orders either by themselves or with supercargos, where else to proceed.

The walls of Cape Coast Castle are high and thick, especially on the land side, part thereof being of rock stone, and part of large bricks, which the English make at some distance from the place. The height of the walls is the strength of this fort, sufficient against any negro power; as they lately experienced in an attack the Fantins made upon the castle's dependants, who found their security under the walls.

The parade within, which is twenty feet perpendicular above the surface of the rock, forms a kind of quadrangle, being open on the east side to the sea, which makes it airy, cool and pleasant, affording a fine prospect of Queen Ann's Point, and the ships in Anamaboe road. On this platform are thirteen pieces of heavy cannon. The other three sides of the square are curiously built up, containing many beau-

tiful, spacious, neat apartments and offices; particularly on the south-side, a large, well built chapel, the back part of which joins to the castle wall, having the great body of the rock, called Tabora, on the side of it, which not only serves to break off the violence of the sea, but is a good defence against an enemy on that side.

This castle has four flankers. The thirteen pieces of cannon on the platform, which are eight pounders, command the road and passage up to it; and the small arms scour all the landing places behind the rocks which encompass it. On the battlement are ten guns, and twenty-five on the flankers, from a minion to nine pounders. On the rock Tabora, twenty paces from the castle, are four or six twelve pounders, in a round tower, which serves to keep the blacks of the town in awe, though otherwise it seems useless, the castle being so high, that its cannon can both sufficiently protect or command the town.

This castle makes a handsome prospect from the sea, and is a very regular, and well-constructed fortification, being as strong as it can be well made. At the entrance is a well-secured and large gate facing the town, and within which, is a square, where four or five hundred men may very conveniently be drawn up and exercised. Its four flankers have a covered communication with each other; and over the tank is a noble battery of fifteen whole culverin and demi cannon, lying low, and pointing upon the road which it commands.

Our author observes, that the castle mounts altogether forty pieces of heavy cannon; and about 100 white men in garrison.

This garrison hath a military land officer to discipline and command them under the Agento. He is the lieutenant of the castle, but goes by the title of Captain. Every night at eight o'clock the gate is shut, where he appoints a good guard, and comes to the agent or merchant for the word.

The natural situation is on a round head jutting out into the sea to the south south-east, and its being encompassed on that side, and the south-west by several rocks, and the sea itself render it inaccessible on that side, the waves of the ocean continually breaking on those rocks. There being but one long sandy beach to land forces, where one hundred men could easily repulse a thousand; and that if the fort could hold out three days, the army would want provisions, it being easy to stop all the passages, and cut the men off from fresh water.

Yet notwithstanding these advantages, this castle is not altogether secured against an enemy. The three great hills which lie near it to the north-west and north-east of the town, are no less inconvenient to it, than the Danish mount was, before it came into the company's possession, for there batteries might be easily erected to reduce it by any nation who were masters of the blacks and their country. For this reason the English make it their business to keep them in their interest by presents, besides a monthly sum paid the king of Fetu for the privilege of the castle.

The lodgings and apartments within the castle are very large, and well built of brick, having three fronts.

The agents and factors have genteel convenient lodgings, and there are no better barracks any where. They lodge two in a room, and receive their pay duly once a week in gold dust.

There is one spacious warehouse, and several smaller ones; a convenient trunk or place for the slaves to live in by themselves; a good forge, with smiths to make iron-work; a large kitchen to dress the provisions, the factors keeping a very plentiful table; but they eat only twice a day, at ten in the morning and four in the evening. There are seldom fewer than sixteen at their table, which, as our author was assured, stood the company some years from twelve to fourteen thousand pounds.

The general's lodging communicates with the chapel, a capacious hall, which serves to preach and dine

in; hence they can over-look what the company's servants are about. A curious contrived balcony runs along the buildings of the first story; with handsome stair cases on the outside, at certain distances on each front, for a communication between the lodgings of the garrison. Under these balconies are several shops. Next the agent's apartment is a large, stately hall. There are also spacious store-houses; and compting-houses for the factors and other officers.

In the castle is kept a school to teach the little black children of the town to read and write, in order to prepare them to be christians: but the labour is lost, for their parents will never give their consent.

Near the great gate is a dungeon for the confinement of murderers, traitors, and such malefactors, till an opportunity presents of sending them to England to be tried.

Under the square, or place of arms, is a spacious vault, having an iron grate at the surface, to let in light and air on the slaves, chained and confined here, till a demand comes for them.

Under the battery is a curious tank, or cistern; containing 400 tons. It is a long square cut out of a rock, and terraced over, with a convenient pair of stairs down to it. This tank, which is filled every rain, supplies not only the castle with water all the year, but frequently the company's ships. The method of filling it is thus: there being many channels made from the castle to the tank; as soon as it begins to rain, the bambay, (an officer so called) makes the negro slaves stop all the passages of the channels, and then sweep the castle very clean. After which, he opens the channels into the tank, where the clear water runs in great quantities, the rains here being generally in long, and heavy showers. Upon this tank, which is strongly arched over, there is a most delightful walk by the aforesaid battery.

The only landing place is just under the fortress, in a small bay to the east, where the strand is clear of rocks, being a sandy flat, on which the blacks run their canoes without danger. The way thence lies along the castle walls to the principal gate, looking west-north-west, up the country. It has neither ditch nor draw-bridge before it, nor so much as a portcullis; being only defended by the two round flankers on the land side, and a low, small battery of six guns.

The anchoring place is two miles from the shore, where Agent Greenhill, in the year 1660, made frequent observation, that the variation was twenty degrees fourteen seconds, west. It generally flows here south-south-east, and north-north-west upon the full and change. The water upon spring tide, rises six or seven feet.

The castle expects to be saluted by all ships that anchor in the road of Cape Corse, not by firing of guns, but by lowering the top-sails down to the tops, and fires with ball on all such ships, English or others, as omit to do so.

The company's ships are supplied with water from a large cistern in the castle, or from a large pond, lying at some distance towards the sea, between Cape Corse and El Mina; the blacks conducting the boats thither, and rolling the casks backwards and forwards along the paths, amongst the rocks, at a place called Domine.

When the tank is so low, that ships cannot be supplied with water from thence, they are forced to fill it at a standing pool, called Domine's hole, a good distance from the castle, and roll it thence over craggy stones to the landing-place, where negroes attend, for hire, to swim the casks off to the long-boat, which lies about a cable's length off shore at an anchor, not daring to come nearer for the great swell that is constantly upon the whole coast. The negro swimmers watch a smooth, and roll the puncheons of water into the sea till they float, then each swims after his cask, sometimes above, sometimes under water, still pushing it before him, till they come to the boat. The merchandise and stores brought by the ships for

the castle, are sent in this long-boat as near the shore as they dare go, and are met by the canoes to unlade them. These being flat bottomed, play upon the sea until they perceive a smooth, and then with violence running themselves on shore, take out the goods, and launch off again.

The director-general is supreme; or first person in the factory, at 2000 pounds per annum; two other merchants, at 300 pounds; and a secretary at 200 pounds, are what compose the council for the company's affairs; send factors to their outer forts; and supercargoes on board vessels, to collect the trade; who are to transinit and make up their accounts here. The general supports a table for them; a chaplain and surgeon, with salaries of eighty pounds per annum, who have orderly meals, without any idle bottles.

Though the general has but one vote in business, yet it is tacitly consented to, from his better allowance and power as governor, that he shall lead the others; who sign only for their salaries: he therefore disposes solely preferments to the factors and writers; who, as they please, or displease, may be continued, or removed to advantage. For, as on service for the fort they are allowed a commission in trade additional to their pay; so in some of the outward ports, such as Acro; or in a ship, they make considerable increase; while at others, Annamabo, or Dixcove, they find a great deal of trouble, wet lodging, scarcity of provision, and no profit.

The government of Cape Corse castle, is sometimes vested in one person, with the title of Captain-general of the English settlements on the Gold Coast of Guinea. As for the council, it may be reckoned a cypher; the chiefs acting as they please, by the seeming consent of a council, that does not oppose them, as being vested with a full power by the company to dispose of all employments at their pleasure.

The town of Oegwa forms a sort of triangle: two of its angles almost inclose the castle, and the third extends a great length to the walls of the gardens, which lie north of it and the town; the way from the castle gate to the garden gate, lying through the middle of it.

Our author, who surveyed this settlement in 1727, says, that these gardens are pleasant and large, being near eighty miles in compass, but have no limits or inclosure, except on the south-side, next the town: the whole space being called garden, as far as any walks are planted. They are very fertile, and produce every thing that grows within the Torid Zone.

The shore about Cape Corse lies almost east and west exposed to the south. The country is full of hills, not very high, but close together; the valleys being very narrow, and covered with a sort of low, but thick shrubs. The negroes do not till above a tenth part of the ground, and yet in six months it is overgrown as before. Some impute these shrubs to the badness of the air, others to the rain-water in their pits, which strains through the earth, and has a sweetish taste, with a mixture of acid, like vitrol; others ascribe it to the excessive rains: but it has been observed, that it is not the wet alone which makes this country unhealthy; for the surface here is every where sand or gravel, which is reckoned the most wholesome soil, having under it a sort of whitish marl, like fullers-earth.

Here is abundance of excellent large fish of several sorts, small poultry, and large Muscovy ducks, at low rates. The mutton and kid, though plenty enough, is very lean and insipid: but beef is seldom to be met with. The castle is well stocked with tame pigeons.

As to the air, not knowing that it is more faulty here than in other places on the coast; it is thought that the unhealthiness may proceed from the ground being covered, as before mentioned, with shrubs; whence, in the valleys especially, arises towards night and morning a certain fog, or mist, which

may distemper the air; but it is said the mortality here is chiefly owing to intemperance and bad diet. The air indeed is excessive hot, and so piercing, that it penetrates a man's body, much more than in France or England. It also corrodes iron much faster.

In the neighbourhood of the castle are two forts, each just three quarters of a mile from it; one called Phipps's Tower, the other Fort Royal. The first is a little round tower, built by the governor, or General Phipps, from whom it takes the name, on the top of a steep hill, by the side of the gardens. It stands north-west from the town, and mounts seven guns.

Cape Corse has always been a noted place for traffic, ever since the Europeans frequented Guinea. The French drove a considerable trade here, till they were interrupted by the Portuguese of El Mina, who, in 1590, or 91, seized a French ship, killing most of the men, and making the rest slaves. They did the like in 1592, by a boat belonging to an Amsterdam ship. However, in 1600, the natives of Mowri being at war with them, the Dutch trade of Cape Corse, began to revive. Abundance of gold is brought from Fetu, Abramow, and Mandingo, as well as other places, above 800 miles inland, by the native merchants, who take off, in exchange, a great quantity of goods, especially linen, and brass basons of the small fort. The factory have every now and then, a large demand for salt, made and brought hither from Acra, before-mentioned.

Three quarters of a mile from Cape Corse, is the negro town of Manfrow, and Fort Royal, called also Queen Anne's Fort, belonging to the English. It is built on a hill, named Dunstein, or, The Danish Mount, because formerly possessed by the Danes, who had a Castle there, named Fredricksburgh, which was built by them (with the assistance of the negros) after they were driven out by the Dutch from Cape Corse.

By the treaty made between the English and Danes, when they retook Cape Corse from the Dutch, it was concluded that the latter should have a fortified factory here.

Fredricksburgh was seated on the hill which terminates in a point. The whole circuit was above 300 paces. It commanded the country round it, even Cape Corse itself, which is not above a musquet shot distant. The form of the plot on which it stood is round, but the fort itself was triangular, having three bastions, one of which commanded the road to the south, and the second over-looked Cape Corse to the west, and the third fronted the Dutch fort of Nassau, at Mowri, on the east. The fort of this hill, (which is not above 100 paces high, and has a winding ascent) is surrounded by houses of the negros.

The Danes had here in garrison above 20 whites fit for service, besides Grometto blacks. It was generally observed, that of all the European nations on the coast, the Danes lost more men in proportion, although settled in the best air. This is ascribed to their ill diet, which, says the author, is worse than that of the English at Cape Corse; for they are often in want of money to buy necessaries, and great lovers of strong liquors.

The best road for ships at Manfrow, is due south of the fort, in thirteen or fourteen fathoms good anchorage ground, which the English at Cape Corse pretend lies in their limits. The easiest landing place is on the east side of the hill; they put the boats to anchor without the rocks, waiting for the negros canoes from shore, to carry them over the breakers, which are sometimes dangerous.

The Danish general has a fine spacious garden for his diversion, on the north-east side of the fort, above half a mile from it, stored with great variety of trees and plants, especially orange and lemon-trees. In the midst of it is a stately summer-house. The country behind the Danish mount is hilly, close, and not much cultivated, but covered with shrubs and woods, through the indolence of the natives.

The vicinity of the Danish Mount at Manfrow is

a great disadvantage to the fortress, which lying under, and so near it, might with a large cannon be battered to pieces. The author has from this fort several times seen the men walking in the English place of arms at Cape Corse. The English, who were sensible of this defect, endeavoured by all means to live amicably with the Danes, and at length purchased Fredricksburgh from them. This fort was delivered by Mr. Harris Luck, their general, in the year 1685, to Henry Nurse, Esq; agent for the Royal African Company of England, and by them named Fort Royal.

Although this fort was then a very mean fortification, yet the English were very much pleased with the possession.

Our author observes, that the English agents rebuilt and fortified this fort in 1698, and that had they perfected it according to the plan, it would have been one of the strongest places in Guinea, being inaccessible every way, (through the steepness of the hill) but by a narrow path, which one gun may defend; and even, though then ruinous, was, by its situation, capable of levelling Cape Corse castle to the ground. It has mounted and dismounted twenty-one guns, with which they take up or answer all the salutes in the road; which is very convenient for the sick people at Cape Corse, who are not much disturbed with the noise.

The town of Manfrow, (or Manfro) is almost round, and lies below the Danish mount on the shore, several great rocks rendering any access difficult. It is not very considerable, the negros being mostly fishermen, labourers, or salt boilers, with some few brokers for the inland blacks.

Besides the daily market town of Oegwa, or Cape Corse, there is a considerable one at Abramow, a large town, twenty-seven miles north, where, by the king of Fetu's appointment at a certain time of the year, there is a rendezvous from every part of the country for public dancing, and is termed the Dancing Season, which lasts eight days. A great number of people repair hither, and spend the day, and most of the night in this toilsome diversion. At the same time are decided all suits and controversies which could not be determined by the inferior justices in their respective districts. This supreme court is composed of the king Fetu, his doy, or prime minister, the jerofo, and the brasso, with two English factors of Cape Corse castle, chosen by the general, who are to have each as many new suits as the court sits days. This article, it is reckoned, costs the company 300l. a year.

The village of Aquaffow is very large, and lies west from Cape Corse. It is a market where the blacks bring slaves to be killed and buried at the funerals of their kings.

The little kingdom of Sobu, (or Sabou) extends about two leagues in breadth along the coast, reckoning from the foot of the Danish mount, to about two miles below Mowri, where it joins to the country of Fantin to the east, and about four leagues inland to the north. It is bounded by Atti to the north, and Fetu to the west.

Sobu produces great plenty of Indian corn, potatoes, yams, bananas, oranges, lemons, and other fruits, besides palm oil; great quantities of which, especially the latter, they export to Acra and Axim. The natives are reckoned the most industrious people on the coast, either in agriculture, fishing, or trading with the Europeans and the Accanez blacks, who bring down much gold here in exchange for goods, fish, and salt.

The father of the present king of Sobu, had long wars with the Atti and the Accanez blacks, his neighbours to the north, occasioned by his intollerable exactions; but the present king being of a peaceable and less covetous temper, has appeased these troubles. The Atti blacks are more numerous than those of Sobu; yet their being good at fire-arms, have often routed

routed them, and brought down several heads of both nations to the Dutch factory at Mowri.

The town of Sobu, the king's residence, lies about two leagues inland, and is a large populace place.

The first place on the sea coast to Queen Anne's Point, a fort lately built of stone and lime, seated on a little hill within less than half a mile of Fort Royal, or the Danish Mount to the west; and two miles from the Dutch fort of Nassau to the east. It mounts six guns, and has a garrison of five whites and six Gromattos.

The next place is the village of Icon or Congo, lying half a league within the Danish mount. Here are still to be seen on two small eminences, the ruins of a fine store-house the Dutch had there.

Mowri lies eastward two miles from Congo, a small league from Fort Royal, and two leagues and an half beyond El Mina. According to Artus, this town lies high, but is irregular and dirty, and has an inconvenient market-place, though it abounds with palm-wine and fruits. It belongs to the king of Sobu, who has a collector here. Great numbers of the inland merchants from Cano, and other remote places, bring hither much rough gold, as it comes out of the earth, and a great quantity of merchandise. The place was inconsiderable before the Dutch trafficked here, but has greatly improved since, and it is now the best place of trade on the coast.

The best landing-place at Mowri, is in a bay just under the cannon of the fort, on the east north-east, which must be by the help of canoes, as is practised in other parts of the coast.

The fort of Nassau before-mentioned, is situated on a rock, whose foot is washed by the sea. It was built by the Dutch, and was their chief settlement when the Portuguese held El Mina; next to which, it is now the chief fort possessed by the Dutch. It is almost square, the front being a little longer than the other sides. It is provided with four batteries and eighteen pieces of cannon. The walls are higher than any fort, except El Mina, upon the whole coast. The Curtain, which takes in two sea batteries, is so spacious and convenient, that such a battery might be easily made, as the English have at Cape Corse for commanding the sea; but its greatest ornaments and conveniences, are the four square towers placed at the angles. It was formerly garrisoned by seventy or eighty men, whose number at present, though very much diminished, is sufficient to defend it against the negros.

This fort was built, in 1664, by order, and at the charge of the States General, and called Fort Nassau, in honour of the family of Orange. It was built so as to command the town of Mowri, which lies round it like a circle, except on the east side, where it is defended by the sea. The States afterwards gave it to the West India company. Its first structure was slight, the batteries being only of turf, often ruined by the rains, which exposed the garrison to the insults of the Portuguese at El Mina.

The country of Fantin borders on Sobu to the west, the iron mount, two miles below Mowri, being its extremity. This hill is about a mile long, and has on its highest part, a close shady walk. From the foot of this hill, Fantin extends northward. This country is bounded by Atti, Aqua, and Tonqua, east by Acron, and on the south by the sea, along which it extends ten leagues.

The Fantinese are naturally a treacherous cheating people, and particularly dexterous in counterfeiting gold. They drive a very great trade with all sorts of interlopers, boldly in the sight both of the English and Dutch, neither daring to hinder it, as they can raise a great force, and have it in their power to shut up the passes to the Acaneze and other nations northward, who drive a great trade on the coast, as well for European goods, as fish, and white salt; of this last great quantities are sent to Acanez, for which that nation pays a certain duty in gold to those of Fantin. Most of this salt is made in a large pond

by the heat of the sun, not a great way distant from the town.

The inland people employ themselves in tillage and trade, and supply the markets with fruits, corn, and palm-wine; the country producing such great plenty of maize, that great quantities of it are exported both by Europeans and blacks, who come hither from other parts. Here is a sort of palm-wine called Quaker; it is sold at double the price of the common sort, and nevertheless is most greedily bought up. This land is also rich in gold, slaves, and all necessaries of life, but especially in corn, in which they deal largely with the English ships. This great opulence has made them so haughty, that, in the way of traffic, an European must consider himself as their inferior.

Here is no king, a braffo, or leader, having the chief command. He is a sort of governor, but his power is pretty much restrained by the old men, who are a sort of national counsellors, acting perfectly according to their own inclinations, without consulting the braffo. Besides these, every district of Fantin has its own chief, who will sometimes own the pre-eminence of the braffo, who has only the empty title of the Supreme Magistrate.

This country is very populous, and full of villages; the principal along the shore are, Anican, Annamabo, Aga, Cormantin, Amerfa, Little Cormantin, Aqua, Laguya, and Montfort, besides some others of less note, from Montfort to Cape Ruyge-Haeck, all which villages contain about 4000 fishermen. The capital town is Fantin, which lies about five leagues inland.

The village of Anican lies on a little hill, two leagues east from Mowri. The place itself is inconsiderable, and not worth anchoring at. The road lies half way between it and Annamabo castle, so that the last may be easily seen from it, though seated in low ground. The Dutch had a factory here formerly, but finding trade did not answer the charge, and that the English and Portuguese had got footing there, they quitted it.

The Portuguese, since the year 1679, cast up a redoubt of turf for their security, the commander whereof, Lorenzo Perez Branes, had ten or twelve of his countrymen to defend it. His trade consisted of tobacco and pipes, Brasil, sweetmeats, soap, rum, and such like American commodities.

Two miles beyond Anican, and two leagues and an half from Mowri, and four from Cape Corse, is Annamabo. It is a pretty large town, and the inhabitants are reckoned very bold and stout fellows, very treacherous, and great cheats. The gold here is most mixed with brass of any in all Guinea; it lies about four leagues to the east of Cape Corse.

The Dutch represent it as the strongest town on the whole coast, affording as many armed men as the kingdom in general of Sobu or Commani, and yet but a fifth part of Fantin.

The village of Annamabo, which is pretty large and populous, is divided into two parts; the one inhabited by El Mina fishermen, the other by those of Fantin, who pay a duty to the Braffo of Annamabo for the liberty of fishing there. The natives are generally desperate villains, and must be narrowly watched, and their gold well examined. The village lies under the cannon of the English castle.

At Annamabo the English have a small, but very neat, compact fort, the road before which is always full of English ships. This place might afford a considerable gold and slave trade, if the English interlopers did not carry it very near all off, and the Zealanders take what the others leave.

The English here are so plagued with the Fantinian blacks, that they are sometimes not suffered to stir out of the fort, and if the negros dislike the governor, they usually send him in a canoe, by way of contempt, to Cape Corse; nor are they able to oppose it, but rather forced to make their peace by a present.

In 1701, it was reported, that the Dutch, contrary

trary to articles, assisted the former with powder. September the 4th, being Sunday, the negros, in a tumultuous manner, approached the castle, shot at it, broke open the outer spur-gate, and set fire to the out-walls and corn-room; but the guns being smartly discharged, they soon quitted their ground; and in requital, that night, the English burnt the major part of their town. After twenty-two days outrage, the negros requested a truce, promising to compose matters to the desire of the English. The king of Sobu came there as mediator. They objected to nothing that was proposed, obliging themselves to pay the damage done to the fort, and took their oaths to perform the agreement, giving up their sons also as pledges. But soon after, having received assistance, they recommenced hostilities.

The English castle was lately built in the room of an old house which stood there in 1679: the mud-walls of which are to be seen before it. This is a small, neat, compact fort, or rather a large, strong house, defended by two turrets on the one side, and two flankers on the other next the sea, all built of stone, brick, and lime, and seated on a rock; about thirty paces from the strand. It has twelve good guns and two padereros mounted, and is commonly garrisoned by twelve whites, and thirteen blacks, under a chief factor. The lodgings within are convenient, with proper warehouses.

The landing here is rather difficult, the shore being full of rocks, on which the sea breaks dangerously. The ships-boats anchor close by, and the people are carried on shore in canoes to a narrow sandy beach, just under the full command of the castle, inclosed with which are houses for the Grometto blacks, and others of the company's servants. This wall was to be pulled down when the castle was quite finished, and one of brick built in the room of it. The country about Annamabo is full of close hills, beginning at a good distance from the town. There are five together higher than the rest, which are a good land mark to know this place, from some leagues to the west. Here is great variety of trees, affording a pleasant prospect: as also, the best palm-wine on all the Coast of Guinea, of the fort called Quaker. There is likewise plenty of maïse, and an infinite number of paroquets about as big as sparrows, their bodies of a curious green, and their heads and tails of a most beautiful red; some of which the author carried to Paris, as presents to some of the princes of the blood. These birds are sold for a crown a dozen, but so hard to keep, that not one in twenty survives the voyage to Europe.

Here is good green cabbage; as also, papas, a green fruit, about as big as a little melon, which tastes like cauliflowers. The greatest inconvenience is the want of fresh-water, which they are obliged to fetch by their slaves from two leagues distance. The maïse, or Indian wheat sells there by the chest, at one akier of gold. The chest contains about three bushels; when there is a great demand or scarcity, it rises to two or three akiers. In plentiful years, or times of peace, it has been sold at ten, and even eight tahos of gold, which is not three shillings English. This factory was deserted in 1730, but is necessary to be resettled.

About half a league, or two miles from Annamabo, is Aga, a village on the sea-shore, where formerly, as well as Annamabo, the Dutch had a fort; till by treachery they were forced out by the English, who, being jointly garrisoned with the Dutch, treated them barbarously. The company have planted their flag upon a negro's house here, and keep one factor to buy millet of the Fantinians, for their slave ships, but he finding greater profit in trading with the interlopers, can spare his master's ships but small share.

The Danes and Dutch had formerly a fort here. On the ruins of the former, the English have built a factory of turf, kept by two whites, and some Grometto blacks, besides a factor, with the English flag. The Dutch fort was only a bare redoubt, destroyed

by the English in 1665; being blown up the same day that the Dutch admiral De Ruyter, attempted to land at Annamabo: but in this he failed, being hindered by the great breaking of the sea, and the fire of the English, assisted by the Fantin blacks, from behind the rocks that cover the shore, and the cannon of the fort. The English at Aga, concluding that the Dutch would succeed at Annamabo, and then visit them in their way to Cormantin, undermined the fort there, and left a match of such a length to the powder, as they thought would last till the Dutch took possession; but it blew up before they arrived.

Three leagues from Mowri is the village of Cormantin, called Little Cormantin, to distinguish it from another stiled the Great.

Cormantin before the year 1600, was a considerable mart, but then of little amount. The town lies on an eminence, and is remarkable for a tall tree in the middle of the market-place; having five little hills to the west, and the mountain Mango to the east. The Portuguese and French traded much here; and the Dutch did so too, till the natives began to adulterate their gold, which soon occasioned the trade here to decay: so that now the inhabitants resort to Mowri for what goods they want.

The village of Little Cormantin is only considerable for the fertility of the country round it, and the Dutch fort Amsterdam, which commands it. This was the chief residence of the English when De Ruyter dispossessed them of it in 1665. It was much enlarged and beautified by the Dutch in 1681, and 82, being a square fort, built with hard rock-stone and lime, strengthened with three small, and one large battery, mounted with twenty pieces of cannon. In the centre is a large square tower, designed to have a cupola on it, where the flag-staff stands.

There are good lodgings, and all offices for the commanders and garrison, which consists of twenty-five whites, besides Grometta blacks. The breast-works are large, and the prospect from the top of the tower delightful, over-looking all the sea and country. It has also large convenient cisterns for rain-water.

This fort is strong by nature, as standing on a high, rocky hill, in most places steep and craggy, and only accessible by a path cut into steps along the descent of the hill.

The English had a fort with four bastions here, before it was taken by the Dutch in 1665. The former found means to recover it, but were again dispossessed by the latter, who have settled a good trade there, as well as at Adja and Jamolia, where they have fortified factories. In the fort at Cormantin, is a large, square building, flat roofed in the middle, which serves for a lodging to the governor, and for a magazine; and the platform at top will bear cannon. The country is rich in gold, yet the soil is good, and well peopled. The natives are industrious, and love trade, the art of which, as well as the œconomy, they have learned from the Dutch.

Great Cormantin, lies a cannon-shot below Fort Amsterdam, upon a high hill; is so large and populous, as justly to be called Great. All the inhabitants, besides the traders, are fishermen, amounting to 800, or 1000 men. From this place, the country of Fantin reaches twenty-two or twenty-three miles along the shore, being all the way replenished with small villages, being very pleasant passing by it in a canoe.

The lands about these Cormantines produces plenty of fruit and corn. The air is very wholesome. The natives brew excellent beer, made of maïse, or Indian corn, luscious as ale, called petaw. They bake bananas in bread and biscuit, and also maïse for their common food.

Once Annamabo and Cormantin were two of the principal places of trade on the coast, for the Dutch and English, on account of the great resort of the Accanez blacks, who came down in little caravans; but the difference that arose between these two nations

in 1664, and 1665, along the coast of north and south Guinea, did them both great damage, obliging the first to retire to Mowri, and the English to Cormantin. These latter were so severe to the natives, that they and the Accanez blacks invited the Dutch at El Mina, whose government they had been long used to, and liked to settle a factory at Agga, which was taken by the English in 1664, and blown up in 1665. The English on their part, to thwart the Dutch, endeavoured to corrupt the braffos of Fantin and Accanez, who took their money without performing the conditions agreed on; and finding the jealousy between the nations, in point of trade, occasioned their having goods cheaper, they encouraged the English to build a small fort at Annamabo, to rival the Dutch at Mowri and Agga.

Mowri, Annamabo, Anishan, and Cormantin, are places where great quantities of European goods are vended, viz. linens, silks, copper, iron-bars, old sheets, brandy and rum, pewter-basons, musquets, bugles, beads of all sorts, powder, &c. When Cormantin was taken from the English, as above mentioned, the Fantinese, expressed great satisfaction to see the Dutch settled there again. Their reasons were, that the English governor had incommoded them with his garrison; and that they thought the Dutch sold their goods cheaper. However, they gained a point upon the Dutch, who formerly agreed to give them a good sum of gold, besides 300 guilders, for every ship of the company's which should trade there, (slave ships excepted) in consideration of their assistance in recovering Fort Amsterdam, and other services; but now they oblige them to pay for all ships alike. They also extort a good sum yearly from the English.

After the reduction of Fort Nassau at Mowri, and their disappointment at Cape Corse and Annamabo, the Dutch General, Falkenburgh, at a council of war held on board the admiral, most earnestly pressed an attempt on Cormantin. The enterprise being resolved on, Valkenburgh sent Du Ruyter a reinforcement of 400 canoes full of armed blacks from El Mina, with whom the Dutch fleet came to anchor in Cormantin road. The bay, though spacious, being dangerous to land at, and the coming out as bad, De Ruyter, on the 7th of February, 1665, sent a detachment of 900 men, supported by the Mina blacks, to land at Annamabo, which the English had taken, as well as Agga, or Adja. These forces approaching the shore, were so warmly received by the Cormantin blacks, posted behind the rocks and bushes, that the Dutch, unable to bear their fire, together with that of the castle, and suspecting their design betrayed by the braffo of Annamabo, stood off to sea, and rejoined their squadron.

De Ruyter, however, was not disheartened with this repulse: for the blacks of Annamabo, and Agga, who had been suspected of favouring the English, sent to assure him of their fidelity; promising next day to join his forces, and assist him in taking Cormantin Fort. They came and brought with them 3000 Fantin blacks, their allies, whom they had hired for that service.

These forces landing in a calm day, without any loss at Agga, where they were joined by the auxiliary negroes of Agga and Fantin. From hence they marched in good order, each black having a white handkerchief about his neck, to distinguish him from those of Cormantin. About noon they arrived at the English fort, which Valkenburgh summoned to surrender immediately; and at the same time caused a body of his forces, conducted by some blacks of the town, whom he had gained, to advance to a rising ground, just out of reach of the cannon.

The besieged made a terrible fire, and frequent sallies, which, for a while, stopped the progress of the van-guard; so many of the Dutch blacks being killed, that the passes were blocked up with their bodies. Most of this execution was done by 300 English blacks, commanded by one John Cabez. The main

body at last coming up, most of these blacks were cut off, or retired precipitately to the fort. Valkenburgh then ordered the town to be set on fire; the smoke of which, for a while, took away the sight of the fort from the Dutch, and threw the English into such consternation, that seeing the enemy approach with granadoes in their hands, and a mortar, to give the assault, they struck their flag, and opened the gate; and the Dutch, according to their account, took possession of the fort at so small an expence as 62 marks of gold, which they paid the auxiliary blacks of Fantin, and the braffo and caboshirs of Annamabo and Agga.

Amerfa, Aqua, Laguyo, Tantomquerri, Montfort, and some other small villages to the east on the Fantin shore, as far as Acron, have but an inconsiderable trade. Aqua lies on a little river two leagues east of Cormantin. The land about it is low and flat, producing plenty of Indian corn; and there is wood and water for ships that want.

Laguyo is two leagues farther east from Aqua, on a rising ground, descending towards the shore. It has not much trade for slaves, and the gold is none of the best.

Tantomquerri lies seven leagues east of Cormantin, of course three from Laguyo. This is a pretty, little, regular fort, having four small flankers, mounted with 12 guns. It is pleasantly situated near the seaside, but the landing-place is indifferent.

The smaller villages to the east of this last are better frequented by Europeans; the inhabitants being poor fishermen, who carry their fish on board ships, as do those of Laguyo and Montfort; yet these people talk of their great plenty of slaves and gold on shore, on purpose to keep ships longer in the road, that they may sell their fish for pedlars ware and toys. The English ships chiefly ply on this coast as far as Acra.

Though the English and Dutch possessed Forts in Fantin, yet neither of them have any power there; so that when the natives are inclined to it, they shut up all the passes so close, that not one merchant can come from inland to trade with them, and sometimes hinder provisions being brought, till a peace is concluded with them. The language of the blacks are almost one and the same from Axim to Fantin, all along the Gold Coast.

The country of Acron lies between that of Fantin and Augwina, or Agonna, on the sea-shore, running east to the famous cape, called Monte del Diablo. It is divided into Great and Little Acron, the former lying inland; as to its government, it is a republic. Little Acron is a kingdom. They are independant of each other, but live in perfect amity under the protection of the Fantin negroes, enjoying peace, and cultivate their fruitful land so as to have a sufficient crop for exportation.

The king of Little Acron, in our author's time, was a civil, good-natured man, about fifty, reputed one of the richest on the Gold Coast, though he dressed no better than his subjects. It is rather an anarchy than a monarchy, for the king can do nothing without the consent of the chief men. The country abounds in deer, hares, pheasants, partridges, &c.

Little Acron has a village on the coast towards the middle of it, called Apam. This village is very little, and was always inhabited by fishermen; but, as well as Acron, is well situated for trade; and if the natives were more tractable, might become a populous town. It stands a little way up a salt river, which runs just below the fort, rising about four miles within land. It abounds both in fish and fowl, and is very pleasant.

Apam lies under a small fort, begun to be built by the Dutch, in 1697. It is called Leydsamheyde, or Patience, from the great opposition given them, when building it, by the negroes. It is fortified by two batteries, mounting eight pieces of cannon.

The country of Augwina, begins at or about Monte del Diablo, by the Dutch called Ruyge Hoeck, (dis-

tant about a league from the salt river of Acron) and extends thence east along the shore to Anonse in Aquambo, or Acra. On the north it borders on Sonquay, and south on the ocean, along which it stretches fifteen leagues.

The coast from Cormantin to Monte del Diablo, extends south-east by east, about twelve leagues, thence to Barcu, nine leagues, and from Barcu to Acra river, nine more.

The country east of Coecks Broot-Hill, is low and flat to the sea, but hilly in land. Some leagues farther to the east, it is woody, and the land dry. This country has the advantage of a very fine, large, fresh water river, abounding in oysters and fish, and the banks of it furnished with monkeys and baboons, as large as any in Guinea.

The country of Augwina is as fertile and pleasant as that of Acron in all respects. The people, who are fishermen, are bold, warlike, and versed in working gold and silver. In our author's time, (1682) it was governed by a woman of great courage and wisdom, who took the title of Queen. She was about thirty-eight years of age, and, to preserve her power, lived unmarried.

Our author adds, that this is the sole kingdom in Guinea, where the supreme power is hereditary to either sex; and the next heir to the crown is her eldest daughter, her sons being sold for slaves, or so disposed of as not to interrupt this female succession. This daughter is early initiated in the same political practice, having a gallant purchased for her separate amusement. The inhabitants live peaceably under this government, seldom going to war. The English had a small fort here for some time.

Augwina has several towns and villages along its coast, as Dajow, Polder's Bay, Mango, Winniba, Wiamba, or Simpa, Old Barcu, or Barracu, Jacou, Innya, Lampa, Succamma, New Little Barcu, and Coecks Broot, a high round hill, in form of a sugar-loaf, two leagues west from Acra. All this coast is dangerous with the breaking of the sea.

The French say Mount del Diablo, abounds with gold, which after great rains, the blacks gather in great quantities, as it is washed down with the sands. The Dutch gave it the name of Ruyge Hoeck, because being high land, they often saw it at a distance before they could reach it in sailing from east to west, the wind blowing constantly here for the greater part of the year at south-west a fresh gale, and the tide setting at east, so that it takes a long time to turn it up.

We are told of one Mr. Baggs, who, in 1700, died at Cape Corfe, where he was agent for the English, and was intrusted with a more ample commission than any of his predecessors, for having informed the African company of this hill, and promised to dig gold or gold-ore out of it for them. To this purpose he brought all sorts of necessary instruments along with him, but for some reason or other did not proceed in his design. An English voyager was informed, by a negro gold-taker, that he had seen this mountain smoke like a volcano; from whence, and being the haunt of rapacious wild beasts, they have borrowed the name, and call it Devil's Hill.

Winniba, formerly called Wiamb, lies five leagues beyond Apam. It is a small town, consisting of not more than twenty houses. Round it are pleasant fields, inclosed with good hedges, and full of Indian corn and good grass. This country lying low, about a mile from the town, towards the inland, are many large lakes or ponds of water, on whose banks are many Guinea hens, with great variety of other fowls, and abundance of wild deer, which range the plains about these lakes.

Winniba fort stands on the ascent of a hill, in the jutting out of the coast, agreeably seated among trees.

The English factory being a double stone house, was ransacked by the blacks in 1769, and the factor had much ado to save his own and his people's lives, escaping by night to Cape Corfe, where he landed

much wounded and covered with blood. This place is easily known from sea, by the two English houses yet standing, without any roof on the shore, about 200 paces from Winniba.

This Winniba is a large, square fort, with four flankers, all built of stone and lime. It mounts eighteen guns, and has commonly twelve whites, and twenty-eight Gromettas, with a suitable tank or cistern for water; and a slave house for 100 negroes. It stands 120 paces from the sea, within three miles of Shido to the west, and thirty-six miles from Acra to the east.

Winniba Fort, is on the same plan and dimensions as that at Tantomquerri; nor is the landing place any better. It stands on a rising ground about fourteen yards from the sea, having a handsome avenue of trees up to the outer gate. It has also a large spur, which contributes much to its strength and use, being a safe place to secure their castle at night from the wild beasts. There are also good gardens.

Barracu, or Barcu, lies on the coast six leagues east of Winniba. It is situated on the top of a hill, where the French used to trade. Here the language, which is the same as on the gold coast hitherto, begins to change. The natives are ingenious, not only melting gold, but in working it into chains and jewels. They also brew a drink not unlike our small-beer, which they call Pitow. Poultry are more plentiful and cheap here than on all the coast. They have also parroquets in abundance. They buy much iron from the Dutch, which they know how to work well, and make all kinds of arms or weapons for themselves. The trade is now removed to Acra, where they go in their canoes to buy what goods they want. The land between is low and flat, remarkable for a broken tree in form of a gibbet, which the negroes regard as a fetish.

Barcu is the chief town on the Augwina coast, and it is a proper place for a factory or fort for trade, the land being pleasant and plentiful. This country was formerly in the English interest, by contract with the queen thereof; but the Dutch encroached so as to make a settlement at Barracu, where they have erected a small triangular fort of twelve guns. Their chief at this place, in 1706, took several English goods from the traders, telling them he would always do so, if they bought from the English; but Sir Dalby Thomas the governor, recovered them.

While the Portuguese prevailed on this coast, the French traded here, which is the reason why the blacks remember so many French words, especially of the Norman dialect. Here are as many parroquets as at Annamabo.

Little Barcu lies about a league and a half east of Barracu, on a small river.

All these places of Acron and Augwina, are well seated for trade, if they are not at war with their neighbours, for when they are, little gold, and few slaves is to be had. The Acra blacks come down this coast to traffic, when they hear of ships that have good cargoes, such as old sheets, Coesvall linen, bugles, iron and brandy. A good slave sells here, as they do all along the coast, for a benda, that is, two ounces of gold.

The kingdom of Acra, or Acara, is tributary to the king of Aquambo. It is bounded on the west of Augwina, from which it is separated by a small river. To the north it has Aboura and Bonu, to the east Labadde and Ningo; and to the south the ocean, being 16 leagues in compass, and almost round, scarcely two leagues and an half lying on the sea.

This was formerly esteemed the last kingdom on the coast, because they found no gold beyond the river Volta, which bounds it to the east. It lies fifteen leagues to the east of Cormantin.

Acra was formerly a kingdom, but its inhabitants were conquered by their inveterate enemies the Aquambos, and driven to a place called Little Popo, which at present contains the great kingdom of Acra.

This

This happened in the year 1680 and 1681, when the country was ruined, and reduced to a tributary province.

The soil is a pale red, fat mould; producing little or no fruit; and very few trees; but it yields yams; and several sorts of beans and pease. The country beyond the flat is hilly. Near the European forts are numbers of remarkable ant-hills; which may not improperly be called turrets, and look at a distance, like the salt heaps in the Isle of Rhe in France; at the beginning of the Kerring season.

The land from the shore, to about three leagues inland, is pretty level and even, and is a good sporting country for hares, rabbits, squirrels, wild boars; red and fallow deer, wild goats, pintado hens, and other fowl. What large and small cattle they have, are brought from Labadde to the east. Here are such plenty of hares among the shrubs; which grow thick, that the blacks kill them with sticks, and the Europeans take them with spaniels. In this country there are more lions, tygers, musk-cats; leopards, and other ravenous creatures, than in any other parts of Guinea.

Here are those deer, which are not above eight or nine inches high, and whose legs are not bigger than a small pick-tooth quill. The males have two horns turning back on their head, two or three inches long, without branches or antlers; these are crooked, black, and shining like jet. Nothing can be more tame, pretty, or fond, than these creatures; but they are so tender, that they will not bear the sea, and whatever care could be taken, none have been yet brought alive to Europe.

Acra contains many large towns within land, of which Great Acra is the chief. Little Acra is the middlemost of three maritime villages in this kingdom; the other two are Soco to the west, and Orfoco to the east, each under the cannon of an European fort. At Soco is the English fort James; at Little Acra, Creveœur, belonging to the Dutch; and at Orfoco, the Danish fort, Christiansburgh, all three reckoned inferior to few of those on the coast.

These three fortresses are situated in the compass of less than a league and an half of ground, each on a rocky head land, advancing a little on the strand. It is dangerous landing here, except at Acra, where it is easier at the first and last quarters of the moon, with the help of Bar canoes.

Soco consists of about one hundred scattering houses, it having been much enlarged in 1692, by the accession of many families, who retired hither from Little Acra, when it was destroyed by the blacks of Aquambo: so that the year following, it became one of the finest and largest on the Gold Coast, seated on a level ground, regularly built. It has a great trade with the English, to the prejudice of the Dutch. Here stands James Fort, already mentioned, belonging to the English.

Little Acra, about half a mile distant from Soco, was a handsome and commodious market-town, well-governed and much resorted to, before the Aquambos burnt it a few years since, leaving scarcely sixty houses standing, Fourri, King of Acra, chose rather to live here than at Great Acra, which is up the inland.

At this place the Dutch have a strong fort, called Creveœur, situated about half a cannon-shot from James-Fort, on a rocky head-land; and though boats and pinnaces can come close to the strand in safety, yet the landing is well defended by the guns of the fort, and small arms of the garrison. It is square, built with four batteries, which, as well as the curtains, are rock-stone and lime, neither very thick, nor very high: So that it could not stand much battering, and the English from James-Fort, though much smaller, might soon reduce it to a heap of rubbish with their cannon. Within it is a large, flat, square house, with a platform, and on it a turret with a cupolo, on which the Dutch flag is displayed, as at all the forts on the coast, as soon as any ships

appear at sea. The lodgings are neat and convenient both for the officers and garrison, which consists of fifteen whites and 25 blacks. It has a handsome gate towards the north, overlooking the village of Little Acra, and the road to Great Acra. This gate is secured by a corps-de-garde and two barriers, but has no ditch or palisado before, like the rest of the forts on the coast, none excepted. The blacks being wholly ignorant in attacking castles, make these outward defences regarded as unnecessary. It has 14 guns, and some padereros, on the batteries. The situation is such, that it enjoys a better air than the other two forts to the east and west of it.

Orfoco is not so considerable as it has been, having been destroyed by the Aquambos, and the inhabitants removed to Popo.

The fort of Christiansburgh was built here by the Danes, and so called in honour of their king. It is a square building, strengthened with four batteries and twenty guns. It appears very beautiful, looking like one continued battery, as in effect it is; for the roof being entirely flat, the cannon may conveniently be planted on all parts of it.

In 1679, it was governed by John Ollricks of Gluckstead, a worthy man, whom the blacks murdered at the instigation of a Greek, who lived some years under him. This villain soon after sold the place to Julian de Campo Baretto, formerly governor of St. Thomas, for about 224 pounds.

The Danes at Fredericksburgh, near Cape Corfe, solicited the restoration of the place; and soon after, 1682, redeemed it for a sum of money, resettling their trade here, which they possessed till the year 1693, when the blacks surprised it in the following manner:

The Danes had committed some insults on the king of Acra, who studied revenge, and took the opportunity of the weakness of the place, by the death of several of the garrison. The king observing that the Danes had great confidence in one Assemmi, a black, who had great interest in that country, and procured them much trade, engaged him in the design. Accordingly, Assemmi made the Danish governor believe he would bring him a considerable number of merchants at once to buy arms, advising him to raise the price. On the day appointed, Assemmi brought with him 80 blacks, whom the Danes admitted into the fort, suspecting no treachery. When the blacks had agreed for the arms, and paid the price in gold, they loaded their musquets with powder and ball, as if to try them, but suddenly fell on the garrison, which consisted of about twenty-five or thirty Danes, who presently yielded the fort. They immediately dispersed the Danes up the country; after which the king of Acra and the blacks stripped the fort, taking a booty of about 7000l. The fort was given to Assemmi, who garrisoned it with his blacks; settling in it, and trading with all the European ships which come there, to great profit.

The conqueror kept possession till two Danish ships arrived on the coast; to which, by means of a very considerable present to the king of Aquambo, but more by the Dutch intercession, it was re-delivered; but they were no great gainers by it; for to garrison the fort, they left their fleet so poorly manned, that they became a prey to the pirates in the sight of Guinea.

About a century since the king being gained by considerable presents, which the Danes and Dutch made him, to grant them a liberty; at first, they asked to build each of them a store-house to settle a factor in, under the obligation of seven marks of gold yearly for each house. The houses thus built, the Dutch and Danes never rested insinuating to the natives, that whereas they were continually exposed to the assaults of their mortal enemies, the Aquambos, it would be for their safety, to admit these houses to be turned into forts, to protect them and their families with their cannon. By this means they prevailed to have these places put in the condition they were.

The Dutch being the first who obtained this privilege of the king of Acra, bought a proper place for a fort, which they built with a ware-house of rock-stone, 62 feet long, and 24 broad. The floors were planks laid on joists, and the roof covered with tile; all the buildings being encompassed with bulwarks, and the walls made with port-holes for guns. Some time after the Danes, and at last the English, obtained the same liberty.

The forts, on some occasions, have proved a good refuge to the natives, especially in the year 1680. when the king of Aquambo conquered Acra: for had it not been for these retreats, few or none had been left alive, or in a condition to carry on the trade they now do, which is considerable, notwithstanding a great number of families removed hence to Lay, Popo and Whidah.

At this place alone sometimes more gold is received than on the whole coast besides: and its traffic would be yet enlarged, if the negroes of Aquambo and Akim would agree, as they generally are at difference. The latter pretending a feudal right over the former, and demanding an annual tribute of them, which those of Aquambo will by no means submit to; and the king, to secure his quiet, is subtil enough, by fair words and presents, to sow dissensions betwixt the governing men of Akim.

The landing here is very dangerous, on account of the swell. The best anchorage is opposite to the Danish fort. The fresh south-west gales, which blow here all day from May to September, (except in the rainy season) bring in a violent sea, the tide setting east, very rapid with the wind, so that ships work hard on their cables.

In the wet season, the tide sets as the wind and moon rule it. For two or three days before and after the new and full moon it sets to the west, as it does also after it has blown hard at north-east, and east-north-east, and the wind returns to south-south-west, or south-west; when tide for 24 hours will run upwards against the wind, as has been experienced, lying before Cape Corse, Annamabo, Cormantin, and Acra.

Next in order beyond Accra, is Labadde, but so small and inconsiderable, (being only four leagues in circumference) that it scarce deserves notice, except that it touches on the sea, between Acra and Ningo, and that only for a league along the coast. In this space lie the two villages of Orfow and Labadde. The last is a large populous place, inclosed with a dry stone wall, situated amongst fine meadows and plains. The inhabitants of these villages are generally husbandmen, tilling their ground, and looking to their sheep and swine, which they bring from Lay, and fattening them, sell them at Acra and other places on the coast, to good advantage. They make salt of the sea-water for their own use, but the trade is inconsiderable, here being little gold. The country is governed by a petty king.

The kingdom of Ningo (which by the French is called Lampi, and, by the English Lampa, or Alam-po) borders west on Labadde and Great Acra, at Egwira, east on Soco, and south on the sea of Guinea, extending about thirteen leagues along the coast, from Labadde to Lay.

The prince of Ningo bears the title of King of Ladingcour, though he and his subjects are dependants on the king of Aquambo, who rules them arbitrarily, punishing the slightest faults with instant death.

The country hereabout is indifferently populous, and fertile, but very well stocked with cattle, as cows, hogs, sheep, besides chickens, &c. all which are daily bought up very cheap by the blacks of the Gold Coast, to transport to the upper coast.

The remaining trade of these people consists in slaves, which are also bought up by the above-mentioned negroes, but most of them transported hence by the English, French, and Portuguese ships. Sometimes the slave trade here proves very advantageous,

especially about the village Lay; but when the inland counties are at peace, no slaves are to be had, so that the trade being uncertain, the Dutch only touch here in passing, without any dependance on it.

Besides trade, the inhabitants employ themselves in agriculture and fishing, the first of which proves profitable; but the fishery, especially that on the sea, turns at most, but to small account: for the shore here is very high, and of very difficult access; wherefore it is sometimes not to be come at with small canoes; but this is abundantly made up by the lakes and rivers, which are very richly stored with good fish.

The principal villages in this country are Little Ningo, Tema, or Temina, Sincho, or Chinca, Brambo, Pompena, or Ponni, Great Ningo, Lay, or Alampi, and Occa, all barren places, and very difficult to land at. Those most noted for trade are Sincho, Great Ningo, and Lay; though in 1680, the Dutch had some trade at Tema.

Chinca or Sincho, lies five leagues east from Acra, a place much resorted to from the beginning of the last century, when it was first known to the Dutch; though now the inhabitants apply themselves much to fishing, to supply the market at Spise, a large town inland, for which they pay no duty to the king. The blacks here buy much linen, and several sorts of cloth for the country trade, as do all the blacks along the coast from hence to Rio Volta. Their language differs from that of Acra. The land yields plenty of provisions, and abundance of fine large oranges. They sometimes catch thornbacks here fifteen feet long.

Great Ningo lies five leagues east of Sincho, and like that can scarce be seen from the road; nor has it any notable land-mark, except the high mount, called Redondo, standing due north of Lay, up the country. This place has sometimes a brisk trade for slaves and gold, which is brought to the blacks of Ningo and Lay from Quaco, a country lying above them to the inland, abounding in that metal. The blacks of this village, and the country about, drive a great trade of cattle, which they fatten in their pasture grounds; and either the Gold Coast negroes come to buy them, or they carry them thither, or to Acra, where they make thirty crowns of a bullock.

The town of Lay, or Alampi, is two leagues east from Great Ningo, and appears from the road, at Mount Redondo, bearing north-north-west, six leagues up the country. Here is the best anchorage, the ground being sand, mixed with very small stones. This hill is very large, and shaped like a sugar-loaf.

The shore about Lay consists of high, steep cliffs next the sea, in several places rent asunder, and in some adorned with palm and other trees at some distance from each other. Before these cliffs run a fine, white, sandy strand, of a moderate breadth. The town stands on the ascent of a little hill, looking towards the north, so that few of the houses can be seen from the road. The inhabitants are civilized and fair dealers, but so suspicious, they will scarce venture on board any ships, till hostages are first sent on shore.

Alampi, which is a considerable place for slaves has been possessed by the African company for some years, having had a factory with five whites, ten Gromettas, and small arms. They made some steps towards building a fort there, but the Dutch interposed with the natives, and it has been discontinued for some time.

When the Aquambo and Axim blacks are at War, here is commonly a great number of slaves to dispose of, the prisoners taken on either side being sold to the Europeans. The Axim blacks carry theirs to Lay, and the Aquambos, theirs to Acra, where they sell them for cawris, or bujis, seyes, perpatas, Coefvelt-cloths, Silesia-linen, bugles red and yellow, knives, fire-arms, powder, chintz, salampores.

One Santi, a famous black, used to manage this trade by the king of Lay's appointment; settling the price of slaves according to their sex and age, and also of European goods: then hostages being given, he sent the slaves on board by degrees as they came down from the inland country to the town; and received the goods in proportion to the slaves delivered; so that a ship was often furnished with 4 or 500 slaves in a fortnight or three weeks.

The French, English and Portuguese chiefly frequent this coast for slaves and provisions: however, at some times, when the inland country is at peace, here are no slaves to be had, the trade being quite uncertain.

The country of Ningo, Lampi, or Alampo, is flat and low, populous and fertile, well stored with cattle; as cows, sheep, and swine, besides poultry, which are continually brought up there to supply the Gold Coast. Their fishery is inconsiderable, the shore being high and inaccessible; but the want of sea-fish is made up by the great plenty in the lakes and rivers.

The people of Soco are chiefly husbandmen, having no employment but that and fishing; though their fishery turns to little account on their coast till one comes to Acra. Very few of them are rich, unless it be the Lampi, Acra, or Aquambo-blacks; a number of whom are settled amongst them, as well as at Lay, Ningo, Sincho, and so to Pompena, or Ponni, westward.

Besides the four villages before mentioned on the Soco coast, there are several hamlets and cottages intermixed between them on the shore, but not of any note. Some authors reckon this country a part of the kingdom of Lampi. The maritime port of Soco is flat and low, rising gradually inland, and very woody.

Rio da Volta was so called by the Portuguese for its rapid course and reflux. Its source (according to a very modern author) is in the kingdom of Acam, bordering south on that of Gago, in nine degrees north latitude; running thence through the country of Tafou, in which are said to be mines of gold, and so downwards south through Quaco, Aboura, Ingo, and other places. The coast about it is flat and low, but up the land it rises into hills, and very steep mountains. The shore is bordered all along with a fine, large, sandy strand, forming several little bays, having nine fathoms water about a league out to sea. The land is pretty open for some miles on either side of the river, from whence may be seen a great number of palm-trees placed at equal distances. The country farther up, is all woody, or covered with shrubs and bushy trees.

This is a fine wide river, discharging its waters so violently into the sea, that it is sometimes visible three or four miles from shore. How far it extends its course inland, the author knew not. The great freshes, carry down continually great numbers of trees, which sticking fast in the mouth of the river, occasion a very high surf of extraordinary violence, as well as lofty agitation of the waves; so that this place is passable with canoes but twice in the year, and that is usually betwixt April and November, the weather being then calm on the coast, which generally is just before the rainy season, when the reflux of the river is not so swift: but after the rains, it is not possible to persuade a negro to venture, tho' they are constantly used to pass in boats along shore, which here, by reason of the above mentioned surfs, they cannot do. In effect, the River Volta is remarkable for the rapidity of its stream, making a very great sea upon the bar; and carrying itself off for some way unmixed: at two leagues distance it is only brackish. From hence begins the Papou (or Papo) Coast, low and woody. Having thus given the reader an account of the principal places in Guinea; we shall now proceed to close our voyager's narration.

On the 20th of April 1727, they embarked from Whidah in the following manner: their canoe lay on

the beach with her head to the sea; and those who were passengers stepping in, sat down in the fore part, because the after part is for the canoe men to stand to their paddles; being commonly 11 or 13 in number. When they were fixed in their places, the negroes took hold of the canoe, and having watched an opportunity ran her off on the back of a wave; when leaping in, they handled their paddles so dextrously; that, before the return of the next wave, they had pushed her out of danger of the shore breakers. This was not all, for about 30 yards off is a bar, where the sea breaks more violent than on the shore: however, they got over this, on the outside of which, 40 yards distant, lies a third bar, the most dangerous of all. Between these two rows of breakers (which roared like thunder) they lay by on their paddles near a quarter of an hour. At last the men seeing a great wave break on a sudden, made a push towards it, and darted their canoe quite through the succeeding wave, which being pretty small, only wetted them a little, and thus escaped the sharks, which followed them in great numbers and got safe on board.

The next morning the 21st at day break, they weighed from Whidah, intending for Prince's Isle to wood and water for their voyage home; and, on the 8th of May, arrived at that harbour. Here they bought up what fresh provisions they could get; at a dear rate, took in water and wood, and careened their ship. The 16th they departed, and, on the 20th, crossed the line, and paid as usual. The 23d they descried Cape Lopez in one degree south latitude, being the last sight they had of the African shore. Here it was Sir Chaloner Ogle suppressed the famous Pirate Roberts, for which he was knighted. Mr. Smith saw several of his followers hanging in chains at Cape Coast.

When they had run down about four degrees to the southward of the line, they came into the true south-east trade wind, and steered away westward; near 400 leagues in south latitude: after which, they shaped their course north-north-west, crossing the line again on the 5th of June. The next day they fell into the alternate calms and storms that are always near the line at those times of the year, especially between the north-east and south-east trade winds. At length, however, they got fairly into the true north-east trade; and with a good gale, held their course about north-north-west, till July the 1st, when being in thirteen degrees, nineteen minutes, north, their ship sprung a leak: finding she made more water than their pumps could discharge, they were under no small apprehensions, being so far from land, and having no ship in company: however, the captain after a diligent search, at last discovered a small leak close up by her stern, about a foot under water. It being impossible to come at it on the outside, on account of the ship's dipping or pitching under water, they removed part of the cargo, which raised her bow a little higher out of the sea, and consequently eased the leak.

However, as it still continued, they resolved to bear away before the wind, which they found much relieved the strain the ship laboured under, so that they could just discharge the water with both pumps as fast as it came in. They then consulted what was best to be done, and according to the captain's proposal, agreed to bear away for the West Indies, for they were then in the north-east trade wind; so that being in the latitude before mentioned, a westerly course would carry them directly on to Barbadoes. Their distance by computation, was near 700 leagues: however, they resolved to do their best to keep her above water as long as possible; and for that end, assigned each other their respective employments; the captain and mate were to take the helm four hours by turns; one Mr. Wheeler and the author were to take turns to dress the victuals, and make hot punch for the men at the pump, who were allowed three half pints each, every watch, to keep up their spirits; for which end the sailors were divided into two watches, that after they had been nine or ten days in this extremity, the men

grew discouraged with excessive labour, and began to murmur, though they had every day fresh provisions killed for them: but they endeavoured to hearten them as well as they could by the hopes of soon seeing Barbadoes. Their yawl, which was a good large boat, was on deck, but their long-boat having been stowed between decks, several were desirous of having her brought up, and the sails, masts, and oars put on board her and the yawl: also all other necessaries: such as compasses, provisions, water &c. to be ready to take their boats in case of the worst: others were very much against the proposal, fearing some of their men, who are now grown desperate, would take advantage of the night to run away with the long-boat and leave the rest; which must have been attended with the loss of the ship, it requiring all hands to keep her clear.

On the 16th of July, three of their men, who had the larboard watch from four o'clock till eight, fainted away at the pumps, and were carried like dead men off the deck; which occasioned the starboard watch to be called, before the bell rang for eight. This drove them almost to despair. However, Mr. Smith had provided some breakfast; and, as they were eating it, one of the men at the pumps leaped up, and cried as loud as he could, Land! Land! running about, like a madman, for joy. On this, neglecting their food, they looked out sharp, and plainly saw the land, the most agreeable prospect they had ever beheld. This was July the 16th, at nine in the morning, and proved to be the isle of Barbadoes. At four in the afternoon, they anchored in Carlisle Bay, which was then full of ships. The same night, Thomas Leake, Esq; the Royal African Company's agent there, came off to relieve their weary men at the pumps; and the next morning Mr. Smith went on shore to Mr. Leake's house. Soon after he was introduced, by his friend Dr. Warren, to his excellency Governor Worsley.

Mean time, on the 17th, their ship was hauled along side of a hull which lay in the bottom of the bay; and while some were employed in unloading the goods into the hull, in order to heave her down and

search her bottom, the rest kept both pumps continually at work, which were now scarce able to keep her above water, though she lay motionless in a smooth bay.

While Captain Livingstone, Mr. Leake, and some other gentlemen, were one day abroad, the men pumped out a small, half-consumed young dolphin, without either head or tail, being about three inches and an half long, which the captain put into spirits of wine to bring home, being assured this little fish had lain some time in the leak, and kept out many tons of water, to which they owed the preservation of their lives. In heaving the ship down, keel out of water, they discovered a large gaping leak, within two streaks of her keel, where she had left about four feet of her sheathing. They stripped off all the rest from that side of her bottom, but found no leak of any signification, till they had stripped the other side, when they had found a few small ones. Her plank was all sound and good, nor did her seams want any oakum, except about seven inches, where the piece of sheathing was lost.

Having refitted this vessel, they left Barbadoes on the 18th of August, and when they had crossed the north-east trade, and come into the way of the variable winds in latitude 29 degrees north, they met with brisk gales at west and south-west, which carried them at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour. September the 22d, they came into soundings of fine sand, eighty fathoms water. The 25th they made the Lizard, and, with a smart gale at south-west, came up the channel.

At day-break, on the 26th, they were abreast of the Isle of Wight, when the wind changed to south-east, and blew so hard, they were obliged to bear away for Portsmouth; and though they made the proper signals, yet no pilot boat would venture off; however, their chief mate being well acquainted with the channel, undertook to carry in the ship, which he safely performed, and at eleven o'clock they anchored in Portsmouth harbour, September 26, 1727, having thus concluded their long and dangerous voyage.

VOYAGES TO, AND SETTLEMENTS IN BRASIL.

BRASIL was discovered by Don Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, by accident, as we have already observed, in the year 1500, and the discovery being thought of too much importance to be neglected, settlements were formed there at various times, and the new colonies flourished amazingly.

In order to facilitate these establishments, the crown had recourse to the making very extensive grants, to such as had either an inclination to settle there, or a power of sending others. Upon this plan it was that some of the chief nobility had lands allotted them, equal in extent to Portugal itself. This was to be improved, and rendered valuable at the expence of others.

John III. king of Portugal, in the year 1549, ungenerously revoked those grants made by his predecessors to the original proprietors.

The same year he sent over Thomas de Sousa, with the title of Governor-General of Brasil, who setting sail with a fleet of six men of war, carried with him a great number of officers, both civil and military; a considerable body of soldiers, and six fathers of the new order of Jesuits, to attempt the conversion of the Indians. He was invested with an entire new plan

of power, adjusted according to the view of the court, was ordered to build a new town in the bay of All Saints, and to take the necessary measures for securing the colony against its enemies.

He arrived in the month of April, and soon began to execute his orders, making war upon the Brasilians, building the town of St. Salvador, and monasteries for the Jesuits.

What this governor could not finish, his successor Edward Acofta, saw compleated; so that in his time, the number of towns as well as inhabitants, was doubled; he strengthened the towns by raising better fortifications, a step that became necessary, because other nations began to think of settling in America, and sharing with the Spaniards and Portuguese the advantages arising from the colonies.

Acofta demolished the old fortifications, which were of earth, raised new ones of brick and stone, and furnished them with artillery. Nor was it long before the expediency of this new method of fortifying was justified by experience, as the French made more than one bold attempt to disturb the Portuguese in the possession of this country.

In the reign of Henry II. of France, the affairs of that

that kingdom were in great confusion; the disputes between the Catholics and Calvinists being carried on to the utmost height; which made numbers of people desirous of leaving their native soil; to seek an easier and more contented situation in a distant country.

Among these was Nicholas Durant, lord of Villegagnon, and knight of Malta, who having served at sea with great reputation, was made vice-admiral of Britany. Though this post was rather honourable than lucrative, it created him so many enemies; and he was so ill treated at Nantes, that he resolved to leave the kingdom, and carry a colony into some distant part of the world; and having received some tolerable accounts of Brasil, he drew up a scheme for fixing a settlement in that country, which he presented to Gasper de Coligny, admiral of France, requesting his assistance towards fitting out a squadron for that purpose.

The admiral therefore represented the affair in such a light to the king, that he obtained permission to fit out three large vessels, which after having taken a sufficient number of adventurers on board, sailed from Havre de Grace in the month of May, 1555, and arrived at Brasil in November following, after a troublesome and dangerous voyage.

At first they landed upon a rock; which they found uninhabitable, but marching farther within land, they fixed upon a very commodious spot of ground, almost under the tropic of Capricorn, where they built a convenient fortress, to secure themselves both against the Portuguese and the natives, and gave it the name of Fort Coligny.

When they were fixed, the Sieur de Villegagnon wrote the admiral a full account of his proceeding and situation: he described the country and its inhabitants: said it would be no difficult matter to maintain themselves there, and make it both a useful and a thriving colony; but remarked that such as were sent over to him must not expect the delicacies of Europe; that they had no other bread but what was made of a certain root ground to powder, no wine, much fish, and some venison; and that people who could content themselves with such provisions, would find a secure retreat at his fort in Brasil.

The admiral, on receipt of this letter, communicated it to the famous John Calvin of Geneva, who prevailed on a dozen zealous protestants of that city, to engage in the design of improving this new settlement. One Du Pont, a person of character and good sense, undertook the conducting this affair, in conjunction with two ministers, Peter Richer, who had formerly been a Carmelite, and William Chartier, both of them good men, but very great zealots.

These set out together from Geneva in the month of September, 1556, and went to Chatillon, where they were kindly received by the admiral, and by his assistance, joined to their own interest, they soon collected 300 men, who embarked at Houfleur on board three ships about the middle of November following.

They arrived at Fort Coligny on the 7th of March, 1557, and were received with great joy and satisfaction. But it was not long that things continued in this state, for the Sieur de Villegagnon and the Minister Richer, fell out about religion, and their disputes rose to such a height, that he drove Richer and all his adherents out of the colony, upon which they sailed up the Rio Janeiro, and established themselves upon the continent, where they remained about eight months, and then, being weary of the country, returned to France, where they did not fail to represent the Sieur de Villegagnon in the blackest colours, as an apostate and hypocrite; on which the admiral, who had no other view than serving the protestant cause by this establishment, finding the end not likely to be answered, determined to give himself no farther concern about it.

The Sieur de Villegagnon finding himself thus abandoned, lost all patience, and taking the best methods he was able for the protection of the colony in his

absence, he returned to France, where he published an apology for his own conduct, in which he painted the ministers in as bad a light as they had placed him; but finding no good consequences arose from this proceeding, he retired to a commandary of his own order, and spent the rest of his days in writing against the Protestants.

The Portuguese in the mean time, seized this opportunity, to rid themselves of their new neighbours, and the very next year, Emanuel Sa, then governor of Brasil, cut off the French that were left behind, and destroyed their fort.

After this the Portuguese continued to enjoy their settlements quietly for a considerable time; till at length, a French Captain, named Riffaut, who had been cruising on the Spaniards, happened to touch at the island of Marignan, on the Coast of Brasil, and contracted so great an intimacy with the Indian Chief of the island, that he invited him to bring a sufficient number of his countrymen, to fix a settlement there, which he assured him would turn out to good account, and that he would assist him to the utmost of his power.

The French captain readily embraced this offer, and returning to France, he, in the year 1549, found means to fit out three ships, so effectually, that there was just grounds to hope for extraordinary success from the expedition: but before he could reach the intended island, his men mutinied several times, and on his arrival on the coast of it, either by accident, or by quarrels among his people, the largest of the three ships ran on shore and was lost, which obliged him to return to France, but some few of his people, among whom was M. de Vaux, chose to remain with the natives, who gladly accepted their company.

In the mean time the Dutch resolving to come in for a share in the new settlement equipped a strong squadron, under Admiral Willikins, and entering the Bay of All Saints, took St. Salvador, the capital of Brasil; but Philip the fourth, King of Spain and Portugal, caused a large fleet to be sent out, which arriving safe in the bay, found the town already blocked up by a land army. The garrison mutinied and the governor was obliged to surrender.

However, the Dutch determined not thus to abandon their design. In 1630, they again made good their footing on that continent, though not without some difficulty: the town of Olinda was now in possession of their countrymen, but closely blocked up by the famous Alberquerque. In the mean time Admiral Pater was informed that a Spanish and Portuguese fleet was at sea.

The Dutch admiral had but sixteen vessels; but jealous of the honour of his country, he was determined to fight at any rate; and therefore resolved not to wait for, but meet the enemy, which he accordingly did, in six degrees south latitude. As soon as they appeared in sight, the Dutch fleet seeing how unequal the dispute was likely to prove, ten of their captains bore away, and left the admiral with six ships only, to fight an enemy of almost ten times his number.

Admiral Pater had two flags under him, who, to their immortal honour, were two of those who staid with him; so that to six ships there were three admirals.

The engagement was long and bloody: several of the Portuguese vessels were sunk, and it plainly appeared, that if the other ten ships had staid, victory would have declared for the Dutch: but at length Admiral Thys, in the Prince William, was sunk, and not long after, a Portuguese man of war discharging a broad-side at the Dutch admiral, a ball fell into the powder-room, by which the ship was blown up, and that brave man lost. On which, the four Dutch ships that remained retired, but did it with so much courage and address, that they not only arrived safe at Olinda, but likewise carried off a Portuguese man of war they had taken.

On Admiral D'Oquendo's arriving on the Coast of Brasil, he contented himself with sending refreshments

ments and reinforcements to the army of Albuquerque, but made no attempt against the city of Olinda, and consequently left things little better than he found them; which he excused from the great loss he had suffered in battle, amounting in the whole, to no less than thirteen sail, taken and sunk.

In the month of October, he set sail for Lisbon, but in his passage met with four Dutch men of war, who did not hesitate to attack him, though he had still 40 sail, and most of them large ships. D'Oquendo in this engagement, lost the captain of his own ship, and twenty-two other captains, besides his vice-admiral, three men of war, two frigates, and about seven hundred private men; so that he carried home the remains of a fleet, unfortunate from the beginning; and yet without any impeachment of his own character; the blame falling entirely upon the ministers, who had obliged him, notwithstanding his remonstrances, to sail, with ships which were not above half manned or equipped. The ministers unable to remedy this misfortune, declared themselves willing to do all in their power to repair it; and therefore orders were given for providing a larger fleet, and for equipping and manning thereof in a proper manner; the command of which, was given to Don Fredrick de Toledo, who had acquired great reputation; but after abundance of pains being taken, it was found that nothing could be done that season, and therefore it was deferred till the following spring; when it was determined to send such a force as should put an end to the war at once: but as it was far easier to project fine schemes, than to execute them; so, notwithstanding this famous admiral actually proceeded on his voyage with a large fleet, every way well provided, yet he effected so little, that authors have not even recorded the particulars of what he did.

From this time the Dutch arms were very prosperous in Brasil, and the amazing success they meet with was such as to induce the natives of Siara, one of the most northern captainships to declare for the Dutch, and offered to assist them against the Portuguese, upon a promise of being left to the enjoyment of their freedom: whereupon a body of troops being sent to join them, under Capt. Gartman, he, with the assistance of a Brazilian prince, reduced that whole district.

Count Maurice now resolved to put in execution the repeated orders he had received from the West India company, for attacking St. Salvador in the bay of All Saints, which was esteemed the capital of Brasil: wherefore he embarked all the forces he could collect at Olinda, and on the 8th of April, 1638. landed with them in the bay of All Saints, thinking to have surprised the Portuguese: but the count de Banjola, being in the neighbourhood with a small body of regular troops, threw himself into the place, though the governor of it was his enemy; and it was on the enmity subsisting between them that count Maurice founded his hopes of success.

Count Maurice attacked, and without much difficulty made himself master of the strong fort of Albert, that of St. Bartholomew, and the famous castle of St. Philip. This success encouraged him to erect two batteries, to attack at the same time Fort Roses, which covered the city on one side, and a horn work, which was its principal strength on the other. Between these there was a piece of ground covered with shrubs and bushes, where count Banjola advised the governor to post himself with four hundred men, while he made a sally. This had the intended effect; for after an obstinate dispute, the Dutch, endeavouring to retire through that piece of ground, were attacked in the rear; and besides three hundred of their best men, lost four officers of distinction, and their principal engineer; upon which Count Maurice abandoned the castles he had taken, and made a hasty retreat.

The Spanish government having in the mean time, received an exact account of the state of affairs in Brasil, came to a resolution of repairing their late mistakes, by sending thither such a fleet and army, as should effectually put an end to the war, by obliging the Dutch to abandon all their conquests.

However the vigilance of the Count de las Torres was such, that he put to sea with a fleet of ninety sail, large and small, with 12000 men on board, in the month of January 1640.

Count Maurice, on the other hand, having assembled 41 men of war, waited for the enemy within four miles of Olinda under the Count, this last fleet was commanded by William Loos, a Dutch admiral of distinguished bravery. The fleets meeting on the 12th of the same month, between the island of Tamara and the river Gojana, fought from one in the afternoon till night; the Dutch in this engagement lost four men, one of whom was their Admiral Loos; but he was replaced the next day, by James Huyghens, who engaging the Spanish fleet a second time, obtained considerable advantages.

At length after many struggles on the 13th of June, 1641, they signed a league offensive and defensive, regarding the dominions of both states in Europe, and a truce for ten years in the East and West Indies: it was also stipulated, that commissioners should meet in eight months in order to conclude a definitive treaty of peace, and to settle the pretensions of both parties: but the Dutch took care to provide, that if this treaty should prove ineffectual, the truce and free trade between both states should still continue; only the Portuguese should be restricted from exporting any of the commodities of Brasil into Holland, and the Dutch were to be under the like restrictions respecting the dominions of Portugal.

Nevertheless there were continual bickerings between the two states in this part of the world, till affairs were reduced to the situation which they now remain. The country disputed being in possession of the Portuguese.

The country of Brasil may be reckoned 2000 miles from east to west, and 2500 from north to south, tho' even to this day the Portuguese have hardly penetrated 500 miles in any part of it.

The northern parts of the country, which lie near the equator, are subject to great rains and variable winds, more especially about the months of March and September, when they were frequently disturbed by most dreadful hurricanes and tempests, which laying the country under water, render it very unwholesome.

The part of Brasil which lies to the south, is one of the finest countries in the world, in every respect: but the Portuguese dominions are but narrow in this part, being bounded by the Spanish territories on the river of Plate.

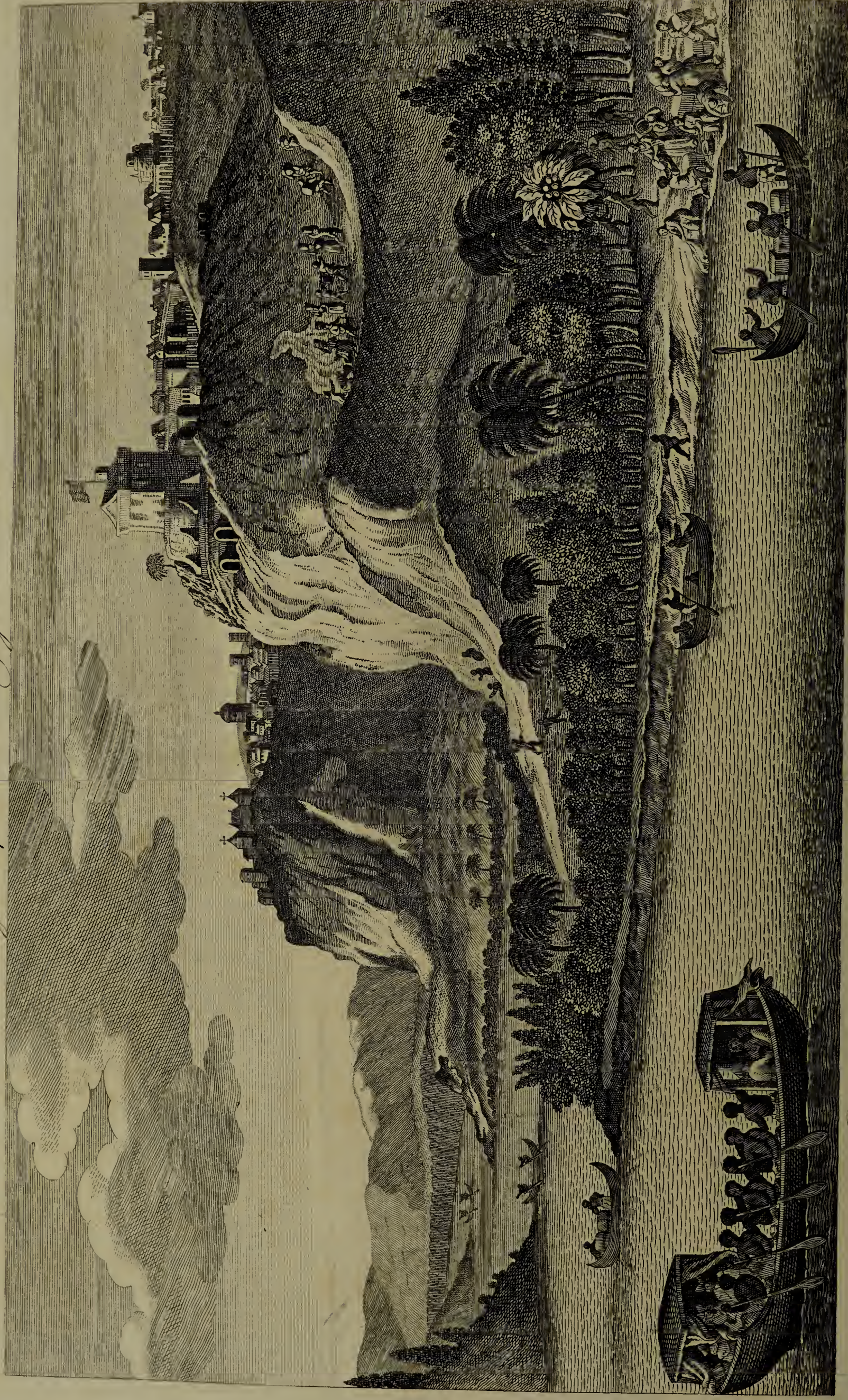
The native Brasilians differ very little in stature or complexion from the Portuguese: but they greatly exceed them in the strength, robustness and vigour of their bodies. Some of them lived on plains, some in villages, and others moved from place to place according to their fancies. Their villages consisted only of three or four large houses, not unlike our barns, in which a whole family or tribe lived together, under the authority of the eldest parent.

From the time the Dutch abandoned Brasil, the Portuguese have suffered no ships to trade thither, except their own. All the trade of the five northern captainships, viz. Paria, Maragnan, Siara, Rio Grande, and Paraiba, is carried on at the last mentioned port, which lies on a river of the same name, at the distance of about five leagues from the sea.

Paraiba is a fine and well peopled town, and there are annually seven or eight ships sent thither from Lisbon and Oporto, of the burden of 200 tons each. Their lading consists chiefly of sugar, of which they make more in the northern captainships than in the south: especially since the discovery of the gold mines which has made the southern inhabitants negligent with regard to cultivation.

The sugar of Brasil was the first that was brought to Europe, the Portuguese having erected their works in this country as early as the year 1580; and their being so long in possession of it, has made them more careful in the management of their sugar than any other

Engraved for Moore's Voyages and Travels.



View of S^t SALVADOR, a City of South America.

other nation; so that even now the clayed sugars from Brasil, are finer and whiter than ours; and yet the method of preparing it is no secret.

They also bring woods for the dyers use; several kinds of drugs, precious stones, and other valuable commodities from Paraiba, which is the least frequented port of Brasil; however, these northern captainships are best peopled, and their inhabitants are easy in their circumstances, though there has been as yet no mines worked in those parts, notwithstanding some Spanish writers affirm, that from the appearance of the soil on the sides of the mountains, it is highly probable they are rich in silver.

The Brasil tree grows in dry barren places, and among rocks, is very large and thick, and the timber is generally crooked and knotty. It bears flowers of a very beautiful bright red, which have a very fragrant smell, and instead of hurting, as most perfumes do, it cherishes and strengthens the brain. Though the tree is very large, it is covered with so thick a bark, that when the Brasilians have stripped it off, a tree as thick as a man's body, is left no thicker than the calf of his leg. The wood is very heavy, dry and hard; it cracks much in the fire, but scarce raises any smoke. That which is the thickest, foundest, and hardest, is esteemed the best.

The Bay of Bahia, or as the Portuguese call it, the Bay of All Saints, is about 12 leagues over; but in several places is scarcely navigable, on account of shoals and sand-banks. In this bay there are several small islands, on which the Portuguese have plantations of tobacco and sugar, and they have likewise very good fisheries on the coasts of the islands, and on the banks.

The city of St. Salvador is a fortified town. It lies at the entrance of the bay in 14 degrees south latitude, and is at present the centre of the Portuguese trade in this part of the world. It has a very fine port, which by a little industry, might be rendered more commodious.

St. Salvador is at present the seat of an archbishop, and is divided into upper and lower. We shall begin with describing the latter, in which reside all the merchants and people of business; and perhaps there is not in the world a place of its size of greater trade. It lies at the foot of a hill which is extremely steep. There is in it a royal arsenal, besides the king's warehouses and magazines, which are large, well filled, and kept in excellent order. There is likewise a very fine yard for building of ships, which are not only built here at less expence than in Europe, but are more serviceable than European vessels, because the timber has the peculiar advantage of the worms being unable to penetrate it.

The upper town is seated on the summit of a hill; the houses are large, and tolerably convenient; but the inequality of the ground on which they stand, spoils their appearance, and renders the streets very disagreeable. The great square is in the middle of the town, and the four sides of this square are taken up with the viceroy's palace, the town-house, the mint, and other public buildings, which are built of stone brought from Portugal, this country producing none fit for the purpose.

All other captainships which lie farther to the south, carry on their trade by the Rio Janeiro, so called from its having been discovered in the month of January, in which is at present one of the most considerable rivers in the world. The banks of it are as beautiful and pleasant as can be imagined; the climate fine; the soil is strongly fertile, producing sugar, indigo, tobacco and cotton, all in great perfection. It has been likewise found that European corn will grow there with very little trouble; but on account of the gold mines, this and all other improvements have been discouraged, though independent of those mines, this might be considered as the richest part of Brasil.

The city of St. Sebastian, is the capital of this country. There are several other considerable towns on the Rio Janeiro; all of which have a large share

of trade, as appears from the number of ships sent thither every year from Portugal.

The king's fifth of the gold returned annually from Brasil to Lisbon, is about 300,000*l.* sterling, so that the whole return is about a million and a half, to which, if we add what is privately brought to Europe without paying the duty, and which is exchanged with the Spaniards for silver, we may very reasonably suppose that the annual produce of the Brazilian gold, is not less than two millions.

The captainship of St. Vincent lies southward from that of Rio Janeiro; it is bounded on the north by the new captainship of Rio; on the south by the new captainship, or that called Del Rey; on the east by the ocean, and on the west by the mountains of La Plata, and countries inhabited by various savage nations.

The town of St. Vincent is situated in a very fine bay of the Atlantic ocean, and is a well fortified place. Not far from the north-west lies the town of Santos, which some esteem the capital of the province, and which is as fine a port as any in the West-Indies.

The captainship of Del Rey is the only one to the southward of St. Vincent. It extends from the latitude of 28 to 34 degrees 30 minutes south, being about 400 miles in length, but not above 100 broad in any part of it.

Their method of reckoning up their age is singular enough, they lay by a chestnut every year, beginning the computation of the years with the rising of a star called Tacu, or the rain star.

Persons of the blood royal are distinguished by their hair cut in a particular form, and by long thumb-nails, which latter is peculiar to the king, princes of the blood being allowed long nails on their fingers, but not on their thumbs.

The people in the inland parts of Brasil acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom they call Tuba, which signifies "Somewhat most excellent;" and they call thunder by the name of Tubakununga, that is, "a noise made by the Supreme Excellence." They have likewise some imperfect ideas of the general deluge.

With regard to futurity, they are of opinion that the soul does not die with the body, but is conveyed to certain pleasant vales beyond the mountains, where they are to spend their time in singing and dancing, and to enjoy the greatest pleasures; but these rewards are only for those who have distinguished themselves in performing great actions for the welfare of their country, &c. On the contrary, those who have lived an idle life, they say will be tormented by evil spirits, for whom they have many different names, and of whom they are extremely afraid.

These people have priests among them, whom they consider as prophetic instructors, and whom they fail not to consult in all affairs of consequence, especially those of war.

Brasil, as our author observes, besides leopards, tigers, and ounces, has some animals peculiar to the country, of which the following are the most remarkable.

The tapirousson, which though somewhat resembling a cow, differs much from that animal in other respects; it has long horns of a reddish colour, short neck, and long hanging ears, small legs, and does not divide the hoof. The flesh tastes like beef. The hide when dry is almost impenetrable.

The cauti is somewhat like a badger; it is cruel and ravenous, and devours every creature it can master, though its chief food is birds and their eggs, and young serpents.

The porcupine is also a native of this country, where it is called Kuandu; it is about the size of an ape, with round, staring fiery eyes. It is covered with quills instead of hair. Its chief food is fowl. The flesh of the porcupine is eaten by the Brasilians.

The Armadilla is so called from being completely covered

covered with scales like armour. The head is like that of a hog, and it has a sharp nose and a small sharp tongue, with short ears of a dark brown colour; it feeds upon roots and also upon all sorts of carrion.

The sluggard (or sloth) is about the size of a fox: its head is round; and its mouth is constantly foaming, its teeth is small and blunt, and its nose is high and smooth, its body is covered with hair of an ashen colour. It scarcely moves but by compulsion, dwells on trees, and hides itself from the approach of rain.

The senembi or land crocodile is common in Brasil. Its flesh is said to taste like that of a rabbit.

The tamendua or ant bear, feeds on these insects which it is said to catch by leaving out its long tongue, till a number of them settle on it, and then drawing them in all at once.

Here are found variety of beautiful parrots, one species in particular (called the Tuin) which though scarcely bigger than a sparrow, is perpetually talking and singing, and will feed out of the mouth of the person who breeds it.

The bird called the Guiranheugetta is about the size of a Goldfinch: its wings and back are blue, its belly and breast yellow, and it has a diadem of yellow feathers upon its head. It has the notes of many other sorts of birds, and makes so great a variety of turnings and changes in its singing, that it forms a perfect concert of itself.

Brasil produces a kind of bats of the size of a crow, which have very sharp teeth, and bite with great violence. These build nests in old walls, or in hollow trees.

The bill-bird is about the size of a pigeon, and has a saffron coloured crop about the neck, of three or four fingers in compass. Its bill, which is full as large as its whole body, is yellow on the outside, and red within; and its feathers, which are yellow on the breast, and black on all other parts, are tipped with red.

There is a bird of a very odd appearance, called the Barn bird. Its bill is of a most amazing length; it has a crown of green and white feathers upon its head, one half of which, together with half the neck, has no feathers at all. It is about the size of a stork, and when skinned and boiled, is esteemed tolerable good food.

Many sorts of wild fowl are also found here, which differ but little from those of Europe. Among the small birds, the Brazilian humming-bird is the most remarkable, for though very small, it makes a loud noise, and is of so variable a hue, that whatever way it is turned it changes its colour.

Among the different kinds of serpents found in Brasil, is the rattle snake, which is also common among the English settlements, but the most remarkable is the guaku or liboya, a serpent of a most prodigious size, of a voracious nature, and will leap out of the hedges upon men or wild beasts. However it is not so venomous as other serpents, and the flesh of it is esteemed tolerable food.

The gekko is a serpent of a most venomous nature, and the bite of it proves mortal, unless the wounded part be immediately cut off or burnt with a hot iron.

The scorpions of this country grow to a very large size, and their sting is venomous.

The lizards of Brasil, which are about four feet in length, are eaten with safety by the natives.

Among the spiders of this country, there is one sort of a remarkable large size, which is usually found in dunghills, or the cavities of hollow trees. These weave webbs like other spiders; and if provoked, they wound with a sting so small as to be scarcely visible, and yet so venomous, that it raises a bluish swelling, which is extremely painful; and if not prevented by a speedy antidote, will even prove mortal.

Among the vegetables of Brasil, is the mandioca root; from which the Brasilians derive a great part of their subsistence; for being dried, powdered, and afterwards baked in the manner of bread, it serves for the common food of the inhabitants of a good part of America. This root is not unlike a parsnip, is nearly the thickness of a man's arm, and two or three feet in length. It has this peculiar quality belonging to it; that when eaten fresh, it proves a certain poison to the human species; but when roasted, the eating of it is not attended with the least ill consequence; and though beasts of all kinds feed and grow fat upon it, yet the juice proves pernicious to them as well as men.

The nara likewise is very remarkable; it bears a resemblance to the sempervivum; but its leaves are not so thick and full of prickles. In the middle of it there grows a fruit not unlike a pine-apple, which has something of the taste of the melon, but is much more delicious, and has a very fragrant smell.

The pocaire is a shrub of ten or twelve feet in height, the stem of which is considerably thicker than a man's thigh, and yet so tender, that one stroke of a sword will cut it asunder. The leaves are like those of water sorrel; they are commonly six feet in length, and very broad, but are exceedingly thin, and have only a rib in the middle to hold them together; on which account they are so torn by the winds blowing them about, that they hang in rags, and these shrubs when seen at a distance, look as if they were stuck with feathers. The fruit, which is called poco, is about the length of a man's hand, and like a cucumber both in shape and colour. The taste of it resembles that of a fig, but its delicacy is far superior.

Here is also great plenty of ananas, or pine-apples, which, when ripe, are in this country, as yellow as gold, and of a very fine scent. Their taste is superior to that of the richest preserved fruits, and the liquor drawn from them is as good as malmsy wine.

The pacoba, which is likewise called Adam's fig-tree, is very large; the stalks are soft and spongy, and the leaves very long, smooth, and soft like velvet. The fruit grows in clusters like figs, at about a foot distance upon the main stalk, and one cluster often contains two hundred. The fruit being gathered before it is quite ripe, and laid by to ripen, becomes yellow, and acquires a pleasant taste.

Brasil produces several sorts of palm, and other fruit trees, likewise mulberries and dew berries, together with woods of various colours.

In effect, the greater part of this country is represented by voyagers as a paradise of nature, and well worth the contest which it so long occasioned between two powerful states. The Portuguese are at this time sensible that in carrying their point, they have gained a most valuable acquisition.

VOYAGES TO GREENLAND, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE WHALE FISHERY.

THE same spirit of discovery which animated the Portuguese, spreading among other nations. Attempts were made at various times for the discovery of a passage by the north-east and north-west to the Indies.

Among the rest, the English were not backward. In the year 1553, under the reign of Edward IV. several persons of consequence entered into a society, which they called, The Company for the Discovery of

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



J. Lodge del et sculp.

View of the **WHALE FISHERY, &c. in Greenland.**

of unknown Countries. The chief director of this company, was the famous Sebastian Cabot, who under the reign of King Henry VII. first discovered the northern part of America; from whence in some antient maps that part is called Sebastian Cabot's country.

This company equipped three ships, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, an English knight, and Richard Chancellour, vice-commodore, with orders to endeavour to find out a passage to the north-east through the Tartarean sea to China.

These three ships pursued their voyage together, without any sinister accident, till they came to the height of Wardhuis and Lapland, where Richard Chancellour was separated from the rest by foggy and stormy weather.

In the mean time Sir Hugh Willoughby, after he had been tossed up and down for a long time, did at last (according to the diary writ by his own hand) viz. on the 14th of August, come to an anchor near a country situate under the 72d degree, which country since has been stiled in many maps, Sir Hugh Willoughby's country. From thence he pursued his voyage along those coasts, till the sudden approaching winter obliged him to enter a certain harbour, there to pass the winter. At last, he himself was found frozen to death, with the crew of his two ships, consisting of 70 persons, in an obscure harbour of Lapland, called Arcina Kecea, being discovered by some Russian fishermen, who accidentally came that way. His corps being brought home and honourably interred in London.

The English ships trading to Muscovy becoming thereby acquainted with those northern coasts, had observed a great number of sea-horses in those seas: so that several ships were sent out from England to catch them, chiefly for their teeth sake, which were sold at a very dear rate in Muscovy.

It was in the year 1593, that the English sent the first time their ships to catch those sea-horses. They landed in an island, called by the Dutch the island of Bears; by the English, Cherry-Isle, from one of the chief directors of their company. The sea-horses are in great numbers thereabouts, of which they killed a great many, kept their teeth and made oil out of their flesh. Which trade they continued with great advantage for several years after.

But in process of time the sea-horses began to be shy, that as soon as they perceived any men they got into the sea, which rendering the catching of those beasts the more difficult, and subject to great danger, the whales began to be pursued by the industrious mariners.

In the year 1612, the English sent two ships more thither, who meeting with a Dutch vessel which was sent thither upon the same errand, they obliged them to return home without any booty.

The next following year, 1613, they pursued the same design with more vigour than before: for having obtained a patent from king James, forbidding all others, as well foreigners as natives (except the Muscovia companies) to sail to Spitsbergen; they equipped seven men of war, wherewith they chased the Dutch, French, those of Biscay, and even the English themselves that were interlopers, from thence.

In the year 1614, the Dutch and Zelanders appeared near Spitsbergen with eight stout vessels, under convoy of four frigates of 30 guns each: so that the English, who were but 15 strong, durst not enter into dispute with them at that time. The same happened the next following year, 1615.

In the next following two years the English had the better of the Dutch; but in the year 1618, the Zelanders came with a strong squadron, and disputing the preference with the English, plundered their ships, and forced them to retreat.

The contest betwixt these two nations continued for some years after, till both sides being weary of it, the passage thither was left free and open to all nations.

Spitsbergen is the most northern part of the world, which hitherto is come to our knowledge, being situated betwixt Nova Zembla and Greenland, and extends from 76 to the 80th degree. It is called Spitsbergen from its high and piqued mountains which are seen at sea. These mountains are of a coarse sand, intermixed with small flat stones like our slates, and consequently have no firm bottom.

The country itself is uninhabited, but affords three several kinds of four leg'd beasts, viz. white bears, not inferior in bulk and strength to our oxen, they live for the most part upon the ice. Besides these, there are likewise foxes here, grey, white and black; and rein-deer, somewhat smaller than a stag, but very like them in shape, and every thing else, only their horns are not so smooth. Their food is a certain green moss, inclining to a yellowish colour, which sprouts out among the sand and stones, being for the rest not unlike that which grows upon trees. Some are of opinion, that deeper in the country there grows some grass: and probably there may be some hot springs there, and perhaps also some grounds not so much exposed to the snow, which affords some sustenance in winter to those beasts.

In the beginning of June, when the foreign ships commonly make their first appearance on these coasts, the country all over (as far as one can see) covered with snow; and the rein-deers are so lean, that they can scarce hang together; but in six weeks after, when the snow is melted away, they thrive to that degree, that they have two inches fat on their ribs. They do not fly from men, but rather meet them, and that so near, that sometimes one may lay hold of them, or at least cannot fail to hit them with a gun; at the noise of which the rest disperse, but return soon after to the same place.

The country is exceeding cold; and though the whole summer is but one continued day, the sun not going below the horizon for six weeks together; yet is this but a slender allay to the cold, which is there the more fierce, the more clear the sky appears, as may be likewise observed with us in winter-time; the mountains especially send forth such cold damps as are intolerable. The air is frequently foggy here, to such a degree, that one cannot discern any thing at the length of a ship; so that nothing but a thirst after lucre could induce mankind to expose themselves to so many inconveniences.

There are several kinds of whales in the frozen sea, not to speak here of some sea-monsters, which are mentioned by some upon the very credit of the mariners who pretend to have seen them. The whales may be conveniently divided into the white and black ones. The black are again of two different kinds; for some have only one hole or pipe, and those are all one sort; out of the head of those are taken the matter which is called by the apothecaries Spermaceti; others have two, and those are again distinguished by their different degrees of bigness. The biggest kind is called Grand Bay; the rest are subdivided into five different sorts, all which agree in this, that they have no fins on their backs. There is one kind which is never found without them, and for that reason has got the name of Fin-fish, but being a fierce beast, and commonly very lean, is not so much sought for. The white whales are so called, because their backs are covered with a number of white cockle-shells.

Every nation has its own station or harbour, where they have fixed their coppers, huts, and other instruments, fitted for the boiling of the whale oil, which are always kept behind.

The manner of catching and killing of the whale is performed thus: As soon as they espy a whale, either from the shore or ship, they put out three shallops, manned with six men each, among whom is one, who being called the harpioneer, is the person who is first to wound the whale with his harpoon. Those three shallops row as fast as possible they can after the whale, but must be very cautious they do

not come too near his tail; when they come pretty near him, they are as silent, and make as little noise with their oars, as possibly they can, for fear the whale should take to the bottom of the sea. When they are near enough, the harpioneer of one of these shallops, who believes himself to see within reach, throws his harpoon at him with all his force; this harpoon is about three feet long, having on both sides hooks or notches to prevent its being torn out again, after it is once fixed in the body of the whale; it has a wooden handle, the better to balance it for the convenience of throwing, and a line fastened at the end, which being about two hundred fathoms long, is laid in a vessel in the shallop; for no sooner the whale finds himself wounded, but with incredible swiftness he goes towards the bottom of the sea: so that the line smoaks, being rubbed against the side of the shallop, and would certainly take fire if the men did not constantly pour water upon it. There is also one whose business it is to take care that the line be not entangled: for if that should happen, they have nothing to do but to cut the line, or else it would overset the shallop. If they find one of these lines fall short, those of the next shallop furnish them with theirs, which they fasten to it: but all this would stand them in little stead, if the nature of this fish were such as to abide long under water; whereas after he has run some hundred fathoms deep, he is forced to come up again to take breath, at which time he sends forth such a terrible sound through his pipes, that it may be heard at half a league distance, though some make a much greater noise than others. As soon as the fish appears upon the surface of the water, the shallops pursue him, being directed by the line which shews them the way. The harpioneer, who comes first nearest to him, throws another harpoon into his body, which makes him once more take towards the bottom, but after he comes up again the second time, they do not make any further use of the harpoons, but of certain small pikes, not unlike a lance, of which there are two sorts, throwing-lances and pushing-lances. The throwing-lances resemble an arrow, and are used much in the same manner, but have no hooks at the end; for they are thrown into the body of the whale, and drawn out again, the intention of which is to tire the fish by so many wounds, till they dare venture at him with pushing-lances; for whilst he is in his full strength no body dares come near him, for whatever he hits with his tail and fins, he batters in pieces, as has been seen sometimes in some shallops, which have been torn in flitters, and the men thrown up to a great height into the air. When they find him almost tired, and his strength considerably abated, they draw nearer to him, and make use of the other lances, which resembles our pikes; with those they wound him, but especially near the fins, where this creature is most sensible; and this they hold so long till they have hit his lungs or liver, at which time the fish spouts out a great quantity of blood through the pipes, which rises into the air as high as the mast; then they desist, and the fish finding himself wounded in so sensible a part, begins to rage most furiously, battering the sea and his body with his fins and tail, till the sea is all in a foam; and when he strikes his fins against his body, and his tail at the waves, it may be heard at half a league distance, the sound being no less than if a great cannon was discharged. This struggling affords so agreeable a spectacle to the beholders, that those who have seen it assure us, that they could never be tired with the sight of it. Whilst the whale is making his last efforts, the shallops are obliged to follow him sometimes for two leagues together, till having lost all his strength, he turns upon one side, and as soon as he is dead upon his back; then they draw him with ropes either on shore (if he be near Spitsbergen) or else to the ship, where he is kept so long till he rises above the water; for the first day he lies almost even with the surface of the water, the second, he rises about six or seven feet above it, and the third, sometimes as high as the

hides of the ship. On board each ship there is one, whose business it is to open the fish, who after he has put on his garment for that purpose, cuts open his belly with a very large knife, which is not done without a roaring noise, and an intolerable smell sent forth from the entrails of this beast; but notwithstanding, the man proceeds in this business, separating the flesh from the bones by pieces of two or three hundred weight, which are conveyed thus either on shore, or on board the vessel, where they are cut again in smaller pieces.

The tail of this creature serves for a hacking-block, being so very nervous and strong, that it exceeds any wood whatsoever for this use. Being thus cut into small pieces, those who have their settlements at Spitsbergen, extracts the oil immediately by boiling it on shore, which being put into barrels, is thus transported to the respective places to which the ships belong. But those who want this convenience, and go only on board to catch the whales in the open sea, are forced to put up these pieces in barrels, which they carry home, and boil them after the same manner as they do at Spitsbergen; but this is of less value than the other, as having a very disagreeable scent.

The whale, when full grown, is of a most enormous bulk, and produces besides spermaceti, many puncheons of oil. Another valuable part is the whalebone, which is sold to great advantage. This fish is viviparous, the female bringing forth her young like quadrupeds.

Greenland is called that country lying to the utmost point of the north, which extends from south to east, from Cape Fare through the Mare Glaciale, or Frozen Sea, as far as Spitsbergen and Nova Zembla. Some are of opinion, that it joins to Great Tartary, but without any certain reason. To the east it borders on the Frozen Sea; to the south upon the ocean; to the west upon Hudson's Straights, by which it is separated from America, and its bounds to the north are unknown hitherto. Some are of opinion that it is on the same continent with America, because the supposed streights, called Davis's Straights, have since been found to be no more than a bay; but Captain Monk, who attempted the same passage, gives us no great reason to believe that it is separated from America, as will plainly appear from his own relation.

A certain Norweigan gentlemen of considerable quality, called Torwald, and his son Erick, having committed several murders, were forced to fly to Ireland. Torwald died soon after, and his son Erick, surnamed Red-Hair, being of a turbulent spirit, and being prosecuted on the account of another murder committed there, went to sea in quest of a country, which lying west off of Ireland, was called Gundebuurn; he was not long at sea before he discovered two promontories, one of which jetted out into the sea from the continent, the other from an island very near to the shore. The promontory on the island was called Witskercken, that on the continent Warf: betwixt both is a good bay, where there is safe riding at anchor: unto this he gave the name of Sand Stavn. The promontory of Witskercken exceeds the other both in height and circumference. Erick Red hair called this promontory of the island Muckla Jockel; which is as much as to say, the Great Ice Shoal; afterwards it got the name of Blowsercken, which is as much as Blue-shirt; and lastly it was called Witskercken, or White-shirt, questionless from the colour of the ice and snow, which covers a great part of it all the year round. Erick's first landing place was in the isle which he called Ericksun, where he passed the first winter.

The next spring he passed over to the continent, where meeting with some grass he gave it the name of Greenland, the place where he landed was called by him Ericsforden, near which he built a castle, called Osterburg. About the fall of the leaf he built another towards the west, unto which accordingly he gave the name of Westburgh. The next winter he passed

over to Ericksfuh, and the following summer again to the north of Greenland; where he met with great rocks, which he called snowrocks; and not far from thence found a good harbour, to which, by reason of the great number of ravens he saw thereabout, he gave the name of Ravensforden. This harbour lies directly north from Ericksforden, which is to the south, being separated from one another by a branch of the sea.

Erick, after he had continued three years in those parts, took a resolution to go over into Iceland; where he gave such an advantageous account of the good pasturage, and plenty of cattle, fish and fowl of his new found country, that a great many of the inhabitants embarked themselves to follow him into Greenland.

The Danish chronicle assures us, that the posterity of Erick and his followers multiplied considerably in Greenland; and that advancing deeper into the country, they met with fertile ground, good pastures, and springs of fresh water. They divided it into eastern and western Greenland, according to the situation of the two before mentioned castles. In the eastern Greenland they built a city called Garde, whither the Norwegians used to come every year to traffic with the inhabitants. Afterwards they built another city, unto which they gave the name of Alb, (and being great zealots) laid the foundation of a monastery dedicated to St. Thomas, at a small distance from the sea-shore. The city of Garde was the episcopal residence; where the cathedral was dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron of sea-faring men.

In the year 1343, whether it is that the people were swept away by some epidemical distemper, or from what other cause is uncertain, the connexion with Greenland (commonly called Old Greenland) was lost, and some affirm, the country itself has never been found by any European.

Christian IV. King of Denmark, being desirous to find out a passage between Greenland and America, to facilitate the voyage to the East Indies; ordered one Captain Monck, a person of great bravery, to sail with two stout ships to the Streights, which were not many years before discovered by one Mr. Hudson, an Englishman.

This Mr. Hudson having been several times before on the northern coasts, was at last prevailed upon by some English merchants to try his fortune, whether he could find out a passage between Greenland and America to the East Indies; accordingly he set sail from England with one ship only, in the year 1610, and passing along the coast of Greenland, was, what with the fogs, and what with storms forced into a strait passage, which at last brought him into an open sea, which made him begin to conceive certain hopes that he had been so fortunate as to be the discoverer of the said passage. But after he had, for a considerable time, cruised up and down this sea, without being able to discover the desired passage, he resolved (contrary to the opinion of the rest) to pass the winter thereabouts, though he was not sufficiently stored with provisions for so long a time; and they must infallibly have perished for want of food, if they had not met with several sorts of birds, and among the rest with white partridges, of which they caught above an hundred dozen; and these leaving that part of the country towards the spring, they were in their stead supplied with swans, ducks, geese, and other such like water-fowl, which were easily caught. Besides, they met with a certain tree there of a miraculous nature, its leaves being green, inclining to yellow, had a strong taste of spice, and being boiled, afforded a balsamic oil; the decoction itself being a present remedy against the scurvy, the sciatica, and other distempers occasioned by cold and viscous humours. The approaching spring furnished them with such store of fish, as would be sufficient to freight the whole ship, if Mr. Hudson had not been more intent upon his intended discovery than any thing else; which however, not being able to effect, he saw himself under the necessity of bending his course back to

England. In the mean while there happened a mutiny against the captain, carried on by one Green, his clerk, who being educated by him, but by reason of his misbehaviour was threatened, as well as some other of the ships crew who had been wanting in their duty, and dreading the punishment, forced his cabin, from whence they took him and his son, and putting them and seven more in a shallop, committed them to the mercy of the sea. One Philip Staff, a carpenter and a good seaman would not stay behind with those villains; but chose rather to go along with his captain. What became of them is wholly unknown; though it is probable they either perished for want of food; or else were murdered by the savages. The same fate attended the ring-leaders of this mutiny, who were slain by the savages; the rest arrived not till the following year 1611, on the 6th of September, in England; after they had suffered severely for want of provisions, being forced to live upon grass, and the skins of birds, the flesh they had eaten long before.

To return to Captain Monck, who set sail from the sound with two ships; one manned with forty-eight men, the other with sixteen, on the 16th of May, in the year 1619. He arrived on the 20th of June near Cape Farewel, being very rocky, covered with ice and snow, and situate under sixty-two and a half degrees. From thence steering his course to the north-west towards Hudson's Straits, he was much incommoded by the ice, which however, did him no considerable damage, he having sea-room enough. Among other accidents that befel him, it froze so violent on the 18th of June at night, and the winds blew so hard and cold, that his sails were rendered useless by reason of the ice that adhered to them; yet the following day proved so excessive hot in the afternoon, that they were forced to lay by their cloths, and go in their shirts only.

He did not arrive at Hudson's Straits till the 17th of July, which he called after the king of Denmark, Christian's Straits: His first landing was in an island directly opposite to Greenland; and having sent some of his people to take a view of the country, they found no men, but by their footsteps, were convinced there were some in the island. The following day they saw some of the savages, who seemed to be surprized at the sight of the Danes, hid their arms behind a great stone heap, and then advanced towards them in a friendly posture, but kept continually a watchful eye upon their arms, for fear the Danes should come too near them. Notwithstanding which, they found means to get between them and their arms, which they seized. The savages seemed to be exceedingly troubled at this loss, and in a humble manner begged the Danes to have them restored, without which, they were not able to subsist, hunting being their only livelihood. They offered to exchange their cloaths for them, which moved the Danes at last to compassion; so that they not only gave them back their arms, but also presented them with several toys, which they received very thankfully, and in lieu of them brought the Danes several sorts of fowl and fish. One among them having got a small looking glass, and seeing himself in it, was so over-joyed, that he put it into his bosom, and run away as fast as his legs could carry him. The Danes laughed heartily at his simplicity; but what diverted them most was, that they perceived some of these savages to make their courtship, after their way, to one of their ship's crew, who having long black hair, and being of a swarthy complexion, with a flattish nose, they took him for one of their countrymen, who perhaps had been carried away from Greenland some time before; which often furnished them afterwards with matter of laughter, so that the poor fellow was always jeered as long as the voyage lasted.

On the 19th of the same month, Captain Monck ordered the sails to be hoisted up in order to leave this island, but was forced to return into the same harbour by reason of the ice, which obstructed his passage. In the mean time they left nothing unattempted to find out

some of the inhabitants, but in vain; they found some nets spread near the sea-shore, on which they hung knives, looking-glasses, and other such like toys, in hopes to allure them to the sea-side; but no body appeared, whether out of fear of the Danes, or because they were commanded to the contrary by their superiors, is uncertain.

Captain Monck being disappointed in his hopes of meeting with the inhabitants, ordered a wild reindeer to be shot, of which there were great numbers there; wherefore he gave the name of Reensund to the island; and to the harbour that of Monckepes, being situated under 64 degrees 20 minutes; and after he had planted the Danish arms there, he once more left the island on the 22d of July, but met with such bad weather, and so many great ice shoals at sea, that on the 28th of the same month, he was forced to seek for shelter between two islands, near one of which he came to an anchor; but finding it unsafe to continue there, he brought his ships as near shore as possible he could, so that at low water they lay upon the sand, and the high tide carried such a prodigious quantity of ice to the shore, that they were in no small danger, if by their industry they had not prevented it. There was a great ice-shoal near fifty feet thick, which being loosened by the violence of the sea, carried all before it, and among the rest their shallops, which narrowly escaped sinking.

They saw several footsteps of men on shore, a sign that the place was not destitute of inhabitants; but whatever care they took, they could not get sight of any. They also found there some mineral stones, and very good talck, of which they carried off several tun weight. There were several other small islands thereabouts, but the sea ran so high near the shore, that the Danes did not venture to land. These islands are situated under 62 degrees 20 minutes, about fifty leagues within Hudson's, or as Monck calls it, Christian's Straights. The bay where he came to an anchor in, he called Hareford, from the great number of hares they met with there. He again he set up the arms of Denmark, and the initial letter of his master, viz. C. IV. signifying, Christian IV.

He set sail again from this place, on the 9th of August, with a north-west wind, steering his course west south-west, and on the 10th came to the south of the straits of America, and cast his anchor near a large island, unto which he gave the name of Snow Island, because it was all covered with snow.

On the 20th of August, he directed his course to the north-west, being then, (as his own diary testifies) exactly under the elevation of 62 degrees 20 minutes; but there fell so much snow, and the wind blew so violently, that they could see no land, though the straits were not above sixteen leagues over thereabouts. After having passed the straits, he got into Hudson's sea, which he furnished with another name, or rather gave it two names instead of one. For that part of it which washes the American shore, he called Mare Novum, or the New Sea. To the other part which extends to Greenland, (if it be really Greenland) he gave the name of Mare Christianum, or Christian's Sea. He continued his course west north-west, till he came to 63 degrees 20 minutes, when finding himself surrounded on all sides by the ice, he resolved to pass the winter there; the harbour he called Monck's Winter Harbour, and the country New Denmark. In his relation, he only makes mention of two islands in the Christian Sea, which he styles the Two Sisters; and in the New Sea but one, called Dichles Oeland.

He advises those who undertake the voyage through these straits, to keep as much as possible in the middle, to avoid being carried away by the stormy tides, and the great ice-shoals, which are of such a thickness, there, that if a ship happens to get between them, it seldom escapes. He says that it flows exactly five hours in the Christian Sea, the tide being regulated by the moon.

On the 7th of September, Captain Monck cast an-

chor there; and after his people had refreshed themselves for some days, he ordered them to bring the ships into a little creek, where they were sheltered against the violence of the winds and ice. The next thing they had to do was to provide themselves good huts against the approaching winter season. This harbour lay near the entrance of the river, which was not frozen up in October, though the sea was full of ice all round about.

On the 17th of the same month Captain Monck had a mind to go up the river in a boat, but could not go farther than about a league and a half, by reason of the cataracts, or rocky water-falls, that opposed his passage: he then marched with some of his men about four leagues deep into the country, to see if he could meet with any of the inhabitants; but no body appearing, he resolved to return another way. Here he met with a certain stone, raised above the ground, upon which was painted an image resembling the devil, with claws and horns; near this stone was a place about eight feet square, inclosed with lesser stones.

On one side of this inclosure there lay a heap of small flat stones, intermixed with moss of trees; on the opposite side was a large flat stone laid upon two others in shape of an altar, upon which they found three coals laid across. They saw several more of these altars, as they walked about, and some foot-steps of men near each of them; though they did not come in sight at that time. It is very likely that the inhabitants used to sacrifice upon those altars, either with fire, or perhaps offer their sacrifices to the fire itself; for round about them they saw abundance of bones, which were probably the bones of the sacrificed beasts, whose flesh the savages had devoured raw, according to their custom. They met also with many trees cut down to the roots with iron instruments, and with dogs that were muzzled. But what most confirmed them in their opinion, that this island was not destitute of inhabitants, was, that in many places they could discover the holes where they had fixed the poles belonging to their tents, and found many pieces of skins of bears, wolves, dogs, and sea-calves, wherewith they used to cover them; which seemed to intimate, that the inhabitants here led a vagabond life, like the Tartars and Lappo-nians.

After the Danes had planted their huts, they cut good store of wood to be laid up for the winter, and killed abundance of wild-fowl. Captain Monck killed a white bear with his own hands, which they eat; and he says expressly, that it agreed very well with them. They caught abundance of hares, partridges, and other fowl, besides four black foxes, and some fables.

On the 27th of November, there appeared three suns to them, and on the January following, two. On the 10th of December old stile, there happened an eclipse of the moon, which they saw about eight o'clock at night, after which they saw the same night the moon surrounded with a very bright circle, through the middle of which, was a cross, which divided the moon in two.

The cold began to increase with the winter season to such a degree, that they saw ice of three hundred feet thick; no beer, no wine, or brandy, was strong enough to be proof against it, but froze to the bottom, and the vessels split in pieces; so that they cut the frozen liquor with hatchets, and melted it before the fire, previous to their drinking it. If they happened to leave any quantity of water in their copper or tin vessels, they found them all in pieces the next morning; neither were the poor Danes able to resist so excessive a frost, which mastered the metals, for they all fell sick, and their sickness increased with the cold; they were generally seized with a griping looseness, which did not leave them till it put an end to their days. Thus they dropt away one after another; so that about the beginning of March, the captain was forced to do duty as a centry, for want of others.

others. The worst was, that the spring did augment their distemper, for their teeth were ready to fall out, and their gums swelled to that degree, that they could not take any nourishment but bread soaked in water. The poor remnant of these unfortunate wretches were in the next following May seized with another looseness, with such violent pricking pains in their limbs, as made them look like mere shadows, their arms and legs being quite lame, and full of blue spots, as if they had been beaten, being a distemper not unknown to seamen, by whom it is commonly called the Scurvy. So many of them died, that there were not enough left to bury them, the rest being likewise sick and weak, and to complete their misery, they began to want bread, instead of which they made use of raspberries, which they digged out from under the snow, which supplied the defect of bread, but they were forced to eat them as soon as they were taken from under the snow, where they kept fresh, but soon grew useless afterwards.

On the 12th of April it rained the first time after seven months; and towards the end of May there appeared again all sorts of fowl, such as wild geese and ducks, swans, swallows, partridges, ravens, snipes, falcons, and eagles, but they were too weak to catch them.

On the 4th of June Captain Monck himself fell so dangerous ill, that he took no food for four days together, and expecting nothing less than present death, he made his last will, in which he desired those that might by chance come to this place to bury his corpse, and to send the diary of his voyage to the king of Denmark. After four days were past he began however to recover a little, and with much ado got out of his hut, to see whether there were any of the ship's crew left alive, of whom he found no more than two out of sixty-four persons he brought along with him. These two being overjoyed to see their captain in a condition to stir abroad, took him in their arms, and carried him to a fire, to refresh his spirits. They now began to encourage one another, promising to stand by one another to the last gasp. They digged every where among the snow, till at last they met with a certain root, which being both a restorative and food to them, they were restored in a few days. The ice now began to melt apace, so that on the 18th of June they caught some salmon, and other fish, which, with what exercise they used in hunting, so strengthened them in a little time, that they resolved to return to Denmark.

The summer season approaching, they were extremely pestered with gnats, which made them hasten their departure; so that on the 16th of July they went on board their lesser ship, (leaving the biggest behind) and steered their course towards Monck's Harbour; they were much incommoded by the ice, and lost their boat and rudder. Whilst they were busy in making a new one, they fastened their ship to an ice-rock, which being loosened by the tide, their ship was carried away with it; but the ice being melted soon after, they got clear again, and met with their boat which they had lost ten days before. It was not long before they got fast within the ice once more; but the weather changing almost every day, they were soon released again. Having at last repast the streights, they sailed by Cape Farewel into the ocean, but were, on the 8th of September, overtaken by a most terrible tempest, which threatened no less than their total destruction, they being quite tired out and not able to manage their ship; so that leaving themselves to the mercy of the winds, they lost their mainmast, and their sails blew over-board, which however they made a shift to save.

In this condition they were forced upon the coast of Norway, where they cast a piece of an anchor (the only one they had left) in a small creek, where they hoped to shelter themselves against the storm, but found themselves deceived in their hopes, for they were in most eminent danger of being dashed to pieces against the rocks, if by good fortune they had not got

between them and the shore, where after they had refreshed themselves for some days, they pursued their voyage, and arrived at last in Denmark.

Captain Monck had no sooner set foot on shore, but he went to Copenhagen to give the king an account of his unfortunate voyage, who not imagining him to be still among the living, received him with all imaginable marks of his favour.

Thus we have seen the brave Captain Monck return to the Danish shore, which, as might reasonably be supposed, would put an end to all his sufferings; but it seems his ill destiny had preserved him for more, which was to put an unhappy period to the life of this brave man.

For whilst he was in Denmark, he used often to ruminate upon his past adventures; and being by degrees convinced of what had been the chief cause of his miscarriage in his voyage through the streights, he took a resolution to try his fortune once more, in which he hoped to supply the defects of the former, which arose from a want of a proper knowledge of those seas, and some other circumstances. Accordingly he proposed his design to some persons of quality, who approving of it, equipped two ships, which he was to command in chief.

Having provided himself with all necessaries for such a voyage, he was ready to set sail, when (as ill fortune would have it) the king sent for him, and happening, among other things, to speak of his former unfortunate voyage, told him, that he had lost two ships by his want of conduct, which the captain answering somewhat hastily, the king took his cane and pushed it with anger against his breast. The captain took this affront so heinously, that he immediately went home to bed, and could not be persuaded to take the least nourishment: so that in ten days after he died for melancholy, and want of food.

It may be necessary to take notice, that for a succession of years, before the voyage above-mentioned was undertaken, several Danish monarchs had at heart the making a new settlement in these parts.

Christian II. had obliged himself by his coronation oath, to endeavour the recovery of Greenland; but instead of bringing new acquisitions to the crown, he lost both the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, being deposed by his subjects, which is the reason he is always painted with a broken sceptre.

Under his reign one Erick Walckendor, a brave Danish lord, was lord chancellor of Denmark, who being after his master's disgrace constituted bishop of Drunthim in Norway, bent all his thoughts on the recovery of Greenland. For which reason he searched all the antient records, and advised with the oldest and ablest mariners, who were supposed to have any knowledge of that country; but whilst he was laying the foundation of this design, a quarrel arose between him and another great lord in Norway, in the year 1524, who being too powerful for him, procured his banishment to Rome, where he died. Fredrick I. Christian's uncle, being got into the possession of the two kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, was busy in prosecuting those whom he believed to have the least kindness for Christian, which made him encourage the banishment of Walckendor, who was thereby disabled from prosecuting his design of the recovery of Greenland.

Christian III. who succeeded Fredrick I. attempted the discovery of Greenland, but without success, which made him recal the severe prohibition of going to Greenland without license. But Norway at that time being reduced to great poverty, and not in a condition to undertake such a design, this remedy proved likewise ineffectual.

King Fredrick II. succeeded his father in the throne, and being willing to endeavour the recovery of Greenland, sent one Magnus Henningson to prosecute this design. If what is related in the chronicle may be taken for authentic, there must be some fatality which prevented the discovery of Greenland at that time; for this Henningson, after he had been tossed up and down

down at sea by tempests, for a long time, came at last in sight of the shore; but to his great amazement found his ship to stop in the open sea, where there appeared neither ice nor sands; so that after he found all his endeavours of getting near the shore to be in vain; he was forced to return to Denmark; where he gave an account to the king of what had befallen him, and laid the fault of his miscarriage upon the magnet stones, which he believed to be in prodigious quantities thereabouts; in the bottom of the sea.

Previous to this, in the year 1577, Martin Forbisher, an Englishman; had made the first discovery of that country, which is now called New Greenland, and because his account contains many remarkable things concerning the inhabitants and their manners, we shall give the reader some of the most material passages of it here.

This Martin Forbisher set sail from England in the year 1577, to endeavour the discovery of Greenland, which he got sight of at last; but by reason of the great quantities of ice, and the approaching winter; not being able to reach the shore, was forced to return home, where he gave an account of his voyage to Queen Elizabeth, who then swayed the sceptre in England.

The queen sent him the next following spring with three other ships, to pursue the former design, when he got safely to Greenland. But the inhabitants; at the approach of the English, leaving their huts, retired among the rocks, from whence several precipitated themselves into the sea.

The English, after they had in vain endeavoured to mollify these savages, went to their huts, which were tents made of the skins of sea-calves and whales, fixed to strong poles, and sewed together with the sinews of beasts; they had an opening towards the south and west, but were closely and very artificially joined together to the east and north, the better to defend themselves against the coldness of those winds. They met with no living creature there except an old woman, with a child in her hand, which they took from her, and she made a most miserable outcry for the loss of it.

From thence they sailed along the coast, where they saw a sea-monster's head above the water, with a horn about three or four feet long. They landed again, and found the surface of the earth rocky, but very good ground beneath it; they also met with great store of glittering sand like gold, of which they took 300 tons along with them.

They used their utmost endeavours to enter into discourse with the savages, who seemingly shewed no great aversion to them, and gave them to understand by certain signs, that if they would row up higher in the river, their expectations should be answered. Accordingly Martin Forbisher got into a boat with some soldiers, and having ordered his ships to follow him, went up the river, and seeing a great number of the savages posted among the rocks, he did not think fit to expose himself by approaching too near the banks. At last, three among them, who appeared something better than the rest, having made a signal for him to land, he resolved to do it, all the rest being at a considerable distance: but his boat scarce touched the bank of the river, when the savages began to appear in great numbers, which made him soon choose the stream again.

The savages endeavoured to persuade them by signs to come on shore, throwing them some raw flesh. But finding the English suspicious, they resolved to draw them thither by the following stratagem: they laid one of their men upon the bank, who pretending to be lame, they supposed the English would come to take him, whilst they pretended to be retired at a farther distance, being all out of sight behind the adjacent rocks. But the English being aware of the snare, discharged a gun at him, which made him soon recover his legs; and the savages coming to his assistance, pelted the English in the boat with stones and arrows, but were soon dispersed by their guns.

The savages are very strong and well set, of an olive colour; their cloaths being made of the skins of sea-calves, sewed together with the sinews of beasts. The womens apparel is not different from that of the men, for they wear breeches, with many pockets in them; in which they carry their knives, needles, yarn, and looking-glasses, which they either get from strangers, or else are cast on shore by the sea. Their faces are painted with blue, and some let their hair grow very long, hanging down over their shoulders untwisted. Their shirts are made of fish guts, sewed together with sinews; their garments loose fastened about their middle with a girdle; they are naturally very nasty; and freely expose their privy members. All their riches consist in their slings, bows, arrows, and boats. Their bows are very slender, and their arrows thin, tipped at the end with a pointed bone or horn; they manage them with great dexterity, and hit the fishes as they are swimming in the water. Their boats are covered all over with the skins of sea-calves, and fitted only for a single person. Their larger vessels are made of wood, and covered with the skins of whales, they are big enough to contain 20 men at a time. Their sails are made of the same materials with their shirts; and notwithstanding there is not the least iron-work about them, are so strong, that the savages venture very deep with them at sea.

No venomous things are to be found here unless spiders; and the gnats are very busy in the summer time; they have no fresh springs, but this defect is supplied by the melted snow. They have dogs of a prodigious bigness, which they use before their sleds instead of horses.—But to return to Denmark:

Among all the Danish kings, no body had been more zealous to promote the discovery of Greenland than King Christian IV. for which purpose he sent for an expert seaman, out of England, who being acquainted with those seas, he gave him three ships under the command of Gotske Lindenau. They set sail from the Sound in the year 1605, in the summer, and continuing their course for some time together, the Englishman at last turned to the south-west to avoid the ice, whilst the admiral steered his course north-east, and safely arrived at Greenland. He had no sooner cast anchor near the shore, but the savages came with their boats all about his ship, and were welcomed with some wine, which however they did not relish very well; but seeing some oil of whales, they begged some of it, which being given them, they drank it off very greedily.

They had brought along with them good store of skins of bears and sea-calves, and several pieces of the sea unicorn, which they exchanged for needles, knives, looking-glasses, and such other toys. They did not seem to put any value upon gold or silver, but were extremely fond of iron, for which they would exchange their bows, arrows, boats, oars, nay their shirts.

The admiral Gotske Lindenau tarried three days on this coast, but durst not venture on shore. On the 4th day being ready to set sail again, he detained two of the savages, who happened to be on board of him, and were so outrageous that they were forced to bind them; the rest seeing their companions in danger of being carried away, made a most hideous outcry, and shot at the Danes with their arrows, but were soon put to flight by the discharge of a cannon, after which the admiral returned home to his own country in safety.

The Englishman had in the mean while landed on the other side of Greenland, where he met with several good harbours, and plenty of pasturage. The savages exchanged their commodities with him, as they had done with their admiral, but seemed more mistrustful; for no sooner had they got any thing from the Danes, but they went away in all haste to their boats, as if they had stolen it.

The Danes being desirous to take a view of the country, went on shore well armed, and met with

good grounds, but rocky like Norway. The smell of sulphureous vapours, seemed to intimate that there were sulphureous mountains, not far from thence. They found also a certain silver oar, of which they carried a great quantity into Denmark, a hundred weight of which, yields about twenty ounces of silver. As they were returning to their ship, they took four savages, one of whom was so refractory, that they were forced to knock him down with the but-ends of their musquets, which frightened the others into a more pliable temper. But the savages having taken the alarm, pursued the Danes to relieve their companions, and had found means to cut off their passage to the ship: but by the help of their fire arms, and the great cannon from the ship, they soon cleared their way, and got safely on board with the other three savages, whom after their return into Denmark, they presented to the king: they were found better proportioned, and more civilised than those that were brought over by Lindenau, who sailed again in 1606, taking with him the same three blacks, one of whom died by the way.

Lindenau taking the same course the Englishman had done, arrived on the third day of August, with four ships in Greenland, the fifth being separated from them by a storm. The savages appeared in great numbers near the sea-side, but were as mistrustful of the Danes, as they were of them, which made them sail in quest of another harbour, which they reached soon after, but found the savages of the same temper with the others, and appeared in a posture to fight them if they should attempt to land.

The Danes, who by reason of the great number of savages, thought themselves no equal match for them, sailed along the coast; and the savages would follow them at some little distance in their boats, of whom they took six, and then carried them together with their boats and oars on board their ships.

As they were riding at anchor one day in a certain small bay, the Admiral Lindenau's gentleman, very earnestly desired his master to give him leave to go on shore, to try whether he could treat with the savages; which being granted at last, he went, but had scarce walked a few paces, when the barbarians falling upon him, cut him to pieces in an instant.

Their knives and cutlasses were made of unicorn, so sharp edged, by wheting them against stones, that they cut as well as if they were made of the best steel.

Lindenau finding but little hopes to succeed in this enterprise, returned to Denmark. In his return he met with the same ship that was separated from them before by the stress of weather; but another storm arising soon after, they were again dispersed, and did not meet again till near a month after, when they pursued their voyage to Denmark, and arrived at Copenhagen on the 5th of October, after a second dangerous and troublesome voyage.

The same king sent a third time two stout ships to Greenland, under the command of Carsten Richartson, a Holsteiner, who having on board some of the most experienced mariners of Norway and Iceland, set sail from the sound on the 13th of May, and got sight of Greenland on the 8th of June, but could not approach the shore by reason of the ice, which lay heaped up like mountains, some leagues deep at sea, for there are some years when the ice continues all the summer long without being melted; which obliged the Holsteiner, who had been separated from the other ship, and was afraid of being entangled in the ice past retreating, to return to Denmark, where he, notwithstanding his miscarriage, was well received by the king.

The savages that were taken and brought into Denmark in the two first voyages, had liberty to walk about where they pleased, under the guard of some waiters. They lived upon milk, cheese, butter, raw flesh and fish, according to their own custom, being averse to bread and boiled meat, but much more to

wine, the oil of whales being their favourite liquor. They would frequently turn their faces to the north and fetch a heavy sigh. One time their keepers being careless, they got to their little boats, and without more ado put to sea, but by a strong wind were forced twelve leagues beyond the sound, on shore in Schonen, where being taken by the country people, they were sent back to Copenhagen. This served as a warning to their waiters to be better upon their guard for the future; but they pined themselves to death one after another.

When a Spanish Ambassador was once sent into Denmark, there being five of those savages yet living, the king ordered that, for the diversion of the ambassador they should row up the sea in their little boats: these boats were shaped not unlike a weaver's shuttle, being about ten or twelve feet long; they are made of whale-bones of an inch thick, joined together by the help of the sinews of beasts, and covered all over with the skins of whales, there is in the middle a hole big enough for one man to put his body in. Thus they go to sea putting their legs underneath, and if any space be left round their body, they stop it up with their jackets (which are made of the skin of sea-calves) so tight that no water can enter; which done, they are proof against all storms and tempests beyond what may be expected from ships of a considerable bulk; for though they are often times turned topsy-turvy, they always turn again upright. They make use only of one oar, which they manage with the same dexterity as the rope-dancers do their poles, to keep an even balance; and with this they row so swiftly, that (as it was tried at the same time) they could keep pace with a boat with sixteen oars.

The ambassador extremely well satisfied with this spectacle, made each of them a very good present; with which they bought themselves cloaths made after the German fashion, and other accoutrements, such as boots, spurs, and feathers, and afterwards offered to serve the king on horseback. But this gay humour was of no long continuance, for the desire of returning to their native country being soon revived, two of those who had once before ventured to escape at sea, and consequently were not the least mistrusted of attempting so dangerous an undertaking a second time, did once more attempt to reach Greenland in their boats. They were pursued with all speed, but one was only overtaken, the other no doubt being swallowed up in the waves. It was observable in him who escaped, that whenever he saw a woman with a child in her arms, he used to fetch a deep sigh, which made the Danes believe that he had left a wife and children behind him. The rest were more narrowly watched, which served only to increase their melancholy, of which they died one after another. There remained however at last two alive, who lived near twelve years after all the rest of their companions were dead: they were cherished with all the fair promises imaginable, which seemed to be some comfort to them; but they could never be brought to the true understanding of the Christian faith, being quite ignorant of the Danish tongue. They were sometimes observed to lift up their eyes towards heaven, and to adore the rising sun. One of them died whilst he was employed in pearl-fishing, at Coldingen.

This Greenlander having given them to understand one day, that he was very dextrous in fishing of pearls, the governor of Coldingen took him along with him to make use of him upon that account, which the savage performed with so much dexterity, that he seldom returned without some good pearls. The governor, who was very avaricious, being over-eager after such a booty, would not stay till the next spring, but forcing the poor savage to dive in the midst of winter under the ice, he fell sick and died. His comrade remaining now alone inconsolable for the death of his companion, found means the next spring to get to sea in his little boat unperceived by any body; he was however pursued with all speed, but

having the start of them, was got 30 leagues out at sea before he could be retaken. They gave him to understand by certain signs, that it would have been impossible for him to have reached Greenland, but that he must have perished among the waves, at which he made certain signs, that he intended to have run along the coast of Norway to a certain height, from whence he would have crossed the seas, taking his direction by the stars. He was brought back to Copenhagen, where he died soon after with melancholly.

This was the end of these unfortunate Greenlanders, who approached in stature to the Laplanders, being well set, but short, of a swarthy colour, with flat noses and thick lips. Their boats, apparel, and other impliments, were kept at Copenhagen, as also a Greenland almanack, composed of twenty eight or thirty small sticks, fastened to a leather string, by which they used to distinguish their time.

Since that time the king of Denmark did not think fit to send any more ships at his own charge to Greenland, but some merchants of Copenhagen being joined in a company, (in which several persons of quality had likewise a share) called the Greenland Company, they sent in the year 1636, two ships to Davis's Straights, where they were no sooner come to an anchor, but eight savages came in their little boats on board of them. Whilst they were busy in laying out their sea-calves and fur-skins, and several pieces of sea unicorn, in order to exchange them with the Danes for needles, knives, and looking-glasses, it happened accidentally that a gun was discharged on board the ship, which put the savages in such a fright, that they all leaped over board under water, and did not so much as put out their heads again till they were at least 200 paces distant from the ship, but being given to understand by certain signs that they intended them no harm, they returned, and continued to traffic as before.

Their manner of dealing is thus: They chuse among the European commodities what they like best, which being laid on one side, they lay down as much of theirs as they think fit to give in exchange, and this is continued thus till both parties are agreed. They saw at the same time a dead fish on the shore, with a bone, or rather a tooth on one side of his head, which the savages had broken in pieces, and sold to the Danes. This fish is of a prodigious strength, and a declared enemy of the whales, just as the rhinoceros is to the elephant, among the terrestrial creatures; for if he meets the whale, he strikes his horn into his side as deep as it will reach: some assure us, that it sometimes runs with such a force against the ships, that thereby it becomes leaky.

But the intention of the Danes was not so much to exchange commodities with them, as to take a full view of the country; and the mate of one of the ships having taken notice near a certain river where he landed, that the sand resembled both in weight and colour, true gold sand, loaded his whole ship with it, and with great joy returned directly to Denmark, telling his ship's crew as they were under sail, that now they were all rich enough. The lord high steward of Denmark, who had a considerable share in the ship, being surprised at the sudden return of this vessel, the mate told him he was freighted with gold, which made the lord high steward send some quantity of it to the goldsmiths of Copenhagen, to try whether they could bring any quantity out of it; but these not being able to produce one grain from this sand, he was so much exasperated at this disappointment, that he immediately commanded the mate to go out to sea, and to throw his pretended gold sand into the bottom of it, without speaking one word more to any body. The poor mate was forced to obey, but with so much reluctance, that finding himself disappointed in the hopes of his supposed treasure, he died soon after for grief.

It was not long before the lord high steward repented himself for his rashness; for some sand resembling this, was found in the mines of Norway, from

whence several persons, well versed in the separation of metallick bodies, drew a quantity of very good gold; which seemed to prove that the disappointment was owing to the unexperienced goldsmiths of Copenhagen.

In this voyage it was, they brought that piece of the unicorn from Greenland, which was to have been sold to the great Duke of Muscovy: it is still to be seen at Copenhagen, and valued at 6000-crowns. The Danes had likewise taken two savages, whom they tied to the masts till they were a great way out at sea, when they were untied again; but they no sooner found themselves at liberty, but they leaped into the sea, in hopes, as may be supposed, to reach the shore by swimming, which was impracticable for them to do, by reason of the great distance they were then from it.

It is most probable, that the ice from the north-west has quite stopped up the passage between Iceland and Greenland, and that whilst the mariners were endeavouring to make their voyage through this passage, they were driven upon the Cape Farewel, and Davis's Straights, or rather gulph, and so discovered that part of the country, which now is stiled New Greenland.

We learn from the Iceland Chronicle, that between Iceland, and the Old Greenland, there were several islands and rocks; as for instance, that which they called Scheer Gundebior, which favours this opinion; it being easy to imagine that the ice might with less difficulty be heaped between these islands; which being of such a thickness as not to be melted by the beams of the sun, has rendered the ice between Iceland and Greenland, quite impassable; so that it is impossible to give an account of the posterity of the antient Norwegians who settled there: perhaps they bore their share in the plague which raged so furiously in Norway in the year 1348, and almost depopulated that kingdom. It is not altogether improbable, but that Gotske Lindenau, who in his first voyage steered his course to the north-east, may have cast anchor near Old Greenland, and that perhaps these two savages were descended from the ancient Norwegians; but though they differed from the other savages that were brought over from Davis's Straights both in manners and language; yet theirs had not the least affinity with the Danish or Norway tongues. The Danish Chronicle tells us, that the three savages brought over by the English, talked so fast, that it was impossible for any body to distinguish one word from another, unless it were the two words, Oka, Indecha, the meaning of which no body understood. Thus much is unquestionable, that what was called Old Greenland, was no more than a small point of the northern part of Greenland, viz. where it lay nearest to Iceland; and that the ancient Norwegians durst not venture very far into the country, no more than those who have since discovered the New Greenland.

The Danes, in their beforementioned voyage to Greenland, in the year 1686, did, by certain signs, inquire of the savages, whether there were any considerable number of inhabitants in the inland countries there, upon which the savages gave them to understand by signs, that there were as many people there as there were hairs upon their heads, that they were very tall, armed with bows and arrows, wherewith they killed every thing they met in their way. From whence it should seem probable, after all, that neither the origin of these people, nor that of the Old Greenlanders, is thoroughly known to us at this time.

It frequently happens that ships beset among the ice, in those parts, perish by being dashed to pieces against the solid fields of ice, or crushed by the broken pieces crowded upon one another, and rising so fast about the ship, as to exceed the height of her sides, and then there is no escaping. Several of these mountains, by striking together, and coalescing, form those islands of ice that are frequently seen in the lower latitudes,

latitudes, driving up and down the sea, as the wind and tides direct them. The greater danger to be apprehended, is from the looser ice; for the whalers often moor their ships to the solid fields of ice, that at certain seasons seem to rest upon the earth, and appear fixed to it, and there find the best fishing. In such situations it often appears, that little or no loose ice is to be seen; yet presently upon a change of wind, or the blowing of a storm, it shall pour in upon them so suddenly, that sometimes they perish in it. It is not possible to account for the astonishing quantity that will gather in this manner in less than an hour's time.

Though it seems to be agreed, that many of the largest fields of ice are frozen to the depth of sea on which they are found, and that they are bedded on the solid earth; yet it is equally certain, that they are often rent asunder by raging billows; and that in breaking, they produce the most terrifying noise in nature; nay, it is asserted, that the clashing of the pieces of loose ice against each other, or any extraordinary agitation of the waves, is attended with a roaring so loud, that a man who is near it can hardly hear the sounding of his own voice.

Before we conclude, we shall add some farther particulars, extracted from more modern authors, relative to Spitsbergen, and the probability of a north-east passage.—"The rocks are striking objects; before a storm they exhibit a fiery appearance, and the sun looks pale upon them, the snow giving the air a bright reflection. Their summits are almost always involved in clouds, so that it is but just possible to see the tops of them. Some of these rocks are but one stone from bottom to top, appearing like an old decayed ruin. Others consist of large masses, veined differently like marble, with red, white, and yellow, and probably, were they to be sawed and polished, would equal, if not excel, the finest Egyptian marble we now so much admire.

On the southern and western sides of these rocks grow all the plants, herbs, and mosses, peculiar to this country; on the northerly and easterly sides the wind strikes so cold, when it blows from those quarters, that it perishes every kind of vegetable. These plants grow to perfection in a very short time. Till the middle of May the whole country is locked up in ice; about the beginning of July the plants are in flower; and about the latter end of the same month, or beginning of August, they have perfected their feed. The earth owes it fertility, in a great measure, to the dung of birds, who build and breed their young here in the summer, and in the winter repair to more favourable climates.

The plants that are most common in Spitsbergen are scurvy-grass, and crow's-foot; there are besides small house-leek, and a plant with aloe-like leaves; an herb like stone-crop; some small stike-weed, mouse ear-wood, strawberry, periwinkle, and an herb peculiar to this country, which they call the rock-plant. The leaves of this plant are in shape like a man's tongue, above six feet long, of a dull yellow colour. The stalk is round and smooth, and of the same colour with the leaf; it rises tapering, and smells like muscles. It is an aquatic, and rises in height in proportion to the depth of water in which it is found. There are other plants and herbs, but these are the chief. Of flowers, the white poppy seems the principal.

The rocks and precipices are full of fissures, and clefts, which afford convenient harbours for birds to lay their eggs, and breed their young in safety. Most of these birds are water-fowl, and seek their food in the sea. Some indeed are birds of prey, and pursue and kill others for their sustenance; but these are rare. The water-fowl eat strong and fishy, and their fat is not to be endured. They are so numerous about the rocks, as sometimes to darken the air when they rise in flocks, and they scream so horribly, that the rocks ring with their noise.

There are a few small birds like our snipes, and a kind of snow-bird, but different from that found about Hudson's bay.

The ice-bird is a very beautiful little bird; but very rare. He is in size and shape like a turtle-dove, but his plumage, when the sun shines upon him, is of a bright yellow, like the golden-ring in the pea-cock's tail, and almost dazzles the eye to look upon it.

The other inhabitants of this forlorn country are white bears, deer and foxes. How these creatures can subsist in the winter, when the whole earth is covered with snow, and the sea locked up in ice, is hardly to be conceived. It has been said, indeed, that when the ocean is all frozen over, and no sustenance to be procured in this country; they travel southerly to the warmer climates, where food proper for them abounds in the immense forests of the northern continent.

The bear is by far the best accommodated to the climate of which he is an inhabitant. He is equally at home on land and water, and hunts diligently for his prey in both. In summer he finds plenty of food from the refuse of the whales, sea-horses, and seals, which is thrown into the sea by the whalers; and cover the shore during the time of whaling; and they have besides a wonderful sagacity in smelling out the carcasses of the dead, let them be ever so deeply buried in the earth, or covered with stones. The dead therefore that annually are buried here, may contribute, in some degree, to the subsistence of a few of these creatures in winter; but the question will still recur, how the race of them subsisted before the whale fishery had existence, and before men found the way to this inhospitable shore. Disquisitions of this kind, as they are beyond the reach of human comprehension, serve only to raise our admiration of that Omnipotent Being who provides so wonderfully for his creatures.

These creatures, as they differ in nothing but their colour and size from those commonly shewn in England, need no description. The foxes differ little in shape from those we are acquainted with, but in colour there is no similitude. Their heads are black, and their bodies white. As they are beasts of prey, if they do not provide in summer for the long recess of winter, it were, one would think, almost impossible for them to survive; yet they are seen in plenty, though by their subtlety and swiftness, they are not easy to be caught.

The Dutch seamen report, that when they are hungry, they will feign themselves dead, and when the ravenous birds come to feed upon them, they rise and make them their prey.

It is most wonderful how the deer can survive an eight months famine. Like ours they feed upon nothing that can be perceived but the vegetables which the earth spontaneously produces; and yet for eight months in the year, it brings forth neither plant, herb, shrub, or blade of any kind of grass whatever. They are besides but thinly clothed for so severe a climate, and what seems still worse, there is not a bush to be seen to shelter them, within the distance that any man as yet has discovered. The means of their subsistence must therefore remain among the secrets of nature, never to be disclosed, as no human being can ever live here, so as to be able to trace these creatures to their winter's residence.

Amphibious creatures abound the most about the sounds and bays of Spitsbergen, and they seem best adapted to endure the climate. These are the seals, or sea-dogs, and morse, or sea-horses; of which the whalers avail themselves, when disappointed in completing their lading with the fat of whales.

The seal has been already described; but the sea-horse, as it is a creature peculiar to high latitudes, is therefore more rare. It is not easy to say how he came by his name. He is not unlike the seal in shape. He has a large round head, larger than that of a bull, but shaped more like that of a pug dog without ears, than any other animal we are acquainted with. He tapers all the way down to the tail, like the fish we call a lump, and his size is equal to that of the largest ox. His tusks close over his under-jaw, like those of a very old boar, and are in length from one foot to two or more, in proportion to the size and

age of the animal that breeds them. His skin is thicker than that of a bull, and covered with short mouse-coloured hair, which is sleeker and thicker, just as he happens to be in or out of season when he is caught. His paws, before and behind are like those of a mole, and serve him for oars when he swims, and for legs to crawl when he goes upon the ice, or on shore. He is a fierce animal, but being unweildy when on land, or on the ice, is easily overcome.

These animals are always found in herds, sometimes of many hundreds together, and if one is attacked, the rest make it a common cause, and stand by each other till the last gasp. If they are attacked in the water, they will fight desperately, and will even attempt the boats of their pursuers, if any of them are wounded and not mortally. Some of them have been known to make holes in the bottom of the boat with their tusks, in defence of their young. Their eyes are large, and they have two holes in the upper part of the neck, out of which they eject the water, in like manner as it is ejected by whales.

The sea about Spitsbergen is full of fish. The mackarel, of which, there are no great plenty, seem not only to be the most wholesome, and the most palatable, but also the most beautiful. They seem to be a different species from those caught upon our coast. The upper part of the back is of a vivid blue, the other part as low as the belly of a gem-like green on an azure ground. Underneath the belly, the colour is a transparent white, and the fins shine like polished silver. All the colours glow when alive in the sea with such a richness, that fancy can hardly form to itself any thing in nature more beautiful. Almost all the other fish on this coast are of an oily nature, and of a very indifferent flavour.

The saw or sword-fish, is remarkable not only for the oddity of his shape, but also for his enmity to the whale. This fish takes its name from a broad flat bone, in length from two to four feet, which projects from his nose, and tapers to a point, on each side it has teeth like a comb, at the distance of a finger's breadth asunder. He is also furnished with a double row of fins, and is of astonishing strength in the water. His length is from ten to twelve feet. He seems to be formed for war, and war is his profession. The conflict betwixt him and the whale is dreadful, yet he never gives over till his sword is broken, or he comes off victorious.

No springs of fresh water are found in Spitsbergen; but in the valleys, between the mountains, are many rills caused by the rain and melting of the snow in summer; and from these rills the ships are supplied. Some are of opinion, that this water is unwholesome, but the whaling people have drank of it for ages, and have found no ill effects from the use of it. Ice taken up in the middle of those seas and thawed, yields also good fresh water.

There are many harbours about Spitsbergen, where ships employed in the whale fishery, take shelter in stormy weather: and there are some islands, such as Charles's Island, the Clifted Rock, Red Hill, Hacluit's Headland, &c. that serves as landmarks, by which seamen direct their course. These islands are full of the nests of birds, but their eggs are as noxious as the flesh of the fowls that lay them. The sailors sometimes eat them, but they are filthy food. Even the geese and ducks upon the neighbouring islands eat fishy and strong.

The air hereabouts is never free from iceicles. If one looks through the sun-beams transversely in the shade, or where the rays are confined in a body, instead of dark motes as are generally seen, he will see numbers of particles that sparkle like diamonds; and when the sun shines hot, as it sometimes does, so as to melt the tar in the seams of ships when they lie sheltered from the wind, these shining atoms seem to melt away, and descend like dew.

It is seldom that it continues clear for many days together in this climate; when that happens,

the whalers are generally successful. There is no difference between night and day in the appearance of the atmosphere about Spitsbergen, one being as light as the other; only when the sun is to the northward you may look at it with the naked eye, as at the moon, without dazzling. The fogs here come on so suddenly, that from bright sun-shine, you are presently involved in such obscurity, that you can hardly see from one end of the ship to the other.

We have already noticed the opinions of different voyagers to Spitsbergen relative to a north-east passage. Many attempts for this discovery were made after the unfortunate one of Sir Hugh Willoughby, among those, few were more remarkable than that of Captain Wood in 1676, who set out with a full persuasion he should be able to open a passage: his voyage was unfortunate, he struck upon a ledge of rocks, and besides which, in endeavouring to discover an opening, perpetually embayed himself.

When first he saw the ice, he imagined it was only that which joined to Greenland, and that no solid body of ice extended farther from land than twenty leagues; in this persuasion, he altered his course, and coasted along in the direction in which the ice lay, expecting, at every cape or head-land of ice, after running a certain distance, to find an opening into the polar ocean: but after running two or three glasses to the northward in one bay, he found himself intangled in another; and thus it continued till his ship was wrecked.

By this experiment he found that of Barents confuted, namely. "That by steering the middle course between Spitsbergen and Nova Zembla, in open sea might be attained, in which a ship might safely sail as far as the pole." From his own experience, he therefore, on his return, pronounced it impossible to find out the desired passage.

To this positive assertion, however, may be opposed the testimony of many creditable persons, some of whom have themselves sailed beyond the eightieth degree of north latitude, and others, upon evidence, whose veracity there is no reasonable cause to bring in question.

Among the latter may be reckoned the following testimony, That about the year 1670, application being made to the States General for a charter to incorporate a company of merchants to trade to Japan and China, by a new passage to the north-east, the then East-India company opposed it, and that so effectually that their High Mightinesses refused to grant what the merchants requested.

But a proof incontestable, is the testimony of Capt. Hudson, who sailed in 1607, to the latitude of eighty-one degrees thirty minutes north, where he arrived on the 16th of July, the weather being then pretty warm.

To all this it may be added, that the Dutch, who were employed in 1670, in endeavouring to find a north-east passage, advanced within a very few degrees of that open sea, which is now commonly navigated by the Russians, and which would have infallibly have brought them to the coasts of China and Japan, had they persevered in the course they were pursuing.

It does not appear however, from any authentic account, that any voyage, professedly for the discovery of a north-east passage, has been undertaken by either public or private adventurers in England, since Captain Wood, in the year 1676, till of late years; and it is more than probable, that if the Russian discoveries on the north of Asia had never taken place, no further attempts of finding a practicable passage from Europe in that direction, would ever more have been thought of.

Having thus described these places, we shall take leave of such uncomfortable regions, where we can select nothing farther that may contribute to the information or entertainment of our readers.

TRAVELS

Engraved for Moore's New & Complete Collection of Voyages & Travels.



Various BEASTS of DIFFERENT PARTS of the WORLD.



1 The Suoterio..... 2 Elephant..... 3 A kind of Monkey..... 4 The Luchs..... 5 A Jackall..... 6 Camel
 7 A particular kind of Indian Oxen..... 8 The Saragose Monkey & Young one..... 9 The Macassar Fox.
 10 Indian He-Goat..... 11 An animal called the Aunt's Bear..... 12 A Javanese Animal named Doots-Hoost.
 13 A kind of Monkey called the Beard Man.

T R A V E L S

T H R O U G H

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA AND AMERICA.

ACCORDING to our promise, we shall now proceed to select, for the Entertainment and Instruction of our Readers, a collection of the most remarkable TRAVELS which have been undertaken at various times to the different quarters of the globe.

VOYAGERS, however attentive to the pursuit of knowledge, have rarely been able to give us any very accurate accounts of great continents, their observations being mostly confined to the countries stretching along the sea coasts. What they have learned of the interior parts they have been frequently obliged to take upon hear-say, and consequently their relations when not assisted by the accounts of TRAVELLERS, have been frequently uncertain and imperfect.

There are besides many minutiae which are more immediately within the sphere of the TRAVELLER, and are well deserving the attention of the curious Reader; such are the descriptions of the curiosities of art and nature preserved in various other countries, with many other particulars too tedious to recapitulate.

All these will be attended to, as far as they may contribute to useful knowledge, so that the TRAVELS will form a counterpart to the VOYAGES, and both together constitute one *uniform system*, answering to the plan laid down in our Preface, to which we mean to adhere with the most scrupulous exactness.

TRAVELS THROUGH DENMARK, BY LORD MOLESWORTH AND

OTHERS, FROM 1693, TO 1768.

DENMARK, properly so called, is bounded on all sides with the sea; except one small neck of land, where it joins to Holstein; the German ocean washes it on the west and north-west; and the entrance into the Baltic, called the Categate; on the north and north-east, the Baltic on the east, and the river Eyder on the south; which having its source very near the east sea, takes its course westward; and falls into the ocean at Toningem.

Denmark therefore, comprehending its islands, lies in length between 54 degrees 45 minutes, and 58 degrees 15 minutes, north latitude, the breadth not being proportionable to its length in general.

Norway, which lies north from Denmark, and is separated from it by the sea that is usually called the Categate, is a large and barren country, full of mountains and fir trees; it reaches from 59 to 71 degrees of north latitude, but is very narrow in respect to its length. It is bounded on the west and north by the ocean, on the east by Sweden, and the territories belonging to it; on the south by the sea lying between it and Denmark. The sea is so deep about Norway that there is no anchorage for ships, and therefore its coasts are accounted the most dangerous of any in Eu-

rope to run with in the night, or in a storm, on which if vessels chance to be driven, there is no escaping; the shore being all along high rocks, at the very foot of which one may find two hundred fathoms water.

Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, are two countries in Germany that lie together, detached from all the rest of the king of Denmark's dominions; the two rivers Elb and Weser, and the Duchy of Bremen, interposing between them and Holstein. They are bounded on the north-east by the Weser, on the west by East Friesland; and the country of Embden, on the south by part of the bishoprick of Munster. They are a small territory of about thirty-five English miles in diameter, the middle of which is in the latitude of 33 degrees and a half.

The rest of the King of Denmark's territories (not mentioned in the enumeration of his titles are) the Islands of Feroe; and Iceland in the northern ocean, St. Thomas, one of the Caribbee Islands in the West Indies; and a fort upon the coast of Guinea, called Christiansburg; and another in the East Indies called Tranquebar. He has likewise a toll at Elfleet upon the river Weser.

Thus Denmark consists of many islands in the Baltic sea, and of that part of the continent which is now called Jutland. This is the largest and most fertile country, but the islands are more considerable in regard of their situation, especially Zealand, because Copenhagen, the chief city of Denmark, is seated in it, and the famous passage of the Sound is bordered by its shore, where, on the narrowest part of the town Elsenore stands.

Zealand is almost a circular figure, and contains about 180 English miles in circumference. Its fertility is but indifferent, there being no bread-corn growing in any part of it, except rye, which indeed is in good quantity, and of which most of their bread is made. There are few meadows in it, and yet there is no want of good hay; most of their grass, which is short and sweet, grows by the sides of the corn-fields, or in some scattered spots of marsh ground. It has no rivers, nor above half a score of brooks that are able to turn a mill; to supply this, there are a great number of fine lakes sufficiently stored with fish. The face of the land is pleasant, diversified with little hills, woods, and rivulets, in a very agreeable manner. Amongst the sea-ports, that of Copenhagen is a very fine one, and is a great addition to the city.

Denmark is one of those states which has arisen from small beginnings. Though, as a people, the Danes were early known in the world, and, under the name of Easterlings, in common with the Norwegians and other nations, infested with their piracy the German and British ocean. Our own history informs us what depredations they committed upon our Saxon ancestors, as soon as the heptarchy was settled in England, till after numerous battles fought with various success, they got first footing in the island, and partly by conquest, and partly by agreement, established sovereigns of the Danish line upon the throne of Britain.

At the period we are speaking of, piracies carried on by great fleets were not looked upon as dishonourable. Either the expectation of plunder, or the desire of seeking new habitations, was excuse sufficient for one people to make descents upon another, and in these contests the conqueror was always in the right.

But as arts and commerce dawned upon the world, mankind began to be more civilized, and to entertain juster notions of things. That restless spirit which had so long animated the northern nations, subsided by degrees, and those Easterlings that had so long been the terror of their neighbours, settled into peaceable states, losing much of their savage ferocity, but still generally keeping the flame of freedom alive among them.

It is true, that we must expect to meet with a vast difference between the characters of the ancient and modern Danes, as well as in the description of their land at these different periods of time. The improvements in agriculture which have taken place, have altered the face of the country; the progress of arts, has changed the manners of the people; and Denmark has now her proportionate weight in the scale of the European powers.

Copenhagen, (according to modern authors) the capital of Denmark, is a fine city, and the strongest place in his Danish majesty's dominions. It is situated in a low marsh, surrounded by the country of Roskild; this makes it by nature strong, and the numerous works added to it, in the modern stile of fortification, increase the strength greatly. The most striking object, is the harbour and the naval arsenal; it is capacious enough to hold 500 men of war, and yet only one ship can come in at a time; the entrance, small as it is, is defended by several great guns, and there are several platforms near it, with three forts. There are no tides in the Baltic, but the depth of water in the harbour, renders it perfectly secure for the greatest ships, so that it is justly reckoned one of the best havens in the world. The king's fleet lies regularly arranged between booms, and

against them magazines, with the name of each ship, on the door of the store rooms, belonging to her; and every thing is kept in the completest order. The admiralty is on the haven, which contains, besides these magazines, numerous others; the arsenal is very well furnished with cannon and other military stores; and adjoining to these buildings, is a citadel, which commands the harbour.

The royal palace is a fine building, very spacious, and some of the apartments magnificent. The court is a brilliant and military one, for the number of officers are great; the very garrison of Copenhagen alone amounts to 10,000 men, besides the king's guards, which are very fine, shewy, and well disciplined set of men. The standing forces of the kingdom are about 40,000 men, 14,000 of which are cavalry, and the rest infantry; a considerable number of these are militia, but then the militia of this country is as regularly, and as well disciplined, as the regular troops; and for about two months in the year, they are embodied, and in actual discipline; a part of which time, they form the garrison of Copenhagen, and are immediately under the eye of the king.

The troops of Denmark, have a very good character for bravery and obedience, the two great essentials in a soldier; but the number kept up is much greater than it ought to be, since Denmark furnishes nine-tenths of them, Norway supplying only seamen; and their boisterous coast form them so bold and hardy, that none are accounted better. None of the dominions, except partial districts, are well peopled; and such a numerous body of troops, many of whom are taken from their own peasants, is doing a great mischief to agriculture.

Many of the regiments are filled with foreigners, particularly Germans and Poles; and there are great numbers of foreign officers in all the corps; this is to keep the nation in the more strict obedience.

The princes that have sat upon the throne of Denmark have been, since the revolution, remarkable for their abilities, and for pursuing the real interests of the country.

At a certain period, the commons disgusted with the tyrannical behaviour of the nobles, went to the palace, and made an offer of their lives, liberties, and properties to the king, without ever asking the concurrence of the third estate: but the nobles were utterly against the measure; and though they agreed in it at last, yet every writer is sufficiently clear, that it was by force they came into the agreement.

There are several new manufactories at Copenhagen, called royal ones, from being established at the king's expence; the chief of these are the woollen ones; here are more than 400 looms for weaving most sorts of cloths, from the finest, for the wear of the king himself, and his court, to coarser sorts for cloathing the army. There are a great number of hands employed in these, and some late measures have been taken to increase them, and with such success, that if they went on with as good a progress in future, as they have done hitherto, it is said, they would not only cloath all the army, but completely supply the whole demand of Copenhagen, and also make all that was wanted to export to the East Indies.

The improvements in agriculture, which have been made with attention and care, are very great and conspicuous in many parts of the king's dominions; and nothing can exceed the means which have been taken in this work to accomplish the end. The former bad state of this kingdom, was greatly owing to the misery under which the peasants groaned. This has been every where mollified: they have had numerous edicts in their favour, villainage is in many districts abolished, and the nobles and gentry prevented by severe laws, from trampling upon the lower classes, in the manner they too commonly did formerly.

The late king sent several very able men to travel through England, in order to report to him on their return,

return, the peculiarities, laws, customs, and conduct, which in that kingdom seemed to be most conducive to the well being of husbandry. Their journey was executed with great ability, and from their memoirs his majesty and ministers were enabled to judge what was, and what was not, practicable in Denmark. The grand articles were, to give more freedom to the class of cultivators, to secure their property, to abolish multipliable taxes, and to lett farms on long leases with covenants of improvements. These were the great heads of the report, and the points upon which they most insisted, as those which were the greatest benefit in England. They offered numerous inferior ones, upon the particular conduct of certain soils, upon draining, manuring, ploughing, &c. Implements were sent over as patterns, and some ingenious men to instruct them in the use of them; and the king, in order to preserve the knowledge thus gained, fixed those, with handsome salaries, on his crown lands, with their implements, and directed each to manage a given quantity of land according to the English husbandry. The men who worked under them for three years, were then changed, and sent to other estates, and fresh ones instructed, and the implements were on course multiplied with all of them; so that at this time there are a great number in constant use in different parts of the kingdom. The general effects of such measures are not immediately felt, but the consequences of the principal parts of the scheme have been rapid and great, particularly the letting lands on leases of improvement, which the king put in execution upon the crown lands immediately, and upon a large scale; and by his recommendations to the nobility, &c. and granting privileges to estates, in this management, the method spreads so much, that if the spirit which now animates the kingdom, lasts but for half a century, Denmark may probably be as well cultivated as some parts of England, and those not the worst. Another encouragement which his late majesty gave to agriculture, was, ordering the best books on that subject in the French, English, and German languages, to be translated into Danish, and many complete sets of these he made presents to such of his subjects, as made themselves at all known by any undertaking in agriculture beyond the common practice. He also published the offer of considerable premiums to be annually distributed among the tenants of the royal demesnes, who excelled the most in works of this nature.

In the fine arts, the Danes are no proficient; they have not encouragement enough to make any progress. The kingdom is too poor to yield a market even to great portrait painters; nothing can ever carry the fine, which in fact are the luxurious arts, to any degree of height, but a period full of wealth; in which luxury abounds to an high degree, and wherein the artist may find plenty of employment from the great and rich, and be at the same time very well paid for it. The only art that makes any decent figure at Copenhagen, is music, which flourishes pretty much at their concerts.

Copenhagen principally flourishes from the residence of the court; this is much the most brilliant object in Denmark. There are many great officers of state with considerable appointments; these, with the numerous inferior ones, and the guards, tend to render the town gay.

The Danish army is kept in very good order, and well disciplined: the men are picked, and their cloathing is in general very neat. We have already mentioned, that they are not all embodied at a time, but they could draw together, at a short notice, about 40,000 men, with a fine train of artillery and all stores proportioned. This renders the king a respectable monarch, in the military light, among the powers of the north; and has certainly been one reason for the long peace, in which two or three very wise kings have kept their dominions. Denmark has nothing to fear from any of its neighbours, except Russia, with whom she cannot compare in force.

The revenues of Denmark have been increasing gradually for fifty years; but the two last kings, at the same time that they did many great things for the good of their subjects, and the ornament of their kingdom; and even abolished some taxes, that were the most burthensome, greatly improved the royal income.

The king's army, if subsidies be reckoned, and the great numbers to whom he finds nothing but arms, costs him little, though there have been some years in which Denmark has been without any treaties of subsidy. His navy is maintained at a very easy rate, the number in constant pay in times of profound peace, is not considerable; the rest are retained by a month's pay in the year, to be ready at a call, and which they find a most excellent way; so that the expence of the navy is little more than the building and rebuilding ships, and filling the stores and magazines.

The increase of the royal revenue of Denmark, has been almost solely owing to a general improvement in the riches and welfare of the nation, and not, in a single instance, to the addition of taxes. The increase of the trade, the establishment of manufactures, and the improvement of lands, have all added to the general income of the people, and increased the number of the people themselves; and where taxes are at all general, as they are in Denmark, and indeed in most of the counties in Europe, all increase of income immediately makes taxes more productive; because the same taxes produce more in proportion, as the wealth of the people increases, and as they, consequently, can afford to make a more free use of the things and commodities that are taxed. So that it follows, that Denmark is not to be supposed poor, in proportion to the increase of the king's revenue. On the contrary the kingdom bids fair to flourish, as it appears to be continually improving.

“From all the opportunities I have had of seeing and conversing with the Danes (says a modern author) which I have done with all ranks, they appear to be a brave, courteous, and humane people. The superior classes are of an high spirit, and have as much vivacity in them as any people in Europe, the French alone excepted. They are shewy and fond of magnificence, and live in a mean between the English and the Germans, more sumptuous than the latter, but not with such a general consistency as the former; but I speak here of their nobility only. In their dress, the French fashions are generally followed, and the language of that nation is also universal among them. In their houses, they are expensive not only in the architecture, but also in the furniture, exceeding in this respect the Germans, but not equalling the English. At their tables they resemble the Germans most for cookery, but do not sit so long at their meals. In Germany, four courses and a desert will hold, upon a moderate computation, four hours and a half, which in England is dispatched in one. But the Danes is between the two, seldom rising however under the two hours. Some of the nobility are very expensive in French cooks, but it is not general. In their wines, they are particularly curious; nor do I in any country remember tasting a greater variety, or better of the sort. Their tables are admirably well served with fish, particularly of fresh water: and have sea fish in great abundance, though not of the best sorts. Wild fowl they abound greatly in, and have a greater variety than we in England; their venison is excellent; but their butchers meat is not, the whole not to be compared to that of the English. All the rich nobility have hot houses, and hot walls, fronted with glass, in their gardens; yet for want of a complete knowledge in the management of the plants, their fruit in general is bad. In other sorts of provisions they have upon a par with their neighbours; and their importations of various eatables of luxury have much increased of late years.

“If an account is taken in all these particulars of the next class of the people, the gentry, there will appear a greater difference between them and the same rank

rank in England, than between the Danish and the English nobility. They are not so comfortably in their circumstances, scarcely any of them are the masters of such estates as to carry them almost to par with the nobles which is so common in our country. Considering that a great part of the nobility make a very handsome figure, the gentry do not proportionably equal them.

"The lower classes are not comparable to ours, in ease and happiness; but they are by no means in that state of absolute slavery, they were in Mr. Moleworth's time. Several edicts and regulations have been published by the crown for restraining the ancient villinage, and a great number of cases specified, in which they gain their freedom; and as to the lower inhabitants of the towns and cities, they have the same freedom as in other absolute countries.

"As to the persons and manners of the lower classes, they are generally as well made and as stout as the Germans; they make good soldiers, and with any gentle usage, are very docile and tractable. Their manners have nothing of distinguishing brutality in them; they are in the villages, ignorant and clownish; but I have travelled through several countries where the poor people are much more contemptible. With proper instructions, I believe there are none in Europe; would make better husbandmen and farmers; for the peasants, whether free or not, are little farmers; and many of them manage their small spots of ground in such a manner, that there can be no doubt, but under more favourable circumstances they would equal their neighbours in every thing belonging to the culture of the earth.

"The Danish army finds employment for many young men of small fortune, who serve in order to gain a genteel maintenance, and the employments about the court, of the lower sort, provide for others; some apply themselves to trade voluntarily, in order to raise fortunes, and freely embark for the East and the West Indies, and in the prosecution of these pursuits, they are remarkably diligent and indefatigable; and many of such as seek their fortunes abroad, return home with very good ones, especially since the late encouragement that has been given to commerce; for during these latter reigns, there has been a regular attention to every thing that could promote the interest of trade, and no acts of injustice or oppression, against those who have bettered their circumstances by any kind of industry, have been known in the crown, or suffered in any of the great men.

"In their diversions, the Danes follow the fashions of the French and English: cards make a greater progress than formerly, and the wives of the nobility, and of such other classes as can afford it, have at Copenhagen their assemblies almost as regularly as any at London. The men are great chess players; it is a game they are very fond of, and which is more commonly introduced at their visits than in England: billiards and tennis are also common at Copenhagen. The theatre is French, though they have lately established a Danish one, where pieces translated from the English and French are indifferently performed: attempts have been made of an Italian opera, but without success.

"Learning of all kinds is but at a low ebb, to say the truth, the encouragement, which has flowed amply from the crown, during the two last reigns, has been almost exclusively in favour of objects of utility. Trade, manufactures, and agriculture, have been much more attended to than the cultivation of literature and the sciences; though an academy was founded, but it has not been very productive. The laws of Denmark are very famous for their brevity and excellence, but then their brevity leaves so much in the breast of the judge, that it is little more than a delegate of despotism. The throne of Denmark has, of late years, been filled with able princes, who have shewn, in every department of the state, such spirited conduct, with so much attention to the welfare of their subjects, that I have no doubt, but the laws

have been well and impartially executed; and while such a tight hand is held over all orders of the people in power, of whatsoever kind, I can easily conceive many blessings to flow from these short laws; but what would they be under a negligent one?"

Having mentioned the revolution by which the king of Denmark became absolute, we shall here give the reader an account of that important event.

After the conclusion of the peace between the two Northern crowns, Anno 1660; some considerable care and time was necessary to redress the disorders occasioned by so terrible a war. Denmark had been most violently shaken; and although the fury of the tempest was over, the agitation caused by it still continued: The army was not yet disbanded; nor could be for want of money to discharge its arrears; this caused frequent insolvencies in the soldiers, with a further oppression of the burgers and poor country people, who had been in a manner already ruined by the miseries attending the war. The nobility, though lords and masters, were full of discontents, and the clergy not in the condition they wished. To redress all such grievances, and reduce affairs into some order, by procuring money for the payment and disbanding of the army, the king thought fit to appoint a meeting of the three estates at Copenhagen, viz. the nobility, the commonality, and clergy; which accordingly followed about the middle of October: after some days session, during which the nobility, according to their usual practice, debated how the sums of money requisite might with greatest ease and conveniency be levied upon the commons, without the least intention of bearing any proportionable share themselves. Several disputes arose, and many sharp expressions passed between them and the commons; on one hand the nobility were for maintaining their ancient prerogative of paying nothing by way of tax, but only by voluntary contributions; and shewed themselves too stiff at a time when the country was exhausted, and most of the remaining riches lodged in their hands; they seemed to make use of this occasion, not only to vindicate, but even to enlarge their privileges above the other two estates, by laying impositions upon them at pleasure, which weight they would not touch themselves any farther, than as they thought fit. On the other hand, the clergy for their late adherence to the interest of their country, and the burgers for the vigorous defence of their city, thought they might justly pretend to new merit, and be considered at least as good subjects in a state, which they themselves had so resolutely defended. They remembered the great promises made them when dangerous enterprises were to be taken in hand, and how successfully they had executed them, thereby saving from a foreign yoke, not only the city of Copenhagen, but the whole kingdom, the royal family, and even those nobles that dealt so hard with them: they judged it therefore reasonable, that the sums of money necessary, should be levied proportionably, and that the nobility, who enjoyed all the lands, should at least pay their share of the taxes, since they had suffered less in the common calamity, as well as done less to prevent the progress of it.

This manner of arguing was very displeasing to the nobles, and occasioned many high words on both sides: at length a principal senator, called Otto Craeg, stood up, and told the president of the city, That the commons neither understood nor considered the privileges of the nobility, who at all times had been exempted from taxes, or the true condition of themselves, who were no other than slaves: so that their best way was to keep within their own bounds and acquiesce in such measures as ancient practice had warranted, and which they were resolved to maintain. This word slaves, put all the burgers and clergy into disorder, causing a loud murmur in the hall; which Nanson, the president of the city of Copenhagen, and Speaker of the House of Commons, perceiving, and finding a fit occasion of putting in practice a design

before concerted (though but weakly) between him and the bishop, in great anger rose out of his seat, and swore an oath, "That the commons were no slaves, nor from thenceforth be called so by the nobility, which they should soon prove to their cost;" and upon which, breaking up the assembly in disorder, and departing out of the hall, was followed by all the clergy and burgers, the nobles being left alone to consult with themselves at their leisure, after a little while adjourned to a private house near the court.

In the mean time the commons, being provoked to the highest degree, and resolving to put their threats in execution, marched processionally by couples, a clergyman and a commoner, from the great hall or parliament house, to the brewer's hall, which was the most convenient place they could pitch upon to sit apart from the nobles, the bishop of Copenhagen, and the president of the city, leading them. It was there thought necessary to consider speedily of the most effectual means to suppress the intollerable pride of the nobility, and how to mend their own condition: after many debates, they concluded, that they should immediately wait upon the king, and offer him their votes and assistance to be absolute monarch of the realm, as also that the crown should descend by inheritance to his family, which hitherto had gone by election. They promised themselves the king would have so great obligations to them for this piece of service, that he would grant and confirm such privileges as should place them above the degree of slaves. They knew he had hitherto been curbed by the nobility in a great measure, and now saw their own force, being able (since they had arms in their own hands, and the concurrence of the soldiers) to perform what they undertook. At the worst, they supposed they should only change many masters for one, and could better bear hardships from a king than from inferior persons: or if their case was not bettered, at least they thought it some comfort to have more company in it; besides the satisfaction of revenge on those that hitherto not only used them ill, but insulted over them so lately. They knew the king, and had seen him bear with admirable patience and constancy all his calamities, were persuaded he was a valiant prince, who had often exposed his person for the sake of the public, and therefore thought they could never do enough to shew their gratitude, which is the usual temper of the people upon any sort of benefit received from their prince.

Scarcely was this proposed but it was agreed to, and nothing but the unseasonableness of the time (it being then near night) deferred the immediate execution of it; but all the necessary measures were taken against the next morning.

The clergy had a farther drift in this change of government; for having been hitherto kept under by the nobility, they forecasted to have no other superior but the king, whose new authority they engaged to maintain by the influence they had on the consciences of the people; expecting, with reason, the like favours and protection from the king, together with an increase of their power; since he was in a great measure obliged to them for his own; and the benefits were likely to be mutual for the future; the one having the force, the other the tie of religion in their possession, which contracts subsists to this day, to the great advantage of both sides.

The court was not ignorant all this while of what passed; they wanted no spies, no messengers to give notice of the discontent of the commoners. Hannibal Seestede, a sensible man, was prime minister; and the bishop, or superintendent Swan, with Nansen the speaker of the house of commons, were his creatures: these had formerly in secret laid the design, which was now upon the point of disclosing, though their hopes were hardly laid so high, as to promise themselves such mighty success. The whole night passed in brigues and messengers, the commons anger was to be kept up to the requisite height, and the resolution they had taken the night before not to be suf-

fered to cool, but persisted in betimes the next morning. The queen, a woman of intrigue and high spirit, wrought strongly in it by all manner of ways, whilst the king, either through doubt of the event, or sense of the dishonesty and crime of the actors, in procuring after such a manner the absolute dominion of a free country, could hardly be brought to comply with it. He declared that indeed he should be pleased the sovereignty were entailed on his family, provided it were done by universal consent; but to become absolute and arbitrary, was neither his desire, nor did he think it for the benefit of the kingdom; that he was satisfied he should not make ill use of such an unlimited authority, but no body knew what successors he might have; that it was therefore dangerous both for them to give, and him to receive such a power as might be abused in future times to the utter ruin of the nation.

But these reflections, whether they were real, or only pretences, whether caused by the piety or weakness of the king, were soon over-ruled by the more ambitious and masculine spirit of the queen, who desired him to sit still, and see how she and her emissaries would work for him; told him, that the plot was well laid, and had began to operate prosperously; that he must not obstruct his own and his families good fortune; and in fine, so far prevailed on him, that he seemed with fear to consent to it, and permit that which he very much desired. Having however by this shew of unwillingness, left open to himself a door of reconciliation with his people, in case the business did not succeed.

All this while the nobles either had none, or but small intimation of the proceedings of the commons, they had been used so long to slight and tyrannize over, that they were not now sensible of any impending danger from them, contemning their threats as well as their persons, and imagining they would have repented the next day, and comply with all that should be demanded of them; but the plot was deeper laid than they supposed; for not only the prime minister, but some other members of their own body, who had employments depending on the court, were engaged in it. This inadvertency, with the want of requisite courage upon the occasion, brought upon them the mischief on a sudden; so that except two or three who were more than ordinary doubtful of what might happen, and slipped out of the town that night, the rest were altogether fearless of danger, till the very instant that the evil was past remedy.

Schack, the governor of the town had been gained by the court to favour the design, which he performed effectually, though not with so servile an intention as others; for when the king, upon the first news of the resolution of the commons, did often openly promise that he would in gratitude, recompence and declare them all free, as soon as it lay in his power, by the gift they were about to make him, and the people were willing to trust the king's goodness, and to depend on the performance of this promise, encouraged thereunto by the clergy, who alledged it a thing unbecoming and dishonourable to require any other security from the king than his bare word; yet Schack urged vehemently that the commons should insist to have this promise under the king's hand, and make themselves sure of the reward for so considerable a present as they were going to make, whilst they had so fair an opportunity in their hands. But all his instances were in vain; they were in the giving humour, and resolved to do it generously, trusting the king for the performance of his word; a thing which they have since, often, though too late, repented of.

The next morning, the nobles met in the council house, and the other two electors in the brewers hall, the resolution of the commons could not be kept so secret, but by this time some warm rumours of it had reached the nobility; but scarcely had they leisure to consider what was fit to be done on that occasion, when they were informed that the commons were marching towards them; for the bishop and the presi-

dent had so well performed their parts, and urged the necessity of speedily executing what had been resolved on the day before; that all time was judged lost which was not employed in putting it in practice; they immediately agreed to go to the council-house, and there propound to the nobility their design, desiring their concurrence in such a necessary work, for the welfare of the kingdom. They marched through the streets with great gravity and silence, by couples, as before, whilst the mob, by repeated shouts, applauded what they were going to do. And thus they came to the house where the nobles were assembled, who had scarce warning sufficient to receive them.

The president Nanson made a short harangue, setting forth that they had considered the state of the nation, and that they found the only remedy for the many disorders which afflicted it, was to make the crown hereditary, and to give more power to the king than hitherto had been enjoyed; that this resolution was already taken by the commons and clergy, in which if the nobility should think fit to concur, they were ready to accompany them to the king, and make him a tender of an hereditary and sovereign dominion; if not, that they were going themselves, and the matter would be done without them; that a speedy resolution was necessary, for they had already sent word to the court of their coming, and his majesty expected them in the hall of his palace; therefore desired to be informed in a few words what they resolved to do.

The suddenness of such a proposition, and briskness in the manner of its delivery, caused a general astonishment in the nobles; one might have seen those who but the day before carried it so proudly, in an instant fall to an excess of complacency, and betray their fear by their speeches and countenances, as they formerly had done their arrogance. The mischief no sooner appeared to them, but they saw it was unavoidable; there was no leisure allowed them to consult; and to deny their compliance, or even to delay it, was dangerous. To give up at once their beloved power, and to submit their necks to a heavy yolk, was an intolerable grievance: but they saw they were no longer masters; the commons were armed, the army and clergy against them; and they found now too late, that what the day before they had considered only as the effort of an unconstant giddy multitude, was guided by wiser heads, and supported by encouragements from court; nay, possibly by some of their own body: they suspected each other, and no man knew whether his next neighbour was not in the plot against the public liberty. It is easy to imagine what distracted thoughts afflicted them on a sudden, they were altogether unprepared for such a dismal stroke: but some answer must be given, and that speedily. Such a one as they had a mind to give, they durst not; for they were assembled in a fortified town, remote from their several countries and interests (where they had governed like so many princes) in the power of those who could, and certainly would be revenged in case they proved refractory. The best way therefore was to seem to approve of what they could not hinder. They answered, That the propositions made to them by the commons was not displeasing, but the manner of it wanted the requisite formalities; that previous deliberation was necessary to an affair of so great moment; that they could not but take it ill, a resolution of such consequence should be concluded on by the commons without the least acquainting the nobility with it, who were the chief estate of the realm: that they also aspired to the honour of bearing their part in bestowing such a material gift on the king and his posterity, but desired that the matter might be proceeded on with that gravity, and solemnity, which the nature of it required. That it was not fit such a weighty transaction should have the appearance of a tumult, and seemed forced rather than a free choice. The conclusion of all was, That they hoped the commons would a little defer the putting in execution their design; and in the mean time consult with them, till the affair was done orderly,

and with unanimous approbation, as well as to mutual advantage.

This was with great vehemency by the president denied. He replied, These were shifts only to gain time, that the nobles might be in a condition to frustrate the intention of the commons; that the point was already agreed, and the resolution taken; that they came not hither to consider, but to act; if the nobles would join with them, they were ready; if not, they would do what was to be done alone; and doubted not but his majesty would make his use of it.

During these disputes the nobility had privately sent some of their body to court to acquaint the king, that the commons were now at their house, and had made them sudden proposals out of form, but such as they should rather concur with, than be averse to; that they were ready to join in offering an hereditary crown to his majesty, and the heirs male of his family for ever; which they hoped his majesty would accept in good part: but desired to proceed in usual methods, which such weighty affairs merited, viz. by conferences and deliberations, that it might appear rather an effect of their just sentiments of his majesty's valour and conduct, than the sudden motions of a tumultuous assembly.

The king, with a great deal of mildness, as if he had been wholly unconcerned and passive in the case, replied, That he was obliged to them for their designs in favour of him, and the royal family; that he hoped what they were about would tend to the benefit of the nation; but that a crown entailed only upon the heirs male, could not be so acceptable to him, as if it were given without that limitation; that the government of females had neither been a new thing at home, nor unprosperous in neighbouring countries: That they might consider of it, and since it was their gift, he would not prescribe, but it could not be acceptable to him unless it were more general.

In the mean time the commons grew impatient, the answer given them was not satisfactory, and the nobles had not yet resolved on an entire compliance, nor were ready to accompany them, because they had not yet an account of the success of their members sent to sound the mind of the court.

The clergy and burgers therefore, led on by the bishop and president, proceeded without them to the palace, and were met by the prime minister, and conducted by him to the hall of audience, whither, after some short time, the king came to them. The bishop made a long speech, setting forth the praises of his majesty, and the cause of their waiting on him: concluding with an offer, in the name of themselves, the two most numerous, and if he pleased, most powerful estates, of an hereditary and absolute dominion; together with the assistance of their hands and purses, in case any body should go about to obstruct so necessary and laudable a design for the good of the country. The king told them in short, That he thanked them; and in case a universal consent established this good desire of theirs, he would accept the present they made him; but that the concurrence of the nobles was necessary; which he doubted not of in the least, when they had time to make the offer with the necessary formalities; that he assured the commons of his royal protection, and spared not to be unmindful of their kindness by easing them of their grievances, and by encouraging subjects who had behaved themselves so valiantly, and deserved so well from him; concluding with his advice to them to continue their session till such time as matters were brought to perfection, and he could receive their gift with the solemnity that was fitting: and upon that dismissed them.

But the nobles were all this while in a grievous distraction; they saw the commons were gone to the king without them: their messengers brought news that their proposition of entailing the crown on the heirs male, was not pleasing, because a greater advantage was in prospect; that this offer

was

was looked upon to proceed from persons that would not have bestowed any thing, if they could have helped it. That it was thought they pretended to merit in giving only a part, when it was not in their power to hinder the taking the whole. In this irresolution they broke up, and since they were to meet again at noon upon another solemn occasion, they resolved how to proceed in an affair so delicate.

Monsieur Schele, a senator, and principal man of the country, was that afternoon to be buried in great pomp; his body had lain some months in state, and according to the custom; was to be accompanied to its interment by all the nobility then in town; this being a parliament time, was chosen for the ceremony, because the nobles were all together, and a magnificent dinner was prepared, as is usual on the like occasions. In the height of their entertainment, an officer came into the room, and whispered to some of the principal men that the city gates were shut, and the keys carried to court: for the king having been informed by the governor, that two or three had privately slipped out of town the night before, and being resolved that no more should escape out of the net, till he had done his business, had ordered the governor that morning to lock the gates, and to let no person in or out without special order. The governor sent one Bill, the town major, to put this in execution; who as soon as he had done it, went to the house where they were met, and sat down at the table among the senators. This dismal news of the officer's was presently whispered round the company; who immediately applied themselves to him, to know what the meaning was of such an unusual proceeding at the time of a general convention; they asked him, What destiny was appointed them? whether they were there to be massacred, or what else was to be done with them? The town major calmly answered, That he believed there was no danger towards them, that such violent measures would not be taken by so gracious a king; though he had indeed given the orders himself for the shutting the gates; and that nobody was to stir out of the town without leave; but that this need not disturb or hinder them from finishing the work of the day, and pursuing their public, as well as their private business. There wanted no more than this confirmation from the officer to overthrow all the resolution, and consultations of the nobles; the dread of losing their lives took away all thoughts of their liberty. They immediately dispatched messengers both to the court, and the commons, to give notice of their disposition to comply with what was formerly proposed; assuring them likewise, that they were ready to agree to all that should be asked of them.

But the king, who had begun and played his game so well hitherto, determined to pursue it to the utmost, and would not suffer the doors to be opened, till the whole ceremony of inauguration was concluded, and the homage done in due form, and therefore ordered they should stay, till in the face of the people and the army, they had sworn fealty, and divested themselves of all right, as well as power, to cause any disturbance or alteration for the future.

Three days time was requisite to prepare matters for that fatal hour, wherein they were to make a formal surrender of their liberty; the scaffolds were raised in a place before the castle, and adorned with tapestry; orders were given for the soldiers, and burgers to appear in arms under their respective officers: and when all things were ready, on the 27th of October, in the morning, the king, queen, and royal family, mounted on a theatre erected for that purpose, and being placed on chairs of state under canopies of velvet, received publicly the homage of all the senators, nobility, clergy and commons; which was performed kneeling.

They were then obliged to take an oath, and some men of quality who were sick, or pretended to be so, were brought in chairs. Among others one Garsdorf, a principal senator, who was the only one that spoke

in behalf of their expiring liberties, saying, That he hoped, and trusted, that his majesty designed nothing but the good of his people; and not to govern them after the Turkish manner: but wished his majesty's successors might follow the example, which his majesty would undoubtedly set them, and make use of that unlimited power for the good, and not the harm of his subjects. Not one of the rest spoke a word, or seemed to murmur in the least at what was done.

Indeed it has been said, That had the nobles shewed ever so little courage in asserting their privileges, the king would not have pursued his point so far as to have desired an arbitrary dominion: for he was in continual doubt, and dread of the event, and began to waver very much in his resolutions; so that their liberties seem purely lost for want of some to appear for them.

From the theatre, those that had done homage went to the council house, where the nobles were called over by name, and ordered to subscribe the above mentioned declaration, which they did.

Thus this affair was finished, and the kingdom of Denmark in four days time changed from an estate little differing from aristocracy, to as absolute a monarchy as any at present in the world.

The nobility however, still retain a desire of power, not easily extinguished in the human breast: and to the machinations of some of these may be attributed the fate of a princess who was degraded from a throne to spend her days in obscurity.

Among all the hardships which are imposed on the poor peasants of this country, is the obligation they lie under to furnish the king, royal family, and all their attendants, their baggage and furniture, with horses, and travelling waggons, whenever he makes any progress (which he often does either to Jutland or Holstein) or takes any lesser journey in Zealand; even, although it be only to his country houses of Fredricksburg and Yagerburg. In these cases all the peasants that lie near the road, or in that district, are summoned to attend with their horses and waggons at certain stages, where they are to relieve each other: and this they often do, always at their own charges for man's and horse-meat, for two or three days together, no regard being made to the season of harvest, (which is their usual travelling time) or to any other convenience of these poor wretches. So that they have been seen with hundreds of waggons in a company, bewailing their sad condition: and as soon as the king comes up, and his coaches, with those of the other persons of quality, are fitted with six or eight boors horses each, and every lacquey seizes on his boor and waggon, for his own proper use; at which time, unless his pleasure be in all things complied with, the poor trembling peasant (who drives on and takes all patiently, without replying one word) is sorely beaten and abused. Neither is it only when the king himself travels, that the boors are put to this trouble, but whenever he pleases to give his warrant to any person of quality, or officer, that has a journey to make, they are obliged to this service and attendance.—This custom however, is not so frequent as it used to be.

Apoplexies and the falling sickness are the epidemical distempers here; one hardly pass through the streets of Copenhagen, without seeing one or two poor creatures groveling on the ground in a fit, and foaming at the mouth, with a circle of gazers and assistants about them. Apoplexies among the better sort, often proceed either from excessive drinking, or from discontent; it being very usual here to have them die of a *flacht*, as they call it, which is an apoplexy, proceeding from discontent and trouble of mind. But by way of amends for these distempers, there are few or none that are troubled with coughs, catarrhs, consumptions, or such like diseases of the lungs; so that in the midst of winter, in the churches, which are very much frequented, there is no noise to interrupt the attention due to the preacher. It has
been

been said, that their warm stoves, with the plenty and pureness of their firing, (which is beech wood) contributes as much to their freedom from these kinds of maladies, as the grossness and unwholesomeness of our coals in London does to our being so universally troubled with them; notwithstanding the ingenious Sir William Petty be of another opinion; for in all other respects of air and situation, we have the advantage of them.

The marriages here are usually preceded by contracts, which will last sometimes three, four, or more years, before they proceed to a public wedding by the minister; though often the young couple grow better acquainted before these formalities are dispatched. The gentry give portions with their daughters, but the burgers and peasants, if they be able, give cloaths, some household stuff, and a great wedding dinner, but nothing else till they die.

Sumptuous burials and monuments are much in request with the nobility; and it is usual to keep the corps of a person of quality in a vault, or the chancel of some church, for several years together, till a fit opportunity to celebrate the funeral. The poorer sort are buried in great thick chests; and in the towns there are about a dozen of common mourners belonging to each parish, who are obliged to carry and attend them to their graves.

Lord Moleworth observed that the common people were given to cheating and suspecting others.

"Inasmuch (says he) that if you offer them great profit for a thing which they have not been formerly used to sell, they will refuse to part with it, as suspecting that you see an advantage in such a purchase, which as yet is unknown to them, but which they hope to find out. I remember one instance: seeing great flocks of green geese in the fields near the town, I sent to buy some, but they being never used to sell, or eat geese in that country, till they are big and old, it was not possible to persuade any body to part with one of them; though double the price of a big one was offered for each. They asked what we desired to buy them for? what we would do with them, &c. For they could not be persuaded, any one would be so foolish to eat them whilst young, or little; after a week, an old woman, to whom money had been offered for a dozen, came and brought four to sell, saying, "That neither she nor her geese, had thriven since she had refused to sell them at a good price; for the kite had the night before killed eight of her flock, and that now the remaining four were at my service." Thus the superstition of this old woman procured us the first green geese that I believe were ever eaten in Denmark; but after that they had taken notice that we fattened and killed them for eating, they furnished us with them as often as desired. I would not omit this story (adds he) because it gives a more lively idea of the common people, than any description I could make. In their markets they will ask the same price for stinking meat as for fresh; for lean as for fat, if it be of a kind. And the sure way not to obtain, is to seem to value, and to ask importunately, a thing which otherwise they themselves would desire should be done. This last remark is not peculiar to the common people only.

"I do not see that they are good at imitating the inventions of other countries; and for inventing themselves, I believe none here, since the famous Tycho Brahe, ever pretended to it. Few or no books are written, but what some of the clergy compose of religion. Not so much as a song, or a tune, was made during three years that I stayed here. Their seasons of jollity are very rare, and since the fatal opera, about four years ago, in which many hundred persons were burnt in the old queen's house, they contented themselves with running at the goose on Shrove Tuesday, and taking their pleasure upon sleds in the winter, and well wrapped up in wool or fur; a diversion much in request in this court, and among all kinds of people.

"The language is very ungrateful, and not unlike

the Irish in its whining complaining tone. The king, great men, gentry, and many burgers, make use of High Dutch in their ordinary discourse, and of French to strangers. I have heard several in high employments boast that they could not speak Danish; yet many of the monisyllables in this tongue are the same with the English; and without doubt we owe the original of them to the Danes, and have retained them ever since they were masters of our country."

The town of Rypen stands on the river Nipsaw, which forms three channels, and divides the place into as many parts: it falls into the north sea about three miles below the town, and forms one of the best harbours in Denmark. This advantage occasions trade here in fisheries, also some to Hamburgh, a little to Amsterdam; and they have a few small ships which use the trade from Norway and the Baltic to England. There is a university here, but it is not in a flourishing situation; it is a bishop's see; and they have for their defence a fortified castle. The church is built of hewn stone; the steeple is so high that it serves as a land-mark to sailors on this coast, which is generally esteemed very dangerous.

Hodsfedburg, is a little town, well situated on a pretty river, upon which was observed some small craft, a sign that the inhabitants carry on a trade; and there is good fish here. The country is tolerably well cultivated, except the marshes, which are all in the state of nature, having never been attempted to be drained. They cultivate many of the turnip grounds here with cabbage leaves. Near this town is Lemwijg, the country continuing pretty good. That town is oddly situated on a small bay within 10 miles of the sea, and is without any trade or shipping, but small fishing-craft; the reason is, that it has no communication with the German ocean, the bay on which it stands being in the great lake, which extends quite across Jutland, and falls into the Baltic. There is little worthy of observation in this place.

Nikisbing is situated on an island on the lake, which they call the Gulph of Leimford. It is chiefly applied to pasturage. The town is pretty large, but seems very poor, and has but bad accommodations.

Aalborg is the see of a bishop, and a place of some trade, and there are also a few fabrics of woollen goods, fixed at the king's expence; but they do not seem to be in any flourishing situation, chiefly from want of support and attention to the conduct of them. As the introduction of any thing of this sort is of but little consequence, unless there is a standing attention paid to their increase and welfare.

Wyburg is at thirty miles distance; the way lies through waste land. These wastes are all well watered with streams, and the soil is in general very good, and much of it deep and free from stones, though some tracts are full of them, and rocky, but none that might not be applied to many very useful purposes, were they in the hands of active and wealthy industrious people. This city is the see of a bishop, and also the residence of a provincial court of justice, but it is nevertheless a very inconsiderable place.

Horsens is also a sea-port. The king has great demesnes in the country, and upon which has been planted some colonies of poor Germans. They had lands let them upon lease, which they cultivate better than their neighbours the Danes, but they do not seem to be good husbandmen, as they fix only upon the dry lands, whereas the marshes drained would prove much the richer of the two. Though this attention had been given to peopling these wastes, yet very little care had since been taken to increase the numbers, or to give such encouragement to them, as to enable them to execute any thing considerable in improvements.

Weile, though a small place, is pretty well built. The streets are strait, and tolerably paved, and the houses well built of brick. It has a commodious harbour, on a bay which falls into the Baltic, by means of which, it carries on a pretty good trade. But the

the inhabitants of all these little post towns seem much to want encouragement in their trade; they would all flourish very tolerably, if they had a cultivated country, with some manufactories behind them. Many favourable circumstances must unite in a port to create trade, where the export consists of nothing but a scanty product of mere natural commodities: trade consists of and depends upon exportation reciprocal to the importation; but the general misfortune in the commerce of such little ports, is a failure of the exportation part; all of them, as far as the demand reaches, are free enough, at importing. This is a sure trade to the merchant, as most branches are, in which gold and silver are the commodities exported for the products and manufactures of other countries. Indeed the Danish ports have the general misfortune of being deficient in inland navigation, having nothing to depend upon but the mere circulation of the town, which is in general very confined. Trade depends much on manufactures, and not a little on a flourishing agriculture. Neither of these are common in Denmark; so that it is not to be wondered, that the general commerce of the kingdom is confined.

Kolding is a very pretty town, beautifully situated; it contains some trade, and a royal palace, but it has nothing in it that is worthy of a travellers notice, though the inhabitants make a great matter of it, as if it was the Versailles of the north. The king has some considerable demesnes around this town, and raises a revenue by a toll upon all cattle which pass the bridge, and which amounts to a considerable sum; for most that are driven from Jutland for the Dutch drovers, which are very numerous, pay here half a dollar a head. The country from Horsens to Weile is tolerably well cultivated.

The road from Kolding to Hadershelbe, is through a country remarkable for its cultivation: most of their waste tracks has been of late improved, and many acres, that not many years since were all covered with forests, are now in a state of profit for their owners. This has been totally owing to an emancipation of the peasants. It was found that the earth would never be well cultivated by mere slaves, and acting consistently with this just idea, has had the desired effect.

The Danes in the midst of their attention to commerce and agriculture have laid many plans for increasing their East India trade, and among others, there was one, which had actually been so much approved as to be put partly in execution, and this was to purchase by treaty, the port and territory of Mosambique, on the Coast of Africa, from the Portuguese; a colony which is of little national advantage to that kingdom, since the declension of their affairs in the East Indies, but which would be of infinite importance to the Danes, in case they set heartily about an increase of their India commerce. In some negotiations with the court of Lisbon, matters had gone so far, as fixing the terms, which, though they were too high to conclude on, yet they brought on a farther treaty, relative to other settlements in the Indies, and which it was evident they were willing to part with, in case they could get high terms. Mosambique from its situation, might be a port and colony of as great importance even as the Cape of Good Hope; all Danish ships, going and coming to and from the Indies might water and take in their refreshments there; as behind it lie the richest countries in Africa, and it is open to the trade of the rest of that vast coast, to Arabia, Persia, &c. so that there could be no doubt but it would turn out a place of infinite importance in the hands of an active, and industrious nation. The treaty upon this affair with Portugal was broke off, without coming to any conclusion, but on what account is not known to the world.

The scheme however, was a good one. The best of all government that still belong to the Viceroy of the Indies, is that of Mosambique, already mentioned in the former part of this work. They have a strong fort there with four good bastions; which command the

channel, and in which there are seventy pieces of brass cannon, and here is always kept a good garrison, and in tolerable order. The governor is honoured with the title of General of the River Senna, where he has his lieutenant, which employment was worth to him several hundred thousand crowns a year; there are but a few houses about the fort, the inhabitants keeping their effects on a neighbouring continent. The merchandise brought to this place by the ships of the company, are bought at a set price by the royal factory; which afterwards sends them to Chelimani, the mouth of the River Senna, running 300 miles along the coast, in galleys and small vessels, because of the flats from Chelimani; the goods are sent up the river against the stream, in almandies, or little boats, which are ten days going up, and about five coming down. It is very difficult going up for those that are not acquainted with the shallows and windings of the river.

Cafrs and blacks as has been observed, resort to this port, from provinces and kingdoms three or four months journey distant, to buy and take up goods upon trust for so much gold, which they never fail to bring punctually the next year, unless death prevents them. This trade yields above cent per cent, so that the Portuguese may be said to have another India in Africa.

Senna is a little town, on the right hand of the river, inhabited by fifty Portuguese families, who make it populous enough by the great number of blacks they keep. They till the ground, and dig the mines, and by that means maintain their masters, instead of being kept by them.

Solfola, where the Portuguese have another establishment, is but about fifteen days journey from hence; and here a prodigious trade is carried on, of which the Portuguese are or might be masters. It consists chiefly of gold, of which there are greater quantities here than in any other country in the world, since the annual produce of this market is computed by the best judges, at 46,000 ounces. There are vast quantities of Spanish and Canary wines; oil; silks; linens, cottons, coral, and other European goods, sold here, which are carried by the inhabitants of the little kingdoms of Solfola, through all the great empire of Monomotapa, which the Portuguese stile the Empire of Gold, from the prodigious quantities of that precious metal, which is brought to them from thence. There are likewise some very rich commodities, brought hither by the negros, such as the most excellent ebony in the world, great quantities of ivory, abundance of fine mats, which are much esteemed in the Indies, and a great number of slaves; so that Goa, and all the rest of the Portuguese settlements, are furnished from hence.

Yet these possessions are said to produce so little to the king of Portugal, that it has been more than once debated, in the council of that prince, whether it would not be to the interest of the crown to abandon them altogether, withdrawing their artillery and effects; it is likewise asserted that it is not any political but purely a religious motive, that has hindered this resolution from being taken, the priests have suggested, that in that case a multitude of souls would be lost to the church. But we shall the less wonder at this, if we consider, that such as are best acquainted with the East India trade, assures us, that not a single merchant, and a single ship of a reasonable burden, may carry on as great commerce, as that which at present subsists between Lisbon and Goa.

There are yet a great many ships employed from Goa, Diu, and Daman, to the Coasts of Persia, Pegu, Manilla, and China, but they are mostly on account of Indian merchants, there scarce being a Portuguese trader at Goa able to furnish a cargo of 10,000 crowns, and it is very much doubted, whether in the whole of their trade they employ above 200,000 crowns; so that it is not at all strange, that one year with another, there are not above two ships sent directly from Goa to Lisbon; and those not

above a fourth part so rich as when they annually sent twenty. Yet there has been a late regulation made at Goa, for the preservation and promoting of trade, which those who understood that subject best, agree, completed its ruin. This is an exclusive company which has the sole right to the commerce of Mosambique and Mocha, which company has taken upon itself the payment of the royal officers, who are also two thirds employed therein; which has given such a blow to the natural commerce of Goa, that the best part of the Indian merchants that were left, are now retired from thence. To say the truth, it was the great share the viceroys, governors, and other officers, always took in commerce, without contributing any thing thereto; except protecting the merchants from the violence committed by themselves, on such as did not admit them to a share of their trade, that first destroyed the extensive commerce they enjoyed. But though their power and their commerce are so much declined, their pride is as great as ever, insomuch that they refuse the natives of the country who are called Canarins, the wearing of stockings, though they employ them as physicians, lawyers, and merchants; by which, many of them are so rich, that they keep a dozen or fourteen slaves, and are in much better circumstances than the Portuguese themselves.

The revenues of the church have suffered very little by this most surprising change in the state: there is hardly a monastery that does not receive four or five thousand crowns out of the treasury, at the same time the soldiers starve and mutiny for want of pay; which is so much the harder upon the government, because the reverend fathers know very well how to take care of themselves, insomuch, that it is affirmed, the Jesuits in Goa have a better revenue than the crown of Portugal. It is not easy to know what becomes of the money these churchmen raise; but it is very evident, that the wealth they possess, together with the establishment of the inquisition at Goa, is such a dead weight on the settlement, as must sooner or later destroy it.

“The wisest of the Portuguese in Europe, (says our author) understand this very well, and would be glad to see some proper remedy applied, not from a prejudice against the church or churchmen, which is far enough from being the vice of that nation, but out of pure regard to the crown and to the nation; but one would think that the clergy themselves, instead of grasping at more, ought to be willing to part with some proportion of what is already in their hands, in order to render the state more able to protect them in the possession of the remainder. Besides there is nothing clearer, than that the erecting of religious houses, is directly opposite to the very scheme of planting, and must always ruin the settlements where it prevails, and consequently the religious houses themselves, which is even an argument that ought to prevail with the popish princes, to lay more restraint on the missionaries that are sent abroad: unless they prefer the reputation of zeal, among those who are no competent judges, not only to maxims of policy and good government, but to the principles of true religion. For if there be any piety in converting Pagans to the Christian faith, it follows, that there is still greater piety in doing this effectually, and in maintaining for ever the establishments necessary to support them, which reason and experience shews, the building monasteries, and maintaining numbers of idle people in them, will not do; but on the contrary, will bring on, in time, the destruction of those colonies, in which this humour is suffered to prevail.

“It is not many years since that several Indian princes were driven from before Goa, which they had blocked up with a numerous army, by the powerful succours sent by the king of Portugal, and by the excellent conduct of the late viceroy, who was the Count de Laurical, and who, if I mistake not, was twice in the Indies, and behaved there with great

reputation. Such expeditions, however, are to be considered as expedients only, which for a time may preserve that settlement, but can never restore it, or bring the affairs of the nation, in those parts, into so good order as to make them worth the attention of a prince, who has the honour of the crown, and the good of his people at heart.

“It is however certain, that the establishments which the crown of Portugal still has in the East Indies, might in the hands of an active, and industrious nation, turn to considerable account; for it has been long ago observed by Mr. Tavinier, that the port of Diu is as well situated for trade, and as capable of improvement, as any in that part of the world, or more so; and if put under proper regulations, that is, if made in some measure a free port, it must necessarily come in for a large share of that commerce now carried on at Surat, and in all probability, retrieve much of the Arabian and Persian commerce, that has been so long lost to the Portuguese: on the other hand, as they have still some factories at Bismager, and other places on that coast, it would be no difficult matter to re-establish their commerce in the heart of India, at the same time, that the port of Macao would furnish them with the means of supplying the China market, as cheap, or cheaper, than any other European nation; because the colony of Mosambique is so situated, as to serve them for the same purpose that the Cape of Good Hope does the Dutch, or the island of St. Helena does the English.

“But all these advantages signify nothing in the hands of those, who are so far from possessing the virtues requisite for such improvements, that, on the contrary, they are not only tainted with, but overrun by such vices, as must unquestionably overturn the best establishment in the world. We may therefore safely predict, that the continuance even of the slender power which the Portuguese have still left, cannot continue long, and that for these two plain reasons; first, because it has been long, and still in a declining condition; so that its force being extremely decayed, and at the same time continually employed in resisting the efforts of its enemies, it is impossible, in the nature of things, that it should subsist for any time: secondly, the manners of the people are entirely ruined, so that there is not the least probability that any such reformation will ever be effected, as might enable them to make such use of the convenient ports, of which they are still possessed, as is necessary to revive and restore their commerce in the Indies. We may venture therefore to pronounce, that in the compass of twenty or thirty years, their establishments in these parts will be quite lost, and that in all likelihood, Goa, Diu, and Daman, will be lost first; which will necessarily draw after them the desertion of Macao, which cannot long subsist by its own force, and lies at too great a distance to receive any effectual succour or support from Portugal directly.”

By the state of the matter it is apparent, that the Danes might make such a purchase, as we have mentioned, turn out to a very good account.

Though learning is not arrived at any high pitch in Denmark, yet there is an university at Copenhagen, and there are other seminaries in the kingdom, which are capable of improvement, and will probably receive it under some succeeding reign. As to the present, it seems to promise but little; and though we have spoken of the Danes as a rising people, it is likely their progress will be but slow under the government of such a prince as Christian VII. who suffers himself to be guided in the most important concerns of state by the members of a court faction, who seek their own aggrandisement, rather than the honour of the sovereign, or the welfare of their country.

In the mean time it behoves Denmark to keep a watchful eye upon a jealous neighbour that has, for a succession of ages been considered as a natural enemy, and after having been tumbled from the summit of power, gives signs of once more growing into greatness.



A NEW
and Correct MAP of
NORWAY,
SWEDEN.
and
DENMARK.
from the Latest
GEOGRAPHICAL
IMPROVEMENTS.



ness. The Swedes, under the auspices of a young monarch, whose counsels have baffled those of the aged, may be enabled to thwart the interests of her rival in many respects, and hinder her from reaping many of those advantages which she may otherwise reasonably hope for, from the wise regulations made within the space of the last century.

On the whole, it may be observed, that though much has been accomplished, yet much more remains to be done, to give Denmark that eclat which it seems to expect. Among the rest, a revival of their

boasted code of laws appears to be necessary, wherein some alterations might be made, equally for the benefit of the subjects, and the good of the state. The establishing a nearer connexion between agriculture and commerce, might be an object worth attending to; and a less degree of partiality shewn to the military orders might be of real service to the country. These ends being attained, we cannot help concluding with some ingenious countrymen of ours who have lately visited those parts, Denmark would cut a good figure among the states of Europe.

TRAVELS THROUGH SWEDEN.

SWEDEN, including the dukedom of Finland, is bounded by the Baltic sea on the south, the unpassable mountains of Norway and Muscovy on the east, being extended from 59 to 69 degrees north latitude, and from 32 to 55 longitude; and consequently twice as big as the kingdom of France; but the abatements that must be made for several seas, and many great lakes, some whereof are above 80 English miles long, and 20 broad, as also for rocks, woods, heaths, and morasses, that cover much of these countries, will reduce the habitable part to a very small portion, comparatively to the extent of the whole.

The soil in places capable of cultivating, is tolerably fruitful, though seldom above half a foot deep, and therefore more easily plowed, as it frequently is by one maid and an ox, and is generally best where there is the least of it, that is, in the little spaces between the rocks; and frequently the barren land enriched with the ashes of trees growing on the places that are burnt, and the seed raked among the ashes, produces a plentiful crop, without farther cultivation.

This practice is so ancient, that their writers derive the name of Sweden from a word in their language that expresses it; but the danger of destroying the woods, has of late occasioned some laws to limit that custom.

If the inhabitants were industrious, above what necessity forces them to, they might at least have corn sufficient of their own; but as things are managed, they have not; nor can they subsist without great importations of all sorts of grain from the country of Leiland, and other parts of Germany, adjacent to the Baltic sea; and notwithstanding these supplies, the poorest sort in many places remote from traffic, are forced to grind the bark of birch-trees to mix with their corn and make bread, of which they have not always plenty.

The cattle, as in other northern countries, are generally of a very small size; neither can the breed be bettered by bringing in larger from abroad, which soon degenerate; because in summer the grass is much less nourishing than in the places from whence they came; and in the winter they are usually half starved, for want of fodder of all kinds; which often falls so very short, that they are forced to unthatch their houses to keep a part of their cattle alive. Their sheep bear a very coarse wool, only fit to make cloathing for the peasants. The horses, especially the finest, though small, are hardy, vigorous, strong, sure-footed, and nimble trotters, which is of great use to them, because of the length of their winters, and their fitness for sleds, which is their only carriage in that season.

Of wild beasts, which are very plentiful in these parts, bears, elks, deer, and hares, are hunted

for their flesh, as also together with wolves, foxes, wild cats, &c. for their furs and hides. They hunt here with less ceremony than elsewhere, taking all advantages to shoot their game, at which they are generally very dexterous. There are no rabbits in these countries, but what are brought in for curiosity, and kept tame. In winter, foxes and squirrels somewhat change colour, and become grayish, but hares turn quite white.

Both wild and tame fowl are very plentiful and good in their kind, except sea fowl, which feed and taste of fish; the most common are orras and keders, the former of the bigness of a hen, the other of a turkey; as also partridges, and a kind of bird something resembling them, called Yerpers. There are taken in winter great numbers of small birds, as thrushes, black-birds, and sydenscwans, the last of the bigness of Veldefares, but better meat, supposed to come from Lapland, or yet farther north, and have their name from the beautifulness of their feathers, some of which are tipped at the point with scarlet.

The chief lakes in Sweden are the Vetter, the Wenner, and Maeler; the first in Ostrogothia, remarkable for its foretelling of storms by a continual thundering noise the day before in that quarter whence they arise; as also for the sudden breaking of the ice upon it, which sometimes surprise travellers, and in half an hour's time become navigable: for its great depth, in some places is above 300 fathoms, though no part of the Baltic exceed 50; it supplies the river Motala, which runs through Norcopingh, where it has a fall of about thirty feet, and some winters is so choaked up with ice, that for many hours no water passes. The second is in Westrogothia, from which issues the river Elve; that, falling down a rock near sixty feet, passes by Gottenburgh. The third empties itself at Stockholm, furnishing one side of the town with fresh water, as the sea does the other with salt.

These, and abundance of other lakes, of which many like ponds, have no vents, and are called Inn-seas; they are well stored with fish, salmon, pikes, perch, tench, trouts, eels, and many other sorts unknown elsewhere, of which the most plentiful is the streimling, a fish less than a pilcher, taken in great quantities, and salted in barrels, and distributed over all the country. Besides, the North-Bottom or bay, that separates Sweden and Finland, abounds with seals, of which a considerable quantity of train-oil is made and exported; and in the lakes in Finland are great quantities of pikes, which being taken, are salted, dried, and sold at a very reasonable rate.

These lakes are of great use for the convenience of carriages, both in summer by boats, and by sleds in winter, and among them, and on the sea coasts, are almost innumerable islands of different sizes, of which there

there are in Sweden above 6000 that are inhabited, the rest are either bare rocks; or covered with wood; Gotland, Oland, and Aland, are isles of large extent, one being sixty miles long; and the others little less.

Their woods and vast forests overspread much of the country: and are for the most part of pines, fir, beech, birch, alder, juniper, and some oak, especially in the province of Bleking, the trees growing in most places so close together, and lying to rot where they fall, make the woods scarce passable.

These afford a plentiful and cheap firing, and being generally very strait and tall, are easily converted into timber fit for all uses. In the parts near the mines, the woods are much destroyed, but that want is so well supplied from distant places, by the convenience of rivers and winter carriages, that they have charcoal above six times as cheap as it is in England, though indeed it is not half so good.

The mountains abound in mines. There is one of silver, into which workmen are let down in baskets to the first floor, which is 105 fathoms under ground, the roof there is as high as a church, supported by vast arches of ore; thence the descent is by ladders or baskets, to the lowest mine, above 40 fathoms where they now work. They have no records so ancient as the first discovery either of this or the copper mine, which must needs be the work of many ages; the ore seldom yields above four per cent, and requires great pains to refine it; they are also at the charge of a water-mill to drain the mine, and have the benefit of another that draws up the ore. It yearly produces about 20,000 crowns of fine silver, of which the king has the pre-emption, paying one fourth less than the real value. The copper mine is about 80 fathoms deep, of great extent, but subject to damage by the falling in of the roof; yet that is sometimes recompenced by the abundance of ore that the ruined pillars yield.

Iron mines and forges are in great numbers, especially towards the mountainous parts, where they have the convenience of water-falls to turn their mills. From these, besides supplying the country, there is yearly exported iron to the value of near 300,000*l*. But of late years, the number of these forges has been so much increased, that each endeavouring to undersell others, the price has been much lowered; and since the prohibition of foreign manufactures (in exchange of which iron was plentifully taken off) it is grown so cheap, that it was found necessary to lessen the number of forges; neither has that contrivance had the effect intended; but on the contrary, many more are likely to fall of themselves, because they cannot work but to loss, in which many thousands of poor people, whose livelihoods depend upon these forges and mines, will be reduced to a starving condition.

The seasons of the year, though regular in themselves, do not altogether answer those of other climates, as a French ambassador observed, who in a raillery said, There were in Sweden only nine months winter, and all the rest was summer; for as winter commonly begins very soon, so summer immediately succeeds it, and leaves little or no space to be called Spring.

The productions therefore of the earth, are, more speedy in their growth than in other parts; the reason of which seems to be, that the oil and sulphur in the earth, (as it appears by the trees and minerals it produces) being bound up all the winter, are then of a sudden actuated by the heat of a warm sun, which almost continually shines, and thereby makes amends for its short stay, and brings to maturity the fruits proper to the climate. Yet withal, its heat is so intense, that it often sets the woods on fire, which sometimes spreads itself many leagues, and scarce can be stopt till it comes to some lake, or very large plain.

In the summer season the fields are covered with a variety of flowers, and the whole country overspread

with strawberries, raspberries, currants, and the like, which grow upon every rock. In their gardens melons are brought to good perfection in dry years; but apricots, peaches, and other wall fruits, are almost as rare as oranges; they have cherries of several sorts, and some tolerably good, which cannot be said of their apples, pears, and plumbs; that are neither common nor well tasted, all kinds of roots are in plenty, and contribute much to the nourishment of the poor people.

The sun at Midsummer is above the horizon of Stockholm eighteen hours and a half, and for some weeks make a continual day. In winter, the days are proportionably shorter, the sun being up but five hours and a half; which defect is so well supplied as to lights, by the moon, the whiteness of the snow, and clearness of the sky, that travelling by night is as usual as travelling by day; and journies begun in the evening as frequently as in the morning. The want of the sun's heat is repaired by stoves within doors, and warm furs abroad; instead of which, the poorer sort use sheep skins, and other like defences; and are generally better provided with cloathing, to suiting their condition, and the climate they live in, than the common people of any part of Europe; though where any neglect or failure happens, it usually proves fatal, and occasions the loss of noses, or other members, and sometimes of life; unless the usual remedy to expel the frost when it has seized any part, be early applied, which is to remain in the cold, and rub the part affected with snow, till the blood return to it again.

What has been said in relation to Sweden, is in the main applicable to Finland, except only that hitherto no mines have been discovered there. Its chiefest commodities are pitch, and tar, all sorts of wooden ware, dried fish, cattle, train oil, &c.

The Swedes, like most other nations, are fond of deriving their origin from the remotest ages; but there is nothing to be depended on in their ancient history till the arrival of Odin, who with his Asiatics emigrated to the north about sixty years before the Christian *Æra*. This chief planted his arms and his religion among them. The latter was a heap of absurdities, but well calculated enough to stir up a barbarous nation to warlike achievements. According to his system, the souls of the wicked after death were consigned to *Hela*, a place of punishment, while those of the good, and particularly of such as fell in battle, were received into the halls of Odin, where the latter quaffed mead and ale out of the skulls of their enemies.

The natives of Sweden were early renowned for their courage, and some judgment may be formed of what their neighbours thought of them in this respect, where it is observed, That one of the ancient Punic writers giving as a sort of scale of the bravery of the northern nations, says, "That the *Swedes* were excelled only by the immortal Gods in valour."

Divine honours were paid to Odin Woden after his death, and Wednesday owes its name to this God, who was adored, together with Thor, Freya, and other idols by the Swedes, and likewise by our Saxon ancestors.

That the Saxons who were called into England about the year 450, were originally a colony of Goths, is conjectured from the agreement of their language, laws and customs. But that the Swedes and Goths, joined with the Danes and Norwegians in their invasion of England, about the year 800, we are assured from our own historians, that expressly mention them, with the character of barbarous and Pagan nations, as they then were; and the same may be concluded from the many Saxon coins, that are frequently found in Sweden, and in greater variety than in England, which seem to have been the Dane gilt, or tribute which the nation then paid.

The Normans also, who about that time settled in France, were in part natives of this country, so that England, together with the miseries that accompanied those

those conquests, owes a great part of its extraction to these people.

It was about the year 830, that the Emperor Ludovicus Pius sent Arsgarius, afterwards archbishop of Hamburg, to attempt the conversion of the Swedes and Goths, who at first had little or no success; but in his second journey, some years after he was better received, and baptized the king Olaus, who was afterwards martyred by his heathen subjects, and offered in sacrifice to their gods; nor did Christianity become the general religion of Sweden till about 100 years after, when it was planted by Sigfrid, archbishop of York and other English divines, sent for thither by another Olaus; in whose time the kingdom of Sweden, and that of Gothia were united, but became afterwards to be separated again, and continued so near 200 years; when they were again joined, on condition that the two royal families should succeed each other by turns, as they did for a space of a hundred years, but not without great disorders, and much blood shed, and ended in the extirpation of the Gothic family.

The throne of Sweden was filled by various princes of different lines, and often devolved upon the kings of Denmark; and when this was not the case, the Danes had always a faction in the kingdom, and there, under the reign of Stensture the younger, headed by the Bishop of Upsall, advanced Christian II, to the regal dignity, but he behaved himself so tyrannically, and shed so much innocent blood, especially of the nobility, which he designed utterly to root out, that his reign became intolerable, and the whole nation conspired against him under the command of Gustavus the first, who descended from the antient kings of Sweden, whose father had been beheaded, and his mother had two sisters imprisoned by Christian. He was at first received governor of the kingdom, and two years after, had the regal dignity conferred on him, and as the Danes and Norwegians had also expelled King Christian, who had married Charles V's sister, and repaired to the imperial court for succour, which he could not obtain to any purpose, being, upon his landing in Norway, defeated and taken prisoner, in which state he continued to his death: therefore Gustavus was freed from all further trouble on that account; and at liberty to redress the disorders of the kingdom.

Hitherto the kingdom of Sweden had for several hundred years been elective, but was at this time made hereditary to the male issue of Gustavus, in a right line of succession, with reservation that in default of such issue the right of election should return to the estates. Gustavus, by his three wives, had four sons, and several daughters: his eldest son, Erick, was to succeed to the crown; John was made Duke of Finland; Magnus, Duke of Ostrogothia; and Charles, Duke of Sudermania; whereby those provinces were in a manner dismembered from the crown. Having thus in a reign of thirty-six years brought the kingdom in such a flourishing condition, as it had not seen in many ages, and entailed a crown upon his own family, in which it still remains.

The next remarkable prince we find recorded after a succession of years, was Gustavus Adolphus. This monarch found himself engaged in a Danish war, which he finished, and then turned his arms against Muscovy: to the borders of which he sent his brother, not with an intention to procure his establishment in that throne, which he rather aimed at for himself; but to induce the fortified places adjacent to Finland and Liefland, to accept of Swedish garrisons, in Prince Charles Philip's name, which succeeded in a great measure, till another was chosen Czar; with whom, after various success on both sides, a peace was concluded by the mediation of England and Holland, by which Sweden, besides part of Liefland, presently got the country of Ingermanland, and the province of Kexholm, with several fortified places, and wholly shut out the Muscovites from the east sea.

The Polish war, that had some short intervals of truces, was of a longer continuance, and no less beneficial to Sweden; which in the course of it, took Riga, and all other places the Poles had in Liefland, except only one fort, and thence carried the war into Prussia, with the like success, till at last, by the interposition of England and France, &c. a truce was concluded for six years.

This gave Gustavus leisure to engage in the German war, to which he was both provoked by the emperor, and encouraged by others. The year following he began that expedition, and on the 24th of June, arriving in the mouth of the Oder, he landed his little army that consisted of 16 troops of horse, and 92 companies of foot, making about 8000 men, which besides other additions, was augmented by six regiments of English and Scotch, under Duke Hamilton, but more by the king's incredible success.

Upon his first approach, Stetin and all Pomerania fell into his hands. The year following having joined the elector of Saxony, he gave the emperor's army, under General Tilly, a total overthrow near Liepzig; whence he traversed Franconia, the Palatinate, Bavaria, &c. till the next year at the battle of Lutzen (where his army was again victorious) he was treacherously killed, (as it is believed) by Francis Albert, duke of Saxon Lawemburgh, not only to the great joy of the imperialists, but of France and other his friends, who envied and feared the farther increase of his greatness. By his death, the crown fell to his daughter, Christina, a princess of five years old, in whose favour her father had gained the states of the kingdom to alter the hereditary union, as it is styled, which restrained the succession to the male line. In her minority, the chancellor, Axel Oxenstiern, had the direction of the Swedish affairs in Germany, where the war was prosecuted with variety of success, but much to the advantage of Sweden, which was possessed of above 100 fortified places, and had an army exceeding 100,000 men, when Prince Charles Gustavus was Generalissimo, a little before the conclusion of the treaty of Munster, by which Sweden obtained for its satisfaction, the dukedom of Pomerania, Bremen and Verden, with the city of Wismar, and a right of session; to vote in the diets of the empire, and circle of Lower Saxony, as also the sum of five millions of crowns.

The queen had for several years entertained a resolution to quit the crown, which at last she effected, and after having procured Prince Charles Gustavus to be declared hereditary prince, (whom the states would gladly have had the queen married, but neither he nor she were inclined to it) with much solemnity she divested herself of the crown, and released her subjects from their allegiance.

She was a princess renowned through Europe for her fine sense and understanding.

All the world knows to what distresses the rash conduct of Charles XII. reduced the Swedish nation, which have lately been put an end to by their present monarch, (to whom, in imitation of the Danes) the bulk of the people have surrendered their liberties, with a view of delivering themselves from the intolerable oppression of an overbearing nobility.

Christianity was not received into Sweden till about the ninth century; and not into Finland till near 300 years after; and if not first preached, was at least first established, as we have noticed by S. Sigfrid, who was afterwards martyred with three of his nephews, by the Goths.

The like fate attended St. Eskill, and other English, by the Swedes; and about the year 1150, St. Henry, an English bishop, accompanied St. Erick, king of Sweden, in his expedition into Finland, which the king conquered, and the bishop converted into Christianity; he also was martyred by the infidels, and lies buried at Abo, the metropolis of that country.

The reformation there, as well as in Denmark and Norway,

began soon after the neighbouring parts of Germany had embraced Luther's tenets, and was established according to his platform. The tyranny of King Christian II. who then wore these three northern crowns, gave an opportunity to Gustavus, the founder of the present royal family, both to alter religion and advance himself to the regal dignity, which till that time was elective, but was then made hereditary to his family, in which it has since continued, as the Lutheran religion has also done in the country, never but once disturbed from abroad, and since that disturbance never distracted at home with nonconformity; all the orders of men agreeing in a constant attendance on divine service, and a zeal for their own way, without any nice inquiries into disputable points, either in their own tenets, or those of other churches, whereby it becomes the business of their preachers, rather to persuade the practice of piety, than to oppose the doctrine of others, or obstinately defend their own.

The church is governed by an archbishop and ten bishops, whose studies are confined to their own employments, being never called to council, but only at the assembly of the states, nor troubled with the administration of any secular affair. Their revenues are very moderate; the archbishop of Upsal not importing four hundred pounds a year, the bishoprick after that proportion. Under them are seven or eight superintendents, who have all the power of bishops, and only want the name; and over each ten churches is a provost, or rural dean, with some authority over the inferior clergy, of whom the sum total may best be computed by the number of churches, which in Sweden and Finland, is short of 2000, to which the addition of chaplains and curates, will increase the body of the clergy to near 4000 persons; they are all the sons of peasants or mean burgers, and can therefore content themselves with the small income of their places, which besides more inconsiderable dues, arises from glebe lands, and one third of the tythes, of which the other two thirds are annexed to the crown, to be employed in pious uses: however, the clergy have generally where-withal to exercise hospitality, and are the constant refuge of poor travellers, especially strangers, who use to go from priest to priest, as in other places from constable to constable.

The clergy of each diocese, upon the death of their bishop, propose three persons to the king, who either chuse one of them, or some other, to succeed in that office, which is also practised in the choice of superintendents. In the choice of an archbishop all the chaplains in the kingdom vote, but the determination is in the king's breast. His majesty hath also the patronage of most churches, some few only being in the disposal of the nobility. Many of their churches are adorned with variety of sculptures, paintings, gilding, &c. All of them are kept neat and clean, and in good repair, furnished as well in country as city, with rich altar cloths, copes, and other vestments.

Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, lies in fifty-nine degrees twenty-eight minutes north latitude, and about forty-one longitude, as described by our modern travellers, is romantically situated, being built on seven or eight islands and rocks in the great lake Mælar, which gives it some resemblance of Venice; and this situation, like that of Venice, is such a security to it, that no other fortification have been thought necessary. It is very well built; the streets in general are broad, strait, and regular; and the public buildings are many of them great ornaments to the place. Among these, the king's palace demands the first attention; this is an old building, and therefore irregular in parts, but it forms a square, and is raised of stone. It is within a citadel, but the fortifications could not do much in defence of the town, and it is besides commanded by an adjoining hill. Considering that the place serves for many public uses, besides the king's residence; it is not only mean but small; all the rooms of the first and second floor, are used for

private meetings of the senate, and the courts of judicature; so that the apartments of the royal family are three pair of stairs high, and some of them four. The senate-house, where the public meetings, is a very regular and fine edifice, making the best figure of any in the town.

The houses of the nobility are not very magnificent, but some of them are handsome, others large and commodious. The arsenal is a large building, but by no means well stored: the royal stables, and the great hospital, also make some figure; the bridge of boats, which is 100 yards long, and which they shew with some degree of vanity, is a paltry substitute. Among the churches, the principal are St. Nicholas, St. Mary's, St. Catharine's, St. Clare's, St. John's, and St. Olive's. The king's chapel is more decorated than any of them.

The chief trade of the kingdom is carried on in the city; the harbour will admit of 400 great ships, and above 500 small ones at the same time, which might all ride in the utmost safety; and they have a quay for the delivery and taking in of goods, near a mile long; and this is reckoned the pleasantest and most chearful part of Stockholm. It has a face of business and activity upon the public quay, which in a town, is far more lively than the perpetual rattle of coaches. But notwithstanding it is a place of great trade, and the harbour perfectly secure, yet there are difficulties in getting in and out, which is a cramp upon their commerce.

There are numerous islands in the lake between Stockholm and the sea, and these cause such a winding course, that several different winds are necessary to carry them in and out; and which is much the worse for their having no tides, which would greatly assist the navigation.

Oregrund is a sea-port on the gulph of Bothnia, tolerably well situated for trade, especially that of timber. From a hill near the town, is a most beautiful view of the gulph, with a great part of Finland on the other side; the islands of Åland spot the sea in a most picturesque manner.

At 100 miles distant is Hedemora. The country is very wild and various, hills and dales, mountains and rocks, bogs, rivers and lakes, all mixed thickly with a small quantity of cultivated and profitable land. All the peasants here are farmers, and most of them own the lands they cultivate. Their houses are very well built of wood, and covered with shingles, the materials being to be had in the utmost plenty; they are much better, and more comfortable dwellings, than the cottages of mud, covered with thatch, which are so common in England. Their furniture is of their own manufacturing, consisting of very little more than what they make of their pines. All of them handle the saw and the axe with much agility, nor do they make bad or clumsy work, for their chairs, tables, beds, &c. are very decently cut and put together. They seem to be a very happy and contented people; each has his farm divided into regular inclosures around his house, which the women almost totally cultivate, while the men are employed in cutting timber in the forests; for they have a considerable river, down which they float vast quantities.

They always fix their houses in the midst of a vale of dry soil, upon a rock, if they can choose, so that all the works of tillage are performed with great ease. They cultivate but very little wheat, though their land appears to be good enough for any product; oats, and a little barley, with a good many beans, are their chief crops; but these seem to bear no proportion to their fields of Swedish turnips, and also another sort, which we are informed, does very well in the severest climates, and is more generally cultivated in the northern parts of the kingdom. Upon these turnips, they principally depend for their own diet, as well as that of their cattle; and their horses in winter have no other food: their breed is small, but very strong, uncommonly hardy, and very sure footed, going down even the most rocky mountain's sides.

The

The famous Province of Dalecarlia is thus described by an English gentleman, who passed through it so lately as the year 1768.

“The whole country looks as if there was not any private property in it: but I found that these forests and wilds had owners, as well as more cultivated provinces. There are some gentlemen’s seats in Dalecarlia, as I was informed, though I saw none; and their stewards and agents employ the peasants in cutting timber, in drawing pitch and tar, and in making charcoal, on their accounts, paying them, in general, by measure and tale; their rates of labour are not high, few of them earning more than four-pence or five-pence a day, English, though they are industrious and used to hard labour; but this pay is sufficient for maintaining them very well, with the help of their farms, as their wives dung them, and very old men do the principal business of them. All the purchases they have to make with money are some parts of their cloathing, which is extremely coarse and cheap, and also utensils and implements, all which are bought of travelling pedlars; for I do not apprehend there are three shops for buying them in this immense province. As their money is sufficient therefore to their wants, these being all the uses of it, except some very slight taxes, they have very few instances among them of unhappiness on account of the want of money; nor do I any where remember seeing a people, that had more appearance of perfect content and happiness among them. They are blessed with an almost uninterrupted flow of health, which is owing to the hardiness of their lives, attended with wholesome diet; a bolder, braver, hardier race of men, I apprehend, do not exist, than the Dalecarlians; they are a most sincere, honest, simple, but plainly sensible people; they are as hospitable as can well be conceived, inasmuch, had I been eager and attentive to take advantage of this good disposition, I should have travelled through their province, spending nothing but good words: indeed, money is so scarce here, that paying them what they demanded, without the least hesitation, and forcing money upon some of them, still my expences in travelling were low beyond conception. I have several days travelled forty miles, and paid for myself, man, and five horses, with two or three meals, and a night’s lodging, only the value of three shillings English. Indeed I took up with the food of the peasants, sat at their board, and was particular in nothing but setting up my own bed. This was a mode of travelling extremely desirable in so wild a country, where the peasants are the only people in it, that demand the least attention.

“I reached Lyma on the 21st, the distance of near forty miles. The country as I advanced, grew amazingly romantic; the view, as far as the eye can command, from the tops of the mountains, is one vast range of mountain beyond mountain, till you see the ridge that parts Sweden from Norway, rising far above the common clouds. The whole prospect is a thick woodland; and in many places very considerable lakes, of some miles long and broad, break upon the eye; nothing can be more awful, or more sublime than these wonderful scenes: the situation of the village of Lyma is greatly uncommon; it lies within the bend of the river, which is in fact a continual water-fall, pouring over one ridge of rocks the moment it has passed another; and making such a continual roar as almost to stun the whole village; immediately behind it rises a ridge of mountains, whose tops are, in cloudy weather, far above the clouds; but fortunately for me, the weather has been uniformly clear; so that these dreadful heights, with the torrent pouring down at their feet, appeared magnificent in the highest degree.

“In the morning of the 23d, I travelled to Serna, which is thirty-two miles; where I met with nothing worthy of observation. It is a little village, the peasants of which have nothing more than gardens. The whole country is, however, amazingly magnificent, as the eye commands such ranges of thick wood as to be almost unbounded.

“From Serna, I turned full east to Herdala, the distance near sixty miles, which took me up near two days; through a country in which there is a very broad and considerable track of flat land, with a river in the middle of it. It is, as I guess, twenty miles across, and of a far greater length. I suppose Sweden does not contain a richer track of land, yet very little of it is cultivated; much of it is bog, some marsh; but most of it is a dry, deep, rich, sound loam. At Herdala, my servant overtook me from Stockholm, having traced me by the information of the peasants.

“From thence I set off on the 26th for Linsdal, a village at the distance of eighty miles in the province of Helsingia; which proved a journey of three days; through a more romantic, wild, and mountainous country, than any I had yet seen.”

The trade of Sweden, was left in a most miserable condition at the conclusion of the war with Muscovy. Immediately after the death of Charles XII. such a languor proceeded, that had not much attention been given to improvement, and a change in the constitution ensued, it would have taken at least a century to have recovered, and perhaps much more. Many of the wounds then received, are not yet healed; there are tracks of country, in many of the provinces, which once were well peopled, that are at this day deserts; and the ravages of the Russians destroyed some valuable copper mines, which are not yet recovered. Whithin these twenty years much has been done to spread improvements, so that the country wears a fine face; but all this is not to be called a creation of new industry, much of it is only a renovation of that which we long ago enjoyed.

The modern improvers, who have pushed most of the advantageous laws which have been made of late years in favour of commerce, &c. had one principal aim, which was certainly very meritorious; it was to force the Swedes, either to manufacture for themselves, or to go without the commodities formerly imported from abroad; many laws were made with this view; and which at last ended in an almost general prohibition to foreign fabrics. This was very well meant, but it was driving too fast, and has had some consequences of a complexion by no means agreeable. It is true several manufactures were established in different parts of the kingdom, to enable the people to perform for themselves, and some of them succeeded well; but it is a business of much longer time to make a people a manufacturing nation. The attempt to do it at once, was not only unsuccessful, but was attended with several evils to the whole kingdom. Sweden imported, it is true, large quantities of manufactures, but then she paid for all of them, or at least for much the greatest part, with the products of her own soil; such as copper, iron, timber, ships, flax, hemp, pitch, tar, furs, skins, &c. so that the noblemen who dressed themselves in French or English cloaths; his wife, who wore French and Italian silks; and all who expended their revenue in any foreign import, did, at the same time, encourage the lower classes of the people, and indeed assist the whole state, by exporting the above products, in proportion to the goods so imported and worn. The legislature falsely imagined, that foreigners could not do without those products they bought of Sweden, and paid for with their manufactures; they supposed they would buy in the same proportion, and pay for them with money; but this was at best a delusion, for other nations knew their interests as well as the Swedes, and immediately transferred a vast portion of their trade to Norway and Russia; the consequence of which has been, that the copper and iron works, in every province in the kingdom, are discontinued for want of the old demand; and a great number of hands, once employed in the timber trade, have ever since stood still.

Trade however, is now rather inclined to flourish in Sweden, the people are very attentive to it, and some of the laws that have been made to encourage it, have had good effect. The shipping belonging to the kingdom, is much increased in the last thirty years; they

they export more of their commodities in their own bottoms than formerly; which has in every respect, proved a very advantageous thing to them. All their shipping, and every article of naval stores, are their own product; so that an increase of it, is gaining one of the most advantageous markets in the world. Indeed a very considerable article of trade with them, is building ships for sale; in which article, the French and Dutch are the best purchasers. The former, it is well known, once bought a fleet of nine sail of men of war of the line of them, at one time; and the Dutch are regular purchasers of some merchant ships; but the chief increase of their ship building has been for themselves, in consequence of an increase of their foreign trade, which it is supposed, is now, on comparison with what it was thirty years ago, as five to three, tonnage reckoned.

The establishment of the East India commerce has been of much consequence to them, in this article of ship building, and indeed to all the other branches of commerce in the kingdom; for East India goods were before bought with cash, without bringing in any advantages by ship building, or the employment of seamen; but the government has obliged the company to export to the Indies a given quantity of Swedish manufactures; all which exportation is clear profit, besides the circumstances mentioned above. This establishment of an East India company in Sweden, employed the speculation of the trading part of Europe, who pronounced it a visionary scheme, and one which could not possibly answer; but experience has now told them, that nothing was less just than this condemnation, for the whole kingdom of Sweden is supplied by it, and there is a pretty considerable quantity of India goods exported to Poland, also some to Germany, and a few to Russia; all which are very great and considerable advantages, compared with the time when they themselves bought their whole home consumption of the English and Dutch.

Another scheme of trade which has been partly executed, though not entirely, is to import all their West India commodities in their own bottoms; this was not an easy matter to execute, for it is contrary to the laws of all the nations, that have colonies in that part of the world; but certain it is, that in spite of all obstacles of this sort, they do purchase large quantities of sugar, rum, &c. in the West India islands; and another channel, through which they do this business, is through the Bahama islands, where they buy from the account of Boston merchants, goods which come from the English islands. This plan is not brought fully to bear, but if they get it to be quite successful, it will make a considerable deduction from the navigation of England, and add to that of Sweden.

Building of ships for foreigners has lately received a very laudible bounty of ten shillings a ton, which is one of the best considered measures that could have been executed; and if this bounty was to be raised so high, as to enable the Swedish ship carpenters to under sell the English and Dutch ones by many per cent. in their own yards, it would be a most political measure, and perhaps give the kingdom a more advantageous market for most of her staple commodities, than all their other methods put together.

Among the manufactures which they have been eager to establish, the principal is the woollen. They have in coarse cloaths made some progress, and begin to work some that are fine; an improvement, which has been much owing to their gaining a better breed of sheep from England, and which have been dispersed with much assiduity over most parts of the kingdom. By means of Polish wool, mixed with the worst of their own, the Swedes make tolerable coarse cloths, and other fabricks; and the best they import from Poland, mixed with the best of their own, makes a finer cloth, that sells well at home, and precludes the import of any but the finest of all, worn by the nobility and gentry of considerable fortunes. Their manufactures of the coarse sorts are so enlarged by

degrees, that they have for some years, exported small quantities of it to Poland; which shews how far they have been able to carry their point.

Besides these woollen fabrics, which are in a way of proving considerable enough to stop totally all importations in time, they have also established some of linen, but these are not yet so far advanced as the former; they make large quantities of a coarse sort, which sells well among the common people; but all the higher classes of inhabitants use that which comes from England, Holland, or Germany.

The manufactories of hard ware, are much the greatest among the Swedes. They work and cast their copper and iron into many forms, and make of them a great variety of implements, utensils, and materials for manufacturing: such as bars and plates, of copper and iron, various sorts of wire, great guns, and numerous other articles in the foundry way. They export vast quantities of iron annually, for which, England, Holland and France are their best customers; but the English pay them a balance of trade, amounting to several hundred thousand pounds annually, of which, iron and timber are the principal articles they take; whereas the French pay them in nothing but wines, brandies, and manufactures. Of all the articles of their trade, iron and timber are the most considerable.

As to the improvements which have been made in their husbandry, taken at large, the grand article has been the preventing the importation of corn from abroad; high duties at first, and then a prohibition, have in this instance, been attended with every effect they could wish. By quick degrees, they introduced the culture of wheat in many provinces, which before had never thought of such an article of cultivation; and by taking proper measures for encouraging the peasants, the point has been so thoroughly carried, that Sweden at present, raises as much corn as she consumes, and in some years more; so that a small exportation has taken place more than once.

In the debates that have arisen at different times among the members of the legislature, on this point of the advancement of husbandry; they have had; what may be called two parties among them; one who were for establishing many rules for the particular instruction of peasants; premiums for their good conduct, for procuring good farmers from other parts of Europe, to set examples, also the best implements and breeds of cattle, with some good workmen for draining of bogs, and bringing wastes into culture, at the expence of the legislature, by way of shewing in what manner such works ought to be done. On the contrary, the other party strenuously urged, That the execution of all these minute ideas would prove very expensive, and particularly from being obliged to trust them to many people, and almost without controul. That besides this strong objection, the effects resulting could not be so great or general, but would be confined to small spots, from which it might be a century before they would travel over half the kingdom; for this reason, they proposed to omit all such attempts, and confine themselves to general laws, which should afflict the whole kingdom; such, for instance, as the prohibition of the importation of all foreign commodities that could be raised at home, and particularly corn; that when this law had taken full effect, then to give the improvement of another, offering bounties upon the exportation of various sorts of corn, and other commodities, to insure a quick sale at a good price, which would be of all other measures the most likely to induce the farmers to enlarge the culture of them. Other general laws should also be brought in aid, to exempt the improvers of waste lands from all taxes, tithes and public charges for life. Also to introduce leases, in the tenures of lands, of long duration, with several other schemes of management that had reference to the kingdom at large.

The legislature very wisely followed neither of these proposals in exclusion of the other, but gradually

ally took from both what appeared prudent and likely to be efficacious. They prohibited the importation of corn, upon the plan of one party; and they attended to the minutiae of agriculture, pursuant to the ideas of the other. Some laws were likewise made concerning leases, and improvers were exempted from taxes; but whether they will give a bounty on exportation, is yet a question. It is the general opinion, that the plan is not dropped, and that the measure will be executed, whenever the quantity of corn at home sufficiently reduces the price.

With regard to the military power of the Swedes, the change in the constitution upon the death of Charles XII. sunk it entirely to the militia, except a few guards for the king's person; the former is entirely upon the old system; they are maintained by the farmers; but the number which was once 60,000 men, is not at present more than 42,000; however, they are very well disciplined, and sufficient for the defence of the kingdom against any force that is likely to march against it.

Sweden has nothing to fear but from Russia, and whilst she leaves the conquered provinces peaceably in the hands of the Muscovites, which undoubtedly she will do, there is not any danger of their disturbing her possession of the remainder. The fleet of Sweden was once pretty considerable, amounting to forty good ships of war; but it is much declined. They could not send out to sea 20 sail of the line in good order, so that their power is not equal to that of Denmark by sea, nor that of Russia.

The custom of a jury of 12 men is so ancient in Sweden, that their writers pretend it had its original among them, and was thence derived to other nations, but at present it is disused every where, except only in the lower courts in the country, and there the jury men are for life, and have salaries; they have this peculiarity to themselves, that amongst them there must be an unanimous concurrence to determine a cause, which in other courts is done by a majority of voices.

Titles to estates are rendered more secure, and less subject to contests, by the registers that are kept of all sales, and alienations, as well as of other engagements of them; the purchaser running the hazard of having an after-bargain take place of his, if he omit the recording of his transaction in the proper court.

In criminal matters, where the fact is not very evident, or where the judges are very favourable, the defendant is admitted to purge himself by oath, to which is oftentimes added the oath of six or twelve other men, who are all vouchers of his integrity.

Treason, murder, double adultery, burning of houses, witchcraft, and the like heinous crimes, are punished with death, which is executed by hanging of men, and beheading of women, to which burning alive or dead, quartering and hanging in chains, is sometimes added, according to the nature of the crime.

Learning is of no great antiquity in Sweden; it is not 400 years since the introduction of it; and few monuments extant of a more ancient date, excepting inscriptions, rudely cut upon rocks, and unhewn stones, which are every where found; but as they have no date, so they seldom express more than the names of persons, of whom no other memory remains; that which makes them most remarkable is, that they are writ in the ancient Gothic and Runic characters.

The most curious piece of learning among them, is a translation of the Evangelists into the Gothic tongue, done about twelve or thirteen years ago, by Ulphila, a bishop of the Goths in Thracia, of which they have the sole ancient manuscript copy that is known in the world. Since the reformation, Gustavus Adolphus was the first great patron learning had in this country, by whom the universities that had been much impaired, were endowed with tolerable salaries for professors in most sciences. These his

daughter Christina something augmented, and by the fame of her own learning, and the favourable reception she gave to scholars, drew several learned men from abroad, that have left good proofs of their abilities, and raised an emulation in the natives, whose best performance is in the history, antiquities, and ancient laws of the country.

The university of Upsal consists of a chancellor, who is always a great minister of state; a vice chancellor, always the archbishop; a rector, chosen out of the professors, of whom there are about 20 that have each 150*l.* a year salary. The ordinary number of students is about seven or eight hundred, fifty of whom are maintained by the king, and some few others were formerly by persons of quality; the rest, that cannot subsist of themselves, spend the vacation in gathering the charity of the dioceses they belong to, which is commonly given them in corn, butter, dried fish, or flesh, &c. upon which they subsist at the university the rest of the year. They live not collegiately, but in private houses, nor wear gowns, nor observe other discipline, than what their own necessity or disposition leads them to.

The other university of Abo, in Finland, is constituted in the same manner, but less numerous in professors and students. There was a third at Lund in Schonen, which having been interrupted by late wars, is thought fit to be discontinued, because its neighbourhood to Denmark nourished in the students an affection for that crown, to which that province formerly appertained; yet it is again restored.

In each diocese there is one free-school; where boys are fitted for the university; and other trivial schools to which children are sent to learn to read, write, and sing their prayers; a custom so universal, that very few want this degree of education; and such as are not designed for a life of study, seldom go any farther.

Public provisions for the poor, are very few; there are not above five or six hospitals in the kingdom, and a little alms-house in each parish, maintained by the charity of the inhabitants, to which they are for the most part very well disposed, according to their abilities.

Mr. Wraxall in his tour through Europe, gives us the following description of the present state of Upsal.

"The Swedes (says he) had inspired me with such exalted ideas of this university, that I was only fearful lest a single day might be far inadequate to such an undertaking, and to have spent a longer time in so agreeable an occupation. I am however, at present, most completely undeceived, and can assure you that Upsal has hardly one inducement to draw a man of taste to visit it, unless from being the residence of Linnæus. This Lycæum of the north, has not one piece of painting within its walls, and only two of sculpture, which are busts of Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles XI. A gentleman who resides here, and who is son of the late archbishop of Upsal, did us the honour of being our Cicerone, and to conduct us over the place. I enquired of him how many colleges there were, and which was the most celebrated. "Sir, (says he) we have three; but I cannot say any of them deserves your notice. The principal objects of attention are the library, the cathedral, and the botanical garden. I know not of any thing else."

The first of these is a real good building, and there is a cabinet in it, at which, for want of a better employment, I spent an hour or two, while the librarian shewed me a number of little trinkets, rather than rarities, which are preserved with great care. Among these, is the identical bag which Judas kept one of the thirty pieces of silver, money of which he received for his perfidy, in delivering up his master; and a pair of red slippers, in which the Virgin Mary paid a visit to her cousin Elizabeth. I must do the man the justice to say, that he blushed as he shewed them to

me;

me; and I could not help telling him, that I thought the university would not do amiss to send these precious relics to St. Januarius, or my Lady of Loretto, who, if they are not already provided with others, might probably be highly obliged by so valuable an acquisition.

"As to the cathedral, it is built of brick, and as the two towers at the west end, lately wanted repair, they have with great taste added a doric architrave to these gothic walls, and placed two great domes of copper on the top. It must notwithstanding, be for ever venerable, while the remains of Gustavus Vasta, and Chancellor Oxenstiern repose in it. The last of these great men, whose virtue and wisdom Sweden yet reveres, rests in an obscure chapel, beneath a common stone. He has no monument erected, or epitaph inscribed to his memory; while a St. Eric, who was a king and a devotee in some barbarous age, is preserved in a shrine of silver gilt, and placed on the right hand of the high altar.

"There are at this time, as I am assured, near 1500 students in the university of Upsal. They are not however, young men of family and condition as with us, but for the most part miserable poor, and lodge five or six together in wretched hovels amidst dirt and penury. The professors in different branches of literature are about twenty-two, the largest of whose salaries does not exceed one hundred and thirty or forty pounds per annum, and are in general not half that sum.

"On our first arrival, the gentleman who accompanied me, and who was intimately acquainted with Linnæus, sent his compliments to say, that he would do himself the honour to wait on him if agreeable immediately, and would introduce at the same time an English gentleman, who had been induced to visit Upsal from the fame of so great a man. He sent us word in return, that he would pay us a visit in the afternoon, at three o'clock, when he had done dinner. He came punctually at the hour marked, and after staying some time, conducted us to the botanical garden, where he shewed us all his collection of plants, shrubs and flowers, which are very numerous, and have been presented to him from every part of the globe. At the door, he took his leave, and quitted us.

This celebrated botanist is now in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He is of a middle size, inclining to short, which is still increased by his stooping prodigiously when he walks. He was dressed in a plain blue suit of cloaths, and booted, which is common with the Swedes. At his button-hole hung the white cross of the order of the Pole Star, which was conferred on him by the late king Adolphus, who admired and honoured him. He enjoys a very easy independence from his salary, and pupils in the university; besides which, he is said to be possessed of a considerable fortune acquired by his profession. He has a country house about five miles out of town, and keeps his chariot. He has one son and four daughters alive; but I do not find they possess any of their father's genius. At present he very rarely attends the botanical parties which are made twice a week round Upsal, and are conducted by his son, who is botanical professor. Linnæus has been in England, France, and Germany, but speaks no languages except the Latin and Swedish; in the former of which, he converses with perfect facility. His knowledge, I am assured, is by no means universal, but confined almost absolutely to natural history, in which it is unbounded. His faculties are as yet unimpaired, except his memory, which begins to suffer some diminution."

Dillsbo stands on a river near the Baltic, and has a harbour that admits ships of 200 tons burthen, but yet there is hardly any trade at it: now and then a vessel comes for a load of timber, but it is seldom. From thence to Hudwicksvald, is through a flat country, pretty well cultivated, and the inhabitants much more industrious. Here are two or three large houses, surrounded by considerable farms; and gentleman's seats; and the owners seem to carry

on a husbandry equal to any in Sweden. Their crops are generally good; and the products rise, upon a medium of all sorts, to three or four quarters per acre: their dwarf beans are a favourite crop here, they do not grow more than a foot high. Artificial grasses are very rarely seen in this kingdom, and there is certainly a reason for it; the great plenty of wild ground and marshes, on which the peasants depend for the subsistence of their cattle.

Hudwicksvald is extremely well situated for the Baltic trade; the harbour is spacious, safe, and admits ships of any burthen: there are a few merchants in the town that are rich. They have a tolerable quay; most of the streets are regular and clean, and some of them neatly built.

Tuna is about thirty-six miles from Hudwicksvald. The country is various; parts of it marshy, and parts dry: a good deal of the latter is cultivated. Many of the peasants here pay their rent with part of the products of their land, and their landlord's stewards come in sloop from Stockholm at a certain time of the year, to receive these products; this is reckoned here very advantageous to the landlords, for they have the corn, &c. at a much less calculated value than what they sell it for at Stockholm, all expenses reckoned; but at the same time, the peasants like it better than being forced to find the money, which is very scarce here. They cultivate large quantities of corn, and many turnips and carrots, and have the art of fattening oxen with these roots in winter, by boiling and marshing them, and then mixing some meal of barley or oats with them; with this food their oxen and their hogs fatten very quickly, and they reckon, if the crop of roots is good, it proves in their way of using it, one of the best a farmer can cultivate.

Una is one of the most considerable towns in West Bothnia. It is situate on a very fine large river, which falls into the Gulf: there is a good harbour for ships, and the place has a pretty brisk trade in timber, iron, pitch, tar, &c. and having two or three merchants of large property, to whom several ships belong, they carry on a trade here with Holland and England, loading out with the products of the countries around the Gulf, and bringing home a great variety of commodities, which they sell in all the ports around the Baltic, in Sweden, Russia, Livonia, Poland, Prussia and Germany. It is of very great advantage to a town to be inhabited by a few such extensive traders, for the profits centre in it; they employ their townsmen in their shipping, and export much more products than would be done if it were not for them. These merchants also much enrich the place by their ship building; for they have never less than three or four upon the stocks at a time; these ships they sell wherever they can get a market, cargo and all, which they often do to good advantage.

"From hence passing through a wild country, we came to Torneo. Here they have some appearance of cultivation around their cottages; but it is only for their own subsistence; there is enough however, to shew, that high as the latitude of this country is, (it is about sixty-six degrees) it would produce plentifully for a numerous people; but it is very thinly inhabited.

"Through all the provinces of Sweden (says our author) that I have travelled, I am convinced that the principal cause of the country being so thinly inhabited, is the small number of farmers; there being only peasants, with land enough round their cottages, for the subsistence of the people within them. Many of these little spots belong to them; and none of the children of one will ever brook living in a worse manner than their fathers did; which seems to be a prevalent idea amongst them: so that a family in this situation are sure to leave but one representative, unless some gentleman builds cottages, and gives away his lands around them, which it may easily be imagined is not very common. This prevents marriages among the sons; for, as they cannot have their

their own cottages and lands, they live at home unmarried, with the brother who inherits: thus little or no increase happens, unless by mere accidents. But if all these peasants lived in hired cottages, without any land, and the country was cultivated by great farmers, who could afford to pay them money for their labour, the farmers would grow ten times the produce which is now grown, and export all that was not consumed; which would be a constant motive to them to increase their business, and of course to fix their sons in other farms. In the cases of some patriotic persons, who have made improvements in husbandry, and built houses, we found before, that the people increased as fast as could be wished.

“ Torneo stands better than any other town on the Gulf, for the trade of Lapland, which is not inconsiderable in furs, some of which are very valuable. It lies near three considerable rivers, which flow through all Swedish Lapland, and opens a small commerce with Norway and Muscovite Lapland; so that at Torneo I found more shipping than I had seen at any place I had lately been at on this sea. Ships come from Stockholm hither, laden with all sorts of necessaries for these northern provinces, and carry their products back in return. Hence the town is tolerably well built, the streets broad and straight, and very well paved, and some of the merchants, of which there are a great number, very rich. They build ships and fit them out on trading voyages, and make every effort to employ their money so as it may bring in good interest; but with all their endeavours, they are not able to increase the trade of the place, further than what the same men would carry on at any other: which is owing to a want of population and wealth in the country behind them; so that they are much limited in the commodities they export, and also in the quantity of those they import.”

Cryrannum, a little town on the coast, which is subsisted chiefly by fishing. The inhabitants in the most northerly parts of the two Bothnia's, have a different appearance from the Swedes in the southern provinces of the kingdom: they are less informed, of a shorter stature, and more irregular in their dress, many of them sewing together the skins of foxes, and other wild creatures whose furs are not of value, and make their cloathing in a much rougher and more ordinary manner; nor are they so intelligent or comprehensive; but they are a very simple and harmless people, appear to be very humane; most of them are exceedingly respectful and civil. Their ordinary salutation is not bowing, like the Swedes in other parts, these countrymen take hold of your right hand, and lay it over their left, making strange faces at the same time.

The next town of the least consequence, is Salo, which carries on a very small trade, about eighty miles distant from hence.

Nicarby is a place of no great consideration. It was once a town that carried on a great trade; but when the Russians over-run the province, they burnt it to the ground, and quite ruined several of the greatest merchants in it; since which it has never recovered its trade, the commerce at present carried on here not being at all considerable. It is not however, badly built, and the streets are regular. The church is small, but very neat. They have a trifling manufacture of very coarse woollen goods, for the supply of the neighbouring country; but it does not seem to be in a flourishing situation.

Vero, is another little town on the Gulf, with an exceeding good port, and a tolerably built quay, which is the only good street in the town. There is a little trade upon the coast, and to Stockholm, which consists chiefly in timber. There are not above seven or eight hundred souls in the place, and it appears to be but a poor one.

Wassay, is a place of greater note, it has more trade, and several merchants, tolerably wealthy, inhabit it, who have ships of their own, in which

they export large quantities of timber; but they want a home demand, to load their vessels back again, for the country behind the town is one continued forest; without any cultivated spots or villages, and reaches from hence quite to the white sea; through several Russian provinces; at the distance of near 700 miles, and scarcely any inhabitants to be found all the way.

Of the revolution at Stockholm, which surprised all the world; we have the following account.

“ The oppression (says our author) of the concluding years of the reign of Charles XII. was such, that on his death in 1718, the states obliged his sister Ulrica Eleonora, previous to her ascending the throne, to renounce all hereditary right or absolute power, and to hold the crown merely by elective consent. She resigned even this limited sovereignty two years after, into the hands of her husband the Prince of Hesse, who died in the year 1751. He had the resolution of a brave and active king, and it is generally apprehended, would have repossessed himself of that power which his queen had been deprived of, if his want of children had not made him indifferent to an acquisition, which he could not transmit to his descendants.

“ Adolphus, the late sovereign, was a weak man; and under him the democratical authority attained its utmost height. The royal revenue was very inadequate to his dignity, and his weight in the scale of government inconsiderable and despised.

“ In this situation, Gustavus III. succeeded to the crown. He possessed the same advantage over his two immediate predecessors, which his present Majesty George III. of England, did over his, on his accession; that he was born in the country over which he reigned, and spoke the language perfectly. The Swedes, who since the year 1720, had seen only foreigners on the throne, were charmed to have once more a king from among themselves; their joy was demonstrated by their behaviour, and medals were struck upon the occasion.

“ On the 19th of August, 1772, this extraordinary event was produced, which again restored to the crown those prerogatives she had lost for more than half a century. The king's secrecy, address, and dissimulation in so dangerous and critical a juncture, far surpassed what might have been expected from his age. It is said only five persons in the kingdom were entrusted with the design, which was carried into execution with as much vigour, as it had been planned with sagacity and judgment. The soldiery and the people, were successively gained by the eloquence with which the young king addressed them, who plainly evinced the vast importance of this quality in popular commotions, and public affairs. Very few persons were imprisoned, and that only for a short time; nor have any of them experienced, in the smallest degree, any diminution of the royal favour on account of their opposition. The senate took a new oath of allegiance to the prince, and tranquillity was restored throughout the kingdom.

“ It is however, difficult to say, what limits are exactly fixed to the government, or how far they may be enlarged and infringed, particularly under a prince who has already succeeded in his first enterprize, and certainly possessed in an eminent degree, many of these qualifications and talents, which have a prodigious effect on the multitude. He is affable in his manners and conversation to condescension, and often makes unexpected visits to persons of inferior ranks where he behaves with an ease and politeness which must infallibly render him beloved. He inspects every department of state in his own person, and the meanest subjects may present his grievances without fear of repulse. His soldiery adore him, and the peculiar attention he pays to their discipline, the continual reviews he makes of his regiments in different parts of his dominions, his disdain of fatigue, and undoubted personal courage, may probably render Sweden some years hence, more important in the scale of Europe, than she has been since Charles's death.

Very

Very large reviews are intended in Scania; and in Finland; great military stores are continually laid up, and every thing has the appearance of forecast and design. Unable to reward those officers who adhered particularly to him at the revolution; with pensions or pecuniary emoluments; he has found means to attach them by ribbons and stars, which he distributed without parsimony, and which are equally effectual, without draining an exhausted treasury. He has likewise founded a new order of knighthood, known by the name of Vasa, designed for men of merit in every station, and which is conferred, without the least attention to birth or distinction, on every man who deserves well of his country. He is active on all occasions, more commonly on horseback than in a carriage, and has rarely any the parade of royalty. In his person he is rather low, and inclined to thinness. His face is not handsome, and what is singular, one side of it does not resemble the other, his features being a little distorted: an accident which probably happened in the birth.

"The Swedes universally lament that he has no children by the queen; and it is on this account that his next brother Prince Charles is now married, in hopes of an heir to the throne. The king is said not to be of an amorous complexion, or attached to women."

Notwithstanding the cold climate in which Sweden

is situate, as some improvements have been brought to bear, so likewise many others might yet be made in agriculture, as well as in commerce. There are certainly vast tracts of waste land capable of improvement. But the greatest mischief is that in many places the land, which was drained of its inhabitants to supply Charles XII. with soldiers, still remain desolate, to the great disadvantage of the state.

The copper money of that prince constitutes the chief currency. His fictitious dollars now pass for somewhat more than half a farthing each. Silver is scarce, and gold hardly to be seen in common circulation. Paper money is the only substitute for this defect; and they have bank notes passing in many parts of Sweden, not exceeding one shilling and six-pence value.

All these however, are defects, which it may not be impossible for a wise government to remedy. The Swedes are a people not devoid of emulation; nor is this emulation confined only to military achievements. Tho' there is not a country where the finer arts can be expected to flourish, as in the more genial climate of Italy, yet such as are necessary to the well-being of a state, would thrive with proper cultivation. It remains to be seen whether Gustavus III. and his successors will render this nation of heroes happy within themselves, and respectable in the eyes of Europe.

TRAVELS THROUGH NORWAY.

With a Description of the Country, by ERICK PONTOPPIDON, Bishop of BERGEN.

NORWAY is now an appendage to the crown of Denmark; but being considered as a separate domain, and its natural history furnishing many objects worthy the attention of the curious reader, we have judged it necessary to give a particular description of the country, as selected from the best authorities.

The Norwegians, like the Swedes, were famous of old for their valour; and from these rugged regions proceeded the Nordmans, (i. e. North-Men) or North Men, who over-ran so great a part of Europe. They have had their heroic chiefs and princes, equally famed for piety and arms, of whom they boast to this day, though now become subjects to a foreign dominion.

Norway stretches along a sea coast, to the westward of which are innumerable little islands and rocks, some indeed are no less than nine leagues over, but the greater part are so small as to be only inhabited by fishermen or pilots; so that Norway is defended by a rampart which consists perhaps of more than a million of stone columns that have their bases at the bottom of the sea, and their capitals a few fathoms only above the surface. Amongst these rocks there are good harbours, but they are of difficult and dangerous access; particularly to large ships without oars; but to prevent accidents as much as possible, the government has caused many hundreds of large iron rings to be fixed to these rocks, as moorings for ships, where there is not room for anchoring.

Besides the ebb of flood in the sea of Norway, there is a current or eddy called Malestrom, or Moskoestrom. This stream derives its name from Moskoe, an island lying between the mountain Hesleggen, in Lofoden, and the island Ver, which are about one league distant, and the stream makes its way between

the island and coast on each side. Between Lofoden and Moskoe it is near 400 fathoms deep; but between Ver and Moskoe it is so shallow, that not even a small ship can pass it.

When it is flood, the stream runs up the country between Moskoe and Lofoden, with prodigious rapidity; and when the tide ebbs, returns to the sea with more noise and violence than that of the loudest cataracts. It is heard at the distance of many leagues, and forms a vortex or whirlpool of great extent and depth, so violent, that if a ship comes near it, it is instantly, and irresistibly drawn into the whirl, and disappears, being in a moment carried to the bottom, where it is dashed to pieces against the rocks; and just at the turn of ebb and flood, when the water becomes still for about a quarter of an hour, it rises again in scattered fragments, scarcely to be known for the parts of a ship. When agitated by a storm, it has reached vessels at the distance of more than five miles, where the crews have thought themselves in perfect security.

Even animals, when they have come too near the vortex, have expressed the utmost terror on finding the stream irresistible. Whales are frequently carried a way, and the moment they feel the force of the water, they struggle against it with all their might, howling and bellowing in a frightful manner. The like happens often to bears, who attempt to swim to the island to prey upon the sheep.

The large stems of firs and pines, rise again so shivered and splintered, that the pieces look as if covered with bristles. The whole phenomena are the effects of the violence of the daily ebb and flood, occasioned by the contraction of the stream in its course between the rocks.

In the summer nights the horrifon, when unclouded,

is so clear and luminous, that persons can see to do all kinds of work at midnight, as in the day time; and in the extremity of this country towards the Islands of Fnimark, the sun is continually in view in the midst of summer, and is observed to circulate day and night round the north pole. On the other hand, in the depth of winter the sun is invisible for some weeks; all the light perceived at noon, being a faint glimmering, that continues about an hour and an half; which, as the sun never appears above the horizon, chiefly proceeds from the reflexion of the rays on the highest mountains, whose summits are seen more clearly than any other objects. But exclusive of the moon-shine, which by the reflexion from the mountains, is exceedingly bright in the valley, the people receive considerable reflexion from the Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights, which often affords them as much light as is necessary for the dispatch of their common business.

The winter on the east of Norway generally commences about the middle of October, and continues till the middle of April. The waters are congealed to a thick ice, and the mountains and vallies are covered with snow; this however is of such importance to the welfare of the country, that in a mild winter, the peasants who live among the mountains, are considerable sufferers: for without severe frost and snow, they can neither convey the timber they have felled to the rivers, nor carry their corn, butter, furs, and other commodities, in their sledges, to the market-towns; for such is the power of the frost in these northern regions, that the largest rivers, with their roaring cataracts, are arrested in their course, and the very spittle is no sooner out of the mouth than it is instantly congealed, and rolls along the ground like hail. Their extensive forests afford them plenty of timber for building and for fuel. The furs and skins of wild beasts, and the wool of the sheep, furnish them with coverings for their beds, and warm lining for their cloaths. They are supplied with vast quantities of down and feathers, by innumerable flights of wild fowl. The mountains serve for fences against the north and east winds, and they are well sheltered by their caverns. While the winter thus rages on the east side of Norway, the lakes and bays on the west side are kept open by the warm exhalations of the ocean, though lying in a direct line with the eastern parts; and the frosts are seldom known to last above a fortnight or three weeks.

In general, the air is pure and healthy, but in particular in the middle of the country about the mountains, where the inhabitants are almost strangers to sickness. There are no physicians but in the principal towns, where they have a public salary; but even there they have but a small share of employment.

All the eastern coast of this country is so subject to frequent rains, that the women, when they go abroad, wear a woollen, or silken black veil over their heads, and the men defend themselves by a kind of rain hats, something in the shape of umbrellas.

There are in Norway a prodigious number of mountains, some of which are scattered about, and surrounded by a level country, while others extend in a long chain from north to south. This chain is said at least to equal the Alps in height, and abounds with frightful caverns of amazing extent.

"The inhabitants of such a mountainous country (says our author) may be said to labour under many more inconveniences than others: thus arable ground is here but little better in comparison with the wastes and deserts, so that the people are obliged to procure more than half their subsistence from the sea: the villages are small, and the houses scattered among the vallies; but in some places the peasants houses stand so high, and on the edge of steep precipices, that ladders are fixed to climb up to them; so that when a clergyman is sent for, who is unpractised in the road, he risks his life in ascending them, especially in winter, when the ways are slippery. In such places the bodies of the dead must be let down with ropes,

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or be brought on men's backs before they are laid in a coffin; and at some distance from Bergen, the mail must likewise in winter be drawn over the steepest mountains.

"One of the principal inconveniences, especially to travellers, arises from the roads: they cannot without terror, pass several places, even in the king's road, over the sides of steep and craggy mountains, on ways that are either shored up, or suspended by iron bolts, fixed in the mountains, and though not above the breadth of a foot-path, have no rails on the side.

"If two travellers were to meet there in the night, and not see each other soon enough to stop where the road will suffer them to pass, it appears to me, as it does to others whom I have consulted, that they must stop short, without being able to pass each other, or to find a turning for their horses, or even to alight. The only resource I can imagine in this difficulty is, that one must endeavour to cling to some cliff of this steep mountain, or if help be at hand, to be drawn up by a rope, and then throw his horse headlong down a tremendous precipice, in order to make room for the other traveller to pass.

"Another evil resulting from the mountains, is the shelter they afford in their caverns and clefts to the wild beasts, which renders it difficult to extirpate them. It is not easy to describe the havoc made by the lynxes, foxes, bears, and especially wolves, among the cattle, and other useful animals.

"It often happens that the cows, sheep, and goats belonging to the peasants fall down the precipices, and are destroyed. Sometimes they make a false step into a projection called Mountain-hammer, where they can neither ascend nor descend; on this occasion, a peasant cheerfully ventures his life for a sheep or a goat, and descending from the top of a mountain by a rope of some hundred fathoms in length, he flings his body on a cross stick, till he can get his foot on the place where the goat is, when he fastens it to the rope to be drawn up along with himself: but the most amazing circumstance is, that he runs this risque with the help of only a single person, who holds the end of the rope, or fastens it to a stone if there be one at hand. There are instances of the assistant himself having been dragged down, and sacrificing his life from fidelity to his friend, on which both have perished. On these melancholy accidents, when a man or beast falls some hundred fathoms down the precipices, it is observed, that the air presses with such force against their bodies thus falling, that they are not only deprived of life long before they reach the ground, but their bellies burst, and their entrails gush out, which is plainly the case whenever they fall into deep water.

"A great chain of these mountains serves as a barrier between Norway and Sweden, and are excellent natural fortresses for the defence of those states: besides, these mountains exhibit the most delightful prospects; nature has here been most profusely favourable in adding greater beauties to the situation of cottages and farm-houses, than can be enjoyed by royal palaces in other countries, though assisted with all the varieties of groves, terraces, canals, and cascades. A predecessor of mine is said to have given the name of the northern Italy to the district of Waas, which lies some leagues to the east of Bergen; and certainly there cannot be a more enchanting prospect. All the buildings in it are the church, the parsonage, and a few farm houses, scattered on different eminences. The beauty of the place is much heightened by two uniform mountains, gradually rising to a vast height, between which runs a valley near half a league in breadth, and a river, which in some places participates itself down the rocks in foaming cataracts, and at others spreads itself into small lakes. On both sides it is bordered with the finest meadows, intermingled with little thickets, and by the easy declivities of the verdant mountains, covered with fruitful fields, and farm-houses, standing above each other

in a succession of natural terraces. Between these a stately forest presents itself to the view, and beyond that, the summits of the mountains covered with perpetual snow; and still beyond those ten or twelve streams issuing from the snow mountains, form an agreeable contrast in their meanders along the blooming sides of the hill, till they lose themselves in the rivers beneath.

“ From the many springs issuing from the mountains, and the vast masses of snow accumulated on their summits, whence, in summer they gently dissolve, are formed many considerable rivers, the largest of which, is the Gleamen, or Glommen; but none of them are navigable far up the country, the passage being every where interrupted by rocks and cataracts. The bridges over them are no where, that I remember, walled, but merely formed of timber cases filled with stones, which serves for piers, on which the timbers are laid. The largest bridge of this kind, is a thousand paces in length, and has forty-three stone cases. In many places, where the narrowness and rapidity of the current will not admit of sinking stone cases, thick masts are laid on each side on the shore, with the thickest end fastened to the rocks; one mast being thus laid in the water, another is placed upon it, reaching a fathom beyond it, and then a third or fourth, in the like manner to the middle of the stream, where it is joined by other connected masts from the opposite side. Thus in passing over the bridge, especially in the middle, it seems to swing, which to those who are not used to these bridges appear so dangerous, that they alight from their horses, till they imagine themselves safe.

“ Within the bowels of some of the mountains, are the most beautiful kinds of marble: the mountains also contain that surprising substance called the magnet, or load-stone, in such quantities, that some tons of it have been exported. They likewise yield the amianthus, or asbestos, of which incombustible linen or paper have been made.”

This country formerly produced gold, but the expence of working the mines, and separating the gold from the ore being greater than the profit, they have been neglected. There are however, silver mines of great value, which afford employment to several thousand persons. The copper mines are likewise extremely rich, and employ vast numbers. Iron is also one of the most profitable products of Norway: there are likewise some lead mines, but none of either tin or quick-silver.

The soil produces wheat, rye, barley, white, grey and green peas; vetches, used as provender for horses; hops, flax, and hemp, many kinds of roots and greens for the kitchen, with a considerable number of hardy flowers. Several sorts of plumbs attain to a tolerable ripeness, which can very seldom be said of peaches, apricots or grapes. However, apples and pears of several kinds are found all over the country; but the greatest part of these are summer fruits, which ripen early; for the winter fruit seldom comes to any perfection, unless the summer proves hotter, and the winter sets in later than usual. But tho' with respect to fruit trees, Norway must be acknowledged inferior to most countries in Europe, yet this deficiency is liberally compensated in the blessings of inexhaustible forests; so that in most provinces, immense sums are received from foreigners for masts, beams, planks, boards, &c. not to mention the home consumption for houses entirely built of wood, ships and bridges: and the amazing number of founderies, require an immense quantity of charcoal, in the fusion of metals, besides the demand for fuel and other domestic uses; to which must be added, that in many places the woods are felled only to clear the ground and be burnt, the ashes serving for manure.

The Norwegian horses, are better for riding than drawing, their walk is easy, they are full of spirit, and are very sure footed. When they mount or descend a steep cliff on stones like steps, they first tread gently with one foot, to try if the stone they

touch be fast, and in this they must be left to themselves, or the best rider will run the risque of his neck, but when they are to go down a very steep and slippery place, they, in a surprising manner draw their hind legs together under them, and slide down.

They shew a great deal of courage in fighting with wolves or bears, which they are often obliged to do, for when the horse perceives one of them near him, and has a mare or gelding with him, he places them behind him, attacks his antagonist by striking at him with his fore-legs, and usually comes off conqueror; if he turns about to kick with his hind legs, he is ruined; for the bear who has double his strength, instantly leaps on his back, while the poor horse gallops on, untill he drops down through loss of blood. The Norway cows are generally of a yellow colour, (as are also their horses) they are small, but their flesh is fine grained, juicy, and well tasted. The sheep here are small, and resemble those of Denmark. The goats in many places run wild in winter and summer in the fields, till they are ten or twelve years old; and when the peasant who owns them proposes to catch them, he must do it by some snare, or shoot them. They are so bold, that if a wolf approaches them, they stay to receive him, and if they have dogs with them, they will resist a whole herd. They frequently attack the snakes, and when they are bit by them, not only kill their antagonists but eat them, after which, they are never known to die of the bite, though they are ill for several days. The owner warms their own milk, and washes the sore with it.

There is a flat and naked field, near Rostad, on which no vegetables will grow, the soil is almost white, with grey stripes, and has somewhat of so peculiarly poisonous a nature, that though all other animals may safely pass over it, a goat or kid no sooner sets his feet upon it, than it drops down, stretches out its legs, its tongue hangs out of its mouth, and it expires, if it has not instant help. There are few hogs in Norway, and not many of the common deer, but the hares, which in the cold season change from brown to grey or snow white, are very cheap in winter. Here are also in some parts of this country, elks, but they are not numerous. The rein-deer, however run wild in herds, and are shot for food by the inhabitants. These animals constitute the greatest, and almost the only riches of the Laplanders, who live upon the milk, the cheese they make of it, and on the flesh. They make their cloathing, tents, and bed covering of their skins, and of their tendons they make their sewing thread. There are vast numbers of them in Finland; both wild and tame, and many a man has there from six or eight hundred to a thousand, of these useful creatures, which never come under cover. They follow him wherever he is pleased to ramble, and when they are put to a sledge, transport his goods from one place to another. They provide for themselves, and live chiefly on moss, and on the buds and leaves of trees. They support themselves on very little nourishment, and are neat, clean, and entertaining creatures. It is remarkable, that when the rein-deer sheds his horns, and others rise in their stead, they appear at first covered with a skin; and till they are of a fingers length, are so soft, that they may be cut with a knife like a sausage, and are delicate eating, even raw; therefore the huntsmen, when far out in the country, and pinched for want of food, eat them, and find that they satisfy both their hunger and thirst. When the horns grow bigger, there breeds within the skin a worm that eats away the root. The rein-deer has over his eye-lids a kind of skin, through which he peeps, when otherwise, in the hard snows, he would be obliged to shut his eyes entirely.

The ravenous beasts are the bears and wolves already mentioned, the lynx, vast numbers of white, red, and black foxes; and the glutton, a creature, which few other countries know, but by report. This animal receives its name from its voracious appetite; it in size and shape has some resemblance of a long bodied dog, with thick legs, sharp claws and teeth.

teeth; the colour is black, variagated with brown and yellow streaks. He has the boldness to attack every beast he can possibly conquer, and if he finds a carcase six times as big as himself, he does not leave off eating, as long as there is a mouthful left: When thus gorged, he presses and squeezes himself between two trees, and thus empties himself of what he has not time to digest. As his skin shines like damask, and is covered with soft hair, it is very precious; it is therefore well worth the huntsman's while to kill him without wounding the skin, which is done with shooting him with a bow and blunt arrows.

The martin is also hunted on account of its skin, as is likewise the squirrel and the ermine, both of which are therefore shot with blunt arrows. It is doubted whether the ermine be different from the Danish weasel; its valuable skin is of a beautiful white, and it has a black spot on the tail. The ermines run after mice like cats, and drag away what they catch, particularly eggs, which are their nicest delicacy. Here are also castors, badgers, otters, and hedge-hogs.

Among the mice, some are thought poisonous, and others are remarkable for being white, and having red eyes. But the most pernicious vermine is a little animal, called the *lœmus*, or lemming, which is near the size of a rat; the tail is short and turned up at the end, and the legs are also so short that they scarce keep the belly from the ground. They have very short hair, and are of different colours, particularly black, with yellow and brown streaks, and some in spots. The bishop assures us that, about once or twice in every twenty years, they assemble from their secret abodes, in prodigious numbers, like the messengers of heaven to punish the neighbouring inhabitants. They proceed from Kolen's rock, which divides the Nordland manor from Sweden, and is held to be their peculiar and native place; marching in vast multitudes through Nordland and Finmark to the western ocean; and other bodies through Swedish Lapmark, to the Sinus, Bothnicus, devouring all the grass and vegetables in their way. They do this in a direct line, and going straight forwards proceed into the rivers of the sea: thus, if they meet with a boat on any fresh water river, they run in at one end or side, and out again at the other, in order to keep their course. They carry their young with them on their backs, or in their mouths; and if they meet with peasants who come to oppose them, they will stand undaunted, and bark at them like dogs. This evil is, however, of no long duration; for on entering the sea, they swim as long as they are able, and then are drowned: if they are stopped in their course, so that they cannot reach the sea, they are killed by the frosts of winter; and if they escape, most of them die as soon as they eat the new grass.

As to the reptiles, there are neither land-snakes nor toads beyond the temperate zone; and even those snakes on the extremities of the temperate climate, are less poisonous than in more southern countries. Lizards are here of various colours, as brown, green, and striped. Those that are green are found in the fields, and the others in the cracks and holes of rocks.

Among the fowls are most of those seen in the rest of Europe, and some of them peculiar to this country; of those that are in a manner peculiar to this country is the francolin, an excellent land bird, which serves the Norwegians instead of the pheasant, its flesh being white, firm, and of a delicious taste. The black-cap is almost as small as the wren; the body is black and yellow, it is white under the belly, and the top of the head is black. These birds keep near the houses, and are such lovers of meat, that the farmers can hardly keep them from it, and therefore catch them like mice in a trap.

Norway is also supplied as plentifully with fish as any country in the world.

The bishop in his history besides the animals before mentioned, tells us of some others of dubious ex-

istence, such are the mer-man and mer-maid. He also describes a creature called the sea-snake, whose dimensions are such as shock credibility. But the monster whose size is the most enormous that we believe was ever heard or read of, is the kraken, a fish, in shape like the *stella murina*, whose circumference, he says, is above an English mile and a half, and which he says, is often mistaken by mariners for an island; but setting aside many other improbable circumstances, this animal must encroach too much upon the general proportion of nature to have place in a globe where all is calculated for a symmetry of parts; we shall therefore, with all submission to the reverend author, conclude that he was deceived in his judgment, and that all accounts he has received of the kraken, are a heap of absurdities.

"The inhabitants of the mountains, in Norway (says our author) do the work of horses, for nine successive hours, singing all the time; and throw themselves every half hour on the snow, though in a profuse sweat, sucking it to stave their thirst, without the least apprehension of a cold or fever.

"All the peasants are in general, handy and ingenious, having no tradesmen among them, nor buying any thing made up in the towns; as the farmers say nobody can ever make a good man without being his own taylor, shoe-maker, weaver, smith, carpenter, &c. though without derogating from their ingenuity, it is most probable, that necessity, is in a great measure, the parent of it; as the produce of their soil would be unequal to the employment of such a number of tradesmen. They seem however, to excel in carving with their toll knife, (a broad short one) some of the greatest artificial curiosities in the royal museum, consisting of their carving in wood."

Though the bishop celebrates his countrymen for their ability and politeness, the peasants are very ferocious, some of whom has been known to buckle themselves together by their belts, and fight with their short knives, till one of them have been mortally wounded; so that, till the middle of the last century, our author says it was customary, when the family has been invited to a wedding, for the wife to take her husband's shroud with her.

Except at weddings and other entertainments, the farmers do not use rye in their bread, oats being their general corn; and when grain is scarce they mix a little oatmeal with a greater quantity of the bark of the fir powder, which makes a bread that is less nutritive and bitterish; but which however, they accustom themselves to in plentiful seasons, to be prepared against a time of scarcity. Indeed, in 1743, and 1744, they improved their bread by substituting elm bark, which was better tasted.

In parts where there were great fisheries, they attempted to mix cod-roses with oatmeal; but this gave some the bloody flux. It seems odd that they chuse to let their fish sour before they salt it. They make a stock of strong ale against Christmas, and christenings, &c. but at other times regale on mungat, a very bad small beer, milk and water, or water and sour wey. They are great lovers of tobacco, expending annually several thousand dollars in it, which makes our author, as a patriot, wish for its perfect production there; snuff they properly enough call *næsemeel*.

Their houses are commonly built of whole trunks of pine and fir trees, chopped so as to make them lie close, and joined by mortises. They are covered first with birch-bark, and over that three or four inches thick with turf, wherein service trees and good grass grows, whence many a farmer mows a pretty load of hay from the top of his house. They are often let to three, four, or five families; and have a stabaret for all their provisions at a distance, for fear of fire. Even the rich farmers have seldom any windows, but a sky-light, called *liur*, at the top of the house, over which, they place the midriff of some animal, in a frame, to keep out the rain. The membrane is strong and transparent as a bladder; it is called

called Sîaa; and lifted on or off with a pole, which pole, every person coming on important business, and especially on courtship, must touch before they utter a word. The smoke passes through the liur; and kings, till the 11th century, lived in such houses.

The master of the house always sits at the upper end of the table on the hoy-sædet, (high-seat) where he has a little cupboard to lock up his valuable things. They burn the roots of those fir-trees that have been cut down several years for tar. As a great part of their livelihood is obtained from the water, many spend half their time on that element, and die in it; and though their bodies are seldom found, they have a funeral ceremony and sermon called *Gravfæstelse*. A minister at Karfund affirmed, that during his residence there, which had been fifty years, there had not died above ten grown men on shore; and at Christian-sand, they say that most of the women have had five or six husbands.

The lakes and rivers furnish the inhabitants with plenty of fresh-water fish, and the mountains supply them with game. For their winter stock they kill cows, sheep, and goats, part of which they pickle and smoke, and some of it they cut in thin slices, sprinkle it with salt, and then dry it in the wind, and eat it like hung-beef. They are fond of brandy, and of chewing and smoking tobacco.

The Norwegians who live in towns have nothing singular in their dress, but the peasants do not trouble themselves about fashion: those called *Stile Farmers*, have their breeches and stockings in one piece: they have a wide, loose jacket, made of coarse woollen cloth, as are likewise their waist-coats; but those who would appear fine, have the seams covered with a different colour. The peasants of one parish are remarkable for wearing black cloaths, edged with red; another for wearing all black; the dress of a third parish is white edged with black; others wear black and yellow, and thus the inhabitants of almost every parish vary in the colour of their cloaths. They wear a flapped hat, or a little brown, grey, or black cap, made quite round, and the seams adorned with black ribbons. They have shoes of a peculiar construction, without heels, consisting of two pieces, the upper-leather fits close to the foot, to which the sole is joined by a great many plaits and folds. When they travel, and likewise in the winter, they wear a sort of half-boots, which reach up to the calf of the leg, and are laced on one side; and when they go on the rocks in the snow, they put on snow shoes; but as these are troublesome when they go a great way to travel, they put on skates as broad as the foot, but six or eight feet long, and pointed before; they are covered with seal-skin, so that the smooth grain of the hair turns backward to the heel. With these snow-skates they slide about on the snow, as well as they can upon the ice, and faster than any horse can go.

The peasants never wear a neck-cloth, nor any thing of that kind, except when he is dressed; for his neck and breast are always open, and he lets the snow beat into his bosom. On the contrary, he covers his veins, binding a woollen fillet round his wrist. About their body they wear a broad leather belt, ornamented with convex brass plates; to this hangs a brass chain, which holds their large knife, gimblet, and other tackle.

The women at church, and in genteel assemblies, dress themselves in jackets, laced close, and have leather girdles, with silver ornaments about them. They also wear a silver chain three or four times round the neck, with a gilt medal hanging at the end of it. Their handkerchiefs and caps, are almost covered with small silver, brass, and tin plates, buttons, and large rings, such as they wear on their fingers, to which they hang again a parcel of small ones, which make a jingling noise when they move. A maiden bride has her hair plaited, and hung as full as possible with such kind of trinkets, as also her cloaths.

The peasants are busied in cutting wood, felling and floating timber, burning of charcoal, and ex-

tracting of tar. Great numbers are employed in the mines, and at the furnaces and stamping mills, and also in navigation and fishing, besides hunting and shooting; for every body is at liberty to pursue the game; especially in the mountains, and on the heaths and commons; where every peasant may make use of what arms he pleases. Some of the inhabitants procure a good maintenance by catching of birds; but it is impossible to give a just idea of the fatigue and danger with which they search for birds in the high and steep rocks, many of which are 200 fathoms perpendicular. These people who are called *Bird-men*, have two methods of catching them; they either climb up these perpendicular rocks; or are let down from the top by a strong, thick rope; when they climb up, they have a large pole of 11 or 12 ells in length, with an iron hook at the end; they who are underneath in a boat, or stand on a cliff, fasten this hook to the waistband of the man's breeches who climbs; by which means they help him up to the highest projection he can reach, and fix his feet upon; they then help up another to the same place, and when they are both up, give them their bird-poles, and a long rope, which they tie at each end round their waists. This done, one climbs up as high as he can, and where it is difficult, the other, by putting his pole under his breach, pushes him up till he gets a good standing place: the uppermost of the two then helps the other up to him with the rope; and thus they proceed till they get to the part where the birds build, and there they search for them. As they have many dangerous places yet to climb, one always seeks a convenient place to stand sure, and be able to hold himself fast, while the other is climbing about. If the latter should happen to slip, he is held up by the other who stands firm, and when he has got safe by those dangerous places, he fixes himself in the same manner, that he may assist the other to come safe to him; and then they clamber about after birds where they please; but accidents sometimes happen; for if one does not stand firm, or is not strong enough to support the other when he slips, they both fall and are killed, and thus some perish every year.

When they thus reach the places that are seldom visited, they find the birds so tame that they can take them with their hands; for they are loth to leave their young; but where they are wild, they either throw a net over them in the rock, or entangle those that are flying, with a net fixed at the end of their poles. Thus they catch vast numbers of fowls, and the boat keeping underneath them, they throw the dead birds into it, and soon fill the vessel.

When the weather is tolerably good, and there is a deal of game, the bird-men will continue eight days together on the rocks; for there are here and there holes in which they can securely take their repose: they draw up provisions with lines, and boats are kept coming and going to take away the game.

On the other hand, many rocks being so steep and dangerous, that they cannot possibly climb up them, they are then let down from above; when they have a strong rope eighty or one hundred fathoms long. One end of it the bird-man fastens round his waist, and drawing it between his legs, so that he can sit on it, he is let down with his bird-pole in his hand, by six men at the top, who let the rope sink by degrees; but lay a piece of timber on the edge of the rock for it to slide on, to prevent its being torn to pieces by the sharp edges of the stones. Another line is fastened round the man's waist, which he pulls to give signs, when he would have them pull him up, let him lower, or keep him where he is. He is in danger of the stones loosening by the rope, and falling upon him, he therefore wears a thick furred cap, well lined, which secures him from the blows he may receive from small stones; but if large ones fall, he is in the greatest hazard of losing his life.

Thus do these poor men often expose themselves to the most imminent danger, merely to get a subsistence for their families. There are some indeed who

say there is no great hazard in it; after they are accustomed to it; but at first the rope turns round with them, till their heads are giddy, and they can do nothing to save themselves. Those who have learnt the art make a play of it; they put their feet against the rock, throw themselves several fathoms out, and push into what place they please. They even keep themselves out on a line in the air, and catch with their poles numbers of birds, flying out of, and into their holes. The greatest art is required in throwing themselves out, so as to swing under the projection of a rock where the birds gather together; here they fix their feet, loosen themselves from the rope, which they fasten to a stone, to prevent its swinging out of their reach, and then the man climbs about and catches the birds, either with his hands or his pole; and when he has killed as many as he thinks proper, he ties them together, fastens them to a small line, and by a pull gives a signal for those above to draw them up. In this manner he works all day; and when he wants to go up, he gives a signal to be drawn up, or else works himself up with his belt full of birds.

When there are not people enough to hold the rope, the birdman fixes a post in the ground; fastens his rope to it, and slides down without any help to work as before. In some places there are steep cliffs of a prodigious size, lying under the land, and yet more than 100 fathoms above the water, which are very difficult to be got at. They help one another down these cliffs in the manner abovementioned, and taking a strong rope with them, fasten it here and there in the cliff, where they can, and leave it all the summer: upon this they will run up and down, and take the birds at pleasure.

It is impossible to describe how frightful and dangerous this bird-catching appears to the beholders, from the vast height and excessive steepness of the rocks, many of which hang over the sea: it seems impossible for men to enter the holes under these projections, or to walk 200 yards high on crags of rocks where they can but just fix their toes. When they have brought home their birds, they eat some of them fresh, and some are hung to dry for the winter season. These birds afford the inhabitants a very good maintenance, partly from their flesh and eggs, and partly from their feathers and down, which are gathered and sent to foreign parts.

We shall here subjoin the account given of the country, by a French gentleman who embarked at Copenhagen on board a northern fleet, bound on a voyage of discovery, which landed him safe upon the coast of Norway.

“The peasants of Norway (says he) who are slaves to the nobility, are most of them fishermen, and remarkable for their simplicity and hospitality. The women, who are very handsome, though red haired, are fond of strangers; they look after the cattle, of which there is a great plenty; they are likewise excellent housewives, and in general make their own family cloth.

“As we were on our way towards Christiana, we met one of the neighbouring gentlemen, followed by two servants, and a pack of dogs, going upon an elk chace. The gentleman knowing the man that was with me, invited us to partake of his diversion. After riding with him about a mile, we met his huntsman, together with more of his servants, and ten or twelve peasants, who led us three miles farther to a wood full of bushes, at the entrance of which we dismounted, and gave our horses to one of his domestics.

“Preparations had been made for the chace the day before by the gentleman's vassals; in consequence of which we had scarce gone 40 yards before we perceived an elk, who had not advanced far when he dropped down dead, being seized, as they told me, with the falling-sickness, from whence they derive the name of Elk, which signifies a miserable creature; and it seems they often fall in this manner at the beginning of the chace. Had not this accident happened, I believe we

should have found it hard to have run him down; for we were above two hours in pursuit of the next; which I do not believe we should have ever caught, had he not also dropped down dead; however, he killed two of the best dogs with his fore feet, and the gentleman being extremely sorry for their loss, would hunt no more; but sent for a cart to carry the game; and insisted on our going with him to his castle; where he treated us in a plentiful and agreeable manner.

“The elk is as big as a large horse, and his body like that of a stag; but longer and larger; his legs are also long; his feet broad and cloven, his antlers large, hairy, and broad like a fallow deer's, but he is not so well furnished with horns as a stag.

“At my departure my host made me a present of the two left shanks of the elks, assuring me that they were an excellent cure for the falling-sickness; to which I replied by my interpreter, that I wondered, since the leg of the elk had such virtue in it; why the animal did not cure himself. The gentleman reflecting on what I said, laughed aloud, and told me I was in the right, for he had given it to several persons afflicted with the same disease, but it had never produced a cure; upon which he had long suspected that the pretended virtue of the leg or foot of this animal was a vulgar mistake. He then gave me many instances of the ill effects produced on human bodies by eating the flesh of elks.

“The gentleman having obliged us to spend the night at his castle, we took our leave of him the next morning, after breakfast, and returned to Christiana, where we staid four or five days, and then sailed for Berghen; but being becalmed in our passage for five days, we employed ourselves in catching fish, and took so large a quantity, that we lived chiefly on that food for a long time afterwards.

“Berghen, the capital of the province of the same name in Norway, has one of the finest ports in Europe. It is a large trading town, full of merchants, and was formerly an archbishoprick; but it has not been acknowledged as such since the reformation, which prevails here as well as in the king of Denmark's other dominions. The archbishop's palace was given to the Hans towns for the residence of their ancient merchants, so long as they continue single; but if they marry, they are obliged to remove. The merchants are called monks, though they do not wear a cowl, or observe the rules of any order; and the warehouses bear the name of the Cloisters. The chief branch of trade carried on at Berghen is in herring, cod, and stock-fish; for which there is a great demand in Muscovy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and other parts of Europe.

“When we had discharged the cargo we had to deliver at Berghen, we set sail for Drontheim, half our lading consisting chiefly of bread and beer, being consigned to the surveyor of the copper and silver mines, for the use of the miners, and other workmen; but being again becalmed for several days, we caught a vast quantity of klip-fish, a great part of which we salted and barrelled. They are a species of cod, and obtain the name of klip-fish, from their never leaving the rocks, klippe, in the German tongue; signifying a rock.

“When we arrived at Drontheim, we applied to the surveyor to unlade our ships as fast as possible, that we might proceed on our voyage; but he told us he could not begin, till the officer, who was to receive the provisions, came back from the mines, and offered to send a messenger on horseback for him, whom I obtained permission to accompany. Early the next morning, the surveyor's man and I begun our journey; but the roads were so rugged, that we could not reach only eighteen miles from Drontheim; for the night came on, and we had a long wood to pass through, in which were lynxes, boars, and wolves, in great numbers, that rendered it dangerous to travel in the dark.

“We came to our journey's end the next night, and lodged at the forges, where, according to the custom

custom of the country, we were entertained by the people who have the care of the mines, with tobacco, beer, and brandy; and our host was so very hospitable, that there was no possibility of going to bed sober. I here became acquainted with one of the officers of the mines, who spoke French, and on my expressing a desire to go down into them, he promised to gratify my curiosity.

"Having breakfasted with the person who spoke French, and the master miner, they went with me fifty or sixty paces from the forges, which are upon a high mountain, to the mouth of one of the mines, over which was erected a machine not unlike a crane, turned by two great wheels, each guided by a man, by which means the ore is drawn up; and the master miner and I, being fixed in a wooden bucket, to which our hands were bound with iron gantlets, were let down fifty fathom deep. Never was there seen a more horrid prospect, nor a truer picture of the infernal regions; the flames of fire that blazed every where around, the rugged caverns, and the sight of creatures that had a nearer resemblance to the fiends than to men, all conspired to fill the soul with terror. The miners were dressed in black leather coats of mail, and mufflers of the same fastened round their heads, just under their eyes, reaching down to their breasts, they had also leathern aprons. These miners have different employments; for while some divide the ore from the mass, others search for new veins of metal, and others try to discover caverns filled with water, which often unexpectedly burst forth, and drown those in the mines: however, if these are found the mischief is sometimes prevented. The master miner, who descended with me, imagined I was near being seized with a cold fit, which is common in these places, rang a bell, which being the signal for those above to draw us up, we soon ascended with the same ease with which we had gone down. Never was fresh air more welcome to me, than after having breathed the unwholesome damps of this cavern.

"We now went to the house of the officer who spoke French, who entertained us in a very hospitable manner. After dinner, he ordered horses to be got ready to take us to the silver mines. Having introduced me to the surveyor, we were each of us presented with a large glass of brandy, and then treated with beer and tobacco: when we were thus refreshed, the surveyor conducted us to the forges, which were about a mile from his house, and we soon after reached the mouth of a mine, down which we went in the same manner we had done at the copper mine.

"The miners never work in winter, and in the spring and autumn, they only labour three hours before, and three hours after dinner; but in the summer they work four hours in the morning, and five in the afternoon. The rest of the time they spend in mirth and feasting; they delight much in dancing and have violins, hautboys, and other musical instruments, to enliven their spirits. This merry life they are well able to support, being paid a crown a day all the year round. I had an opportunity of seeing them engaged in their pastimes, the simplicity of which, gave me much pleasure. These mines turn to a good account, and are not the least part of his Danish majesty's revenue.

"Having seen every thing worth notice at the mines, we went home with the surveyor, who treated us with brandy, beer, and tobacco: we afterwards partook of a plentiful supper, and when we had refreshed ourselves, went to bed. In the morning the master miner and I having thanked our host for his kind entertainment, went back to the copper mines, where having taken leave of the officer who spoke French, we set out for Drontheim."

With this relation we shall close our description of Norway, and proceed to give that of Lapland, a country where the manners of the inhabitants forms a striking contrast to that of the civilized nations of Europe.

TRAVELS THROUGH LAPLAND.

LAPLAND might appear, from its remote situation, to be placed at the northern extremity of the globe; but the discovery of Spitzbergen has convinced voyagers and travellers that they could proceed yet farther in their approaches towards the north pole. The author whom we quoted above, was bound for both these places. He thus continues his relation.

"As night came on before we had gone eight miles on our way, we were obliged to take up our quarters in the next village, at the house of a peasant, who thinking himself greatly honoured by having such guests, did all in his power to oblige us. He first treated us with beer and tobacco, and a kind of brandy distilled from malt; and having lately killed a hare and a couple of pheasants, he dressed them for our supper. When we had done supper we again swallowed large quantities of brandy and beer, and were enveloped in clouds of tobacco. At length the master miner was made dead drunk, at which the peasant expressed the utmost satisfaction, and took large draughts to put himself in the same condition; nor was I much better; it is the custom of the country among all ranks of people, and not to be avoided, they have no notion of there being any pleasure in society that does not end in drunkenness. When we had drank our fill, we betook ourselves to rest on

clean straw which had been spread on the floor for that purpose. As I was first awake in the morning, I by signs, made the peasant's son understand that I wanted the horses to be got ready, being determined to reach Drontheim that night, if possible. When I saw they were saddled, I roused my companion and his host, and having again eaten and drank more than in prudence we ought, we took our leave of the hospitable peasant, and before night arrived at Drontheim.

"The ship having cleared out, and taken in her stock of provisions and other necessaries; in two days after my return, we set sail with a fair wind to pursue our voyage to the northward. After a few days we were becalmed under the arctic circle, and some of our crew being so superstitious as to imagine that the inhabitants of the neighbouring coast, like those of Finland, could rule the elements, and dispose of the winds at their pleasure: our captain sent his boat on shore with the mate, to purchase a wind of them; and though I believed nothing of the matter, I had the curiosity to accompany those employed in this ridiculous commission.

"We landed at the first village we saw, and as the mate could speak enough of the language of the country to make himself understood, he soon found out the chief necromancer, and asked if he could furnish

Engraved
for Moore's Voyages
and Travels.



RAIN-DEER-SLEDGES *used in* LAPLAND.

Jm^s Lodge del. et Sculp.

furnish us with a wind that could last till we arrived at Maurmanskeimoré? but the necromancer gravely replied, that he could not; for that his power extended no farther than the promontory of Rouxella. The mate considering, that if we reached so far, we might easily make the north cape, desired him to go on board with us, and bargain with the captain. The wizard consenting, took three of his comrades with him, and leaping into a small fishing boat, went on board our ship, where the captain and he soon agreed, and he paid ten kronors, which is about thirty-six shillings, and a pound of tobacco. When the bargain was concluded and the money paid, the conjuror tied a woollen rag, about half a yard long, and a nail broad, to the foremast. This rag, in which three knots were tied, was all the captain had for his money; and the necromancer and his companions immediately returned on shore. Not long after he was gone, the captain agreeable to the instructions he had received, untied the first knot in the rag, and soon afterwards a brisk gale sprung up from the south west, which drove us thirty leagues beyond Malsrom, a whirlpool in the Norwegian Sea, that has proved fatal to many vessels. For this reason those pilots that are acquainted with those coasts, keep eight or ten leagues out to sea, to avoid that and several other eddies, as well as the rocks that lie off Ostraford.

"The wind now beginning to veer a little to the northward, the captain untied the second knot, on which the wind settled as before, till we reached Rouxella. When we had passed that promontory, the needle of our compass turned back half an inch, from which some imagined, that there was a loadstone in the mountain. However, if we had not had an experienced pilot, we certainly should have lost our course. He shut up the compass, and displayed a flag on the top of the fore-mast head, as a signal for some other ships that were in company to follow our way. We were two days and nights in this situation, having nothing to depend upon but the pilot's experience; but on the third day, when we were at a considerable distance from the mountains of Rouxella, the needle again pointed to the north, from whence we concluded that we drew near the north cape. The wind failing us about this time, our captain untied the third knot, and there sprung up a smart breeze at north-east, which soon increased to a most dreadful tempest. We were now obliged to take in all our sails, and drive before the wind under our bare poles, expecting every minute to go to the bottom; and dreading lest this should be a judgement inflicted on us for our infernal commerce. At length we struck upon a rock, when least we expected any; as soon as we felt the shock, we gave ourselves up for lost, and every man betook himself to his devotions; but by great good providence there came a high rolling sea, which carried us clear over the rock, though not without some damage to the vessel.

"On the 4th, the storm ceased, when we were under great concern at having lost sight of our other vessels, which we had great reason to fear were lost; but having a fair gale, we continued our course, being resolved to make the first port in order to refit.

"With respect to the sale of winds for which these northern people are so famous, it may be proper to observe, that like all other kinds of witchcraft and necromancy, it has its foundation in fraud and imposture. Those who deal in it study the weather with the utmost care; and from constant observation, are able to foresee the variation of the winds for several days to come, and they take care to start so many difficulties in making their bargains, that they are sure never to come to a conclusion, till they perceive the sign of the approach of the wind that is wanted; and when our supposed conjurer affirmed that his power reached no farther than Rouxella, it ought to be understood that he knew well, by experience, that cape to be the limit of his observations, and that he should risque his credit, if he presumed to exceed his bounds. This account we have received from some

intelligent persons who lived some time in Iceland, where they are famous for this kind of traffic, and dispose of winds with less limitation than elsewhere, because living upon an island, they are more able to judge of the variation of the winds in all the seas round about them. This kind of knowledge is confined to a very few people, who pretend to dispose of the wind as their own proper merchandise, whereby they keep their neighbours in subjection; and put foreigners under tribute; nor are these strange ridiculous notions to be wondered at in a country where religion is at a very low ebb, and learning has made but a small advance towards the improvement of the mind.

"The coasts of the sea all over the north, are so full of rocks, that the ports and creeks are almost inaccessible, and we were obliged to sail two days longer before we could make a proper port; however, we at length reached the coast of Wardhuys, the chief town of Danish Lapland, where there is a garrison of two companies of soldiers belonging to the king of Denmark, and a collector of the duties imposed on foreigners, trading to or from Archangel.

"The collector judging us to be Danes by our colours, and our saluting the castle, suffered us to sail on to Varanger, without searching us. The country all about seemed very wild, and no person on board had the least knowledge of it; the captain, impatient to find a place where we might refit, and desirous of obtaining some information relative to trade, ordered out the long-boat, and taking with him eight men well armed, rowed towards the town, where he arrived in about half an hour. He found the port very convenient, and the place populous, but so little frequented, that the inhabitants seemed amazed at seeing him, but readily offered to assist in refitting the ship, though they gave him small encouragement respecting trade.

"On the next day we entered the port, and unloaded our cargo, which consisted of bales of cloth and rolls of tobacco, with which we designed to have traded. These goods were locked up in a warehouse near the shore, and a watch set to guard them. To some of the principal inhabitants we presented small quantities of tobacco, which being more welcome to them than gold, it secured their friendship, and in return they entertained us with fish that serves them instead of bread; the flesh of rein-deer, which I did not think very palatable, together with some bear's flesh, and that of other wild beasts, of which we had no knowledge; they also treated us with fresh fish, boiled without salt, and served up either with the oil of other fish, or a sour liquor that is highly esteemed by them. Their dainties not suiting our taste, we sent for provisions from the ship, the chief of which was salt-beef and biscuits, over which, and a can of liquor, we made ourselves very merry; but when we offered some of our food to the Laplanders, we found that it was as disagreeable to them as theirs was to us. The sour liquor which I have mentioned, is made by throwing into water a quantity of juniper berries, and a grain like lentiles, which is very common in Lapland. They accepted and drank freely of our beer and brandy, though they preferred their common liquor to either."

The religion established in Lapland is Lutheranism, but most of the natives are inclined to their ancient heathenism; and so superstitious, that if in the morning they meet a beast in their way whose appearance is esteemed ominous, they return home and neglect all business for that day; and when they go a fishing, if they take but one fish at the first draught, they think it an ill omen, and leave work for that time.

Both the men and women are low in stature, but strong and active: their faces are broad, and their noses flat. Their eyes are small like a hog's, and their eye-lids make them look as if they were bleary-eyed. Their complexion in general is swarthy, and they are of a rude, uncivilized, and lascivious disposition; especially

especially the women, who readily prostitute themselves to all comers, provided they can do it without their husband's knowledge.

The men's coats, which reach but a little below their hips, are made of the skin of rein-deer, with the hair turned outwards, as are likewise their hats, stockings and breeches. Their hats, or rather their bonnets, are edged with a strip of either grey or white fox-skin. The women wear on their heads a coif, not unlike those worn in Norway, made of coarse canvas, and their hair is twisted up in two rolls, which hang down, one on each shoulder. Some of them wear a kind of ruff, of the breadth of eight fingers, which they tie behind. Their cloaths and stockings are either coarse cloth, or rein-deer's skin, with the hair turned outward; and their shoes are of fish-skin, with the scales on, and somewhat resembling the wooden shoes worn by the peasants in France.

Their houses resemble those of the peasants about Christiana. They have no light but what enters by a hole at the top of the hut, and do not make use of beds any more than the other Laplanders. The whole family, masters, mistresses, children, and men and maid-servants, lie down promiscuously in the middle of the apartment, upon bear-skins, which when they rise in the morning, are taken up and laid by, till they are wanted again at night. Every family has a large black cat, which is highly esteemed, which the master of the family will talk to as if it was a reasonable creature, and which follows the people in all parties of fishing or hunting like a dog.

"When we had unladed the ship (says the author) we hauled her on shore, and found the inhabitants ready to give us all assistance in their power; for the vessel being under a necessity of having timber to refit her, they helped us to fetch what we wanted from a neighbouring mountain. As we found that the ship would be some time in refitting, the supercargo proposed to two of the ship's company and myself, to make a journey into the country, to try whether any trade could be carried on with the peasants there.

"Having supplied ourselves with salt-beef, pork, and biscuit for provisions, and with cloth and tobacco to trade, we set out on our journey on the 12th of May, attended by three of the inhabitants of Varanger, whom we followed through the woods, mountains and valleys, without meeting with any living creature, till about four o'clock in the afternoon, when we observed two white bears of prodigious size approach, as we thought, to devour us, but our guides laughed at our fears, and assured us if we kept our arms ready for defence, we should not be attacked, and we found what they said to be true; for whether the bears were frightened at the fire which struck from our flints, or from what cause it happened I cannot say, but we had no sooner prepared our fuzes, than they fled with the utmost precipitation.

"As we were descending a mountain, about an hour before night, we perceived at a distance a herd of beasts not unlike stags, which our guides told us were rein-deer. Soon after this, we came to a village, which consisted of about a dozen straggling houses, at one of which we were very glad to repose ourselves, having travelled a long way with our baggage at our backs. We presented our host with a piece of roll tobacco, which he received with extraordinary joy, assuring us that he had not had so valuable a present in nine months before; and in return he brought out his brandy bottle, some dried fish, and some rein-deer's flesh dressed without salting, which we gave to our guides, and supped, ourselves, upon the provisions we had brought with us; after which we slept upon bear-skins, according to the custom of the country. In the morning we asked our host if he had any thing to barter with us for cloth and tobacco? To which he answered, that he had some wolf, fox, and white squirrel skins, and that his neighbours had some of the same commodities, and would gladly exchange with us. We then bid him bring out his skins, and

if he had any cloaths made of rein-deer skins, we would deal with him for four suits, which we wanted to keep us warm; accordingly he brought forth his merchandise, which we bartered, and paid him partly in tobacco, and partly in cloth. When we had purchased all that he had to sell, we trucked with his neighbours as long as they had any thing worth buying; and then desired our host to assist us with some rein-deer, to carry us forward on our journey, to which he readily consented, and taking down a horn that hung in his cottage, he went to the door and blew it, on which fourteen or fifteen of those animals came running towards the hut, from among which he chose out six, which he immediately yoked to six sledges. We put our merchandise and provisions in one of the sledges, and assigned another to one of the guides, who understood the languages of our different Laplanders, and dismissed the other two guides, having first paid them in tobacco for their trouble.

"We then put on our Lapland cloaths, and each of us lying down in his sledge, was covered with a bear-skin. At the back of each sledge were two girts made of rein-deer skin leather, in which we thrust our arms up to the shoulders, to keep ourselves steady, and we had each a stick, with a strong ferrel to it, to support the sledge, in case it should be in danger of overturning against the stumps of trees or stones, lying in the way.

"When we were ready to set out, our host muttered some words in the ears of our cattle, which I afterwards learnt from our guide, were directions whither they should carry us; for so credulous are these poor wretches as to think the beasts understand them. However, custom has made this muttering so familiar to them, that when our host had gone to all the six, they set off at a prodigious rate, going over hills and dales without keeping any beaten path, till seven o'clock in the evening, when they brought us to a village between two hills, on the borders of a great lake. They stopt at the fourth house in the place, and beating the ground with their feet, the master of the house and some of his servants came out at the noise, and having unharnessed our cattle, and taken us out of the sledges, they gave each of us a brimmer of brandy, poured from a juniper can, of which wood all their vessels are made: this it seems was to revive our spirits, our guides having informed them that we were frightened at our been drawn so swiftly, not having been used to that kind of travelling.

"When we got out of our sledges, our host conducted us into his hut, which, like the rest of the cottages in the place, was very little, low, and covered with the bark of trees, the light entering in at a hole in the top. The people seemed here more barbarous than those we had last conversed with: however, we gave our host a piece of our roll tobacco, about two inches long, and a piece not quite so long to each of the inhabitants of the place, to engage their friendship. Their language was very different from that of the people of Varanger, from which we were now very distant, having travelled above thirty leagues this day.

"After supper we lay down on bear-skins, as usual, having first exchanged with our host, our Lapland habits, for those that were longer and more commodious, and bartered some tobacco for the skins of an hundred grey squirrels, a fur much esteemed in Denmark and other parts of Europe. The next day the people provided us with six other sledges, and having treated us with brandy, and wished us a good journey at parting, our host performed the same ceremony of muttering in the ears of the six rein-deer, and they then set off, and drew us with the same swiftness as before. Our cattle did not stop till three o'clock in the afternoon, at which time we arrived at a village of eight cottages, pleasantly situated by the side of a wood on the top of a hill. Here we saw no inhabitants, the reason of which, as our guide told us, was that it belonged to the Kilops, one of the wildest Lapland

Lapland nations, the people of which, fly from strangers, and subsist entirely by hunting.

"We now baited our deer with moss, which grows here in great plenty, and refreshed ourselves with salt-beef and biscuits, and a dram of brandy, with which the people of the last village had furnished us, while our interpreter dined upon venison and fish. After staying about an hour, our guide endeavoured to make the deer go forward, but had great difficulty to do it, though no Laplander whatever knew better how to manage them. This village being the usual stage of the deer, they are very unwilling to quit it; our guide, in order to induce them to move, used many ridiculous and superstitious ceremonies: he went alone into the wood, and coming out again, muttered some words in the ears of these animals, which, whether they understood or not, had but little effect on them, till he had played the farce over four or five times, when they began to proceed, though not so swiftly as before. We now descended the mountain, and at a small distance discovered four kilops returning from hunting in sledges drawn by rein deer, but they returned aside to avoid meeting us. In less than half an hour we entered a long wood, in which we heard terrible howlings, but saw no beasts of prey. Having passed the wood, we had another hill to descend, at the bottom of which was a little village, whither our cattle conveyed us, and stopping before the door of a cottage, gave their usual signal with their feet, at which the master made his appearance, whose friendship we solicited with a piece of tobacco, and he made us welcome: being tired with our journey, we had no sooner supped, than we lay down to rest on bear-skins.

"The next morning, our guide informed us that we had travelled forty leagues the preceding day; but I imagine he must be mistaken, or else the leagues are not so long as they are generally reckoned; for forty Lapland leagues are equal to 160 of those of France. Our guide likewise informed us that we were now in Muscovite Lapland; and having desired him to enquire if the inhabitants had any thing to barter for cloth and tobacco, they produced white, black, and grey fox-skins, grey squirrels and fables, for which we soon bargained, and paid them chiefly in tobacco. When we had finished our business, we sat down to drink with them, and though they were not quite so brutal as some of the Laplanders, their conversation was extremely rude and indecent.

"Our host here furnished us with as many sledges as we had occasion for; and we departed about one o'clock in the afternoon, and went with great speed through different and unbeaten wastes, till about six in the evening, when descending a hill, we observed two huts under a rock, a little out of the way. Our guide informed us that they belonged to two Kilops, who no sooner saw us, than they fled with their wives and families. After a most fatiguing journey, we arrived about 11 o'clock at night, at a large village at the bottom of a hill, by a river side, and went to a cottage in the middle of the place, whither our cattle thought proper to conduct us to. The master of the house received us with great civility, made a fire in the middle of the hut to warm us, and treated us with brandy, dried fish, and salt venison, with salt butter and milk: this was the best fare we had met with since our setting out, and we should have supped most sumptuously had we had any bread left, but our store was unhappily consumed. We were surprised at this sudden change, not having before met with any salt provisions, which however our guide would not taste, but ate some fresh venison that he had brought with him.

"In the morning we found they had nothing to trade with, and that they could not supply us with sledges; upon which we crossed the river, and soon reached another village, and hired rein-deer and sledges to carry us to Kola, where we arrived about noon.

"Kola is a little city, situate on the side of a ri-

ver, near ten leagues from the north sea, having a large forest and desarts to the east, Maurmanskeimore to the west, and very high mountains to the south. It consists of one indifferent street, the houses of which are built of wood, and very low, but are handsomely roofed with fish bones; and on the top there is a hole left to let in the light, as in other parts of Lapland. The inhabitants of this place, and indeed of Muscovy in general, are so jealous of their wives, that they lock them up to prevent their being seen by strangers.

"The persons with whom we lodged at Kola, took all our cloth off our hands, and gave us in exchange two lynxes skins finely spotted, three dozen of white fox skins, some ermines, and half a dozen of wyetfras, an animal not unlike a badger, but with longer and rougher hair, of a dark red colour, and a tail like a fox. Our host likewise supplied us with sledges to the side of the river we had so lately passed, and provisions sufficient to last us to Varanger.

"The next morning, when we were preparing to depart, some of the towns people enquired whether we had any rolls of tobacco left? and being answered in the affirmative, soon fetched furs enough to purchase all we had, except seven or eight rolls, which we reserved to pay our way back to Varanger; for tobacco is more necessary to those who travel in this wild and unfrequented country, than gold, the Laplanders preferring a bit of the length of one's finger, to a crown-piece.

"The kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the Czar of Muscovy, have taxed it severely, and there are collectors settled in every frontier town, to gather the imports upon it.

"When we had dispatched our business, we were obliged, according to the custom of the place, to drink with our chapman. They all entertained us with brandy, and kept us till two in the afternoon, when our host provided us with rein-deer and sledges, packed up our furs for us, and furnished us with biscuit, ginger-bread, and salted rein-deer venison, besides a small runlet of brandy. We now stored our merchandise in one of our sledges, got into the other ourselves, and having drank a bumper of brandy with our chapman at parting, set out on our return for the village, on the other side of the river.

"We arrived at the first village by seven o'clock, soon crossed the river, and went directly to our old quarters, where our landlord, in hopes of getting more tobacco, received us very joyfully. He immediately gave us a cup of brandy, and if we chose it, would have provided us with sledges to go forward immediately; but we chose to rest ourselves till the morning, there being no village for several leagues from his habitation; upon which he gave us another cup of brandy, and asked us to accompany him to the funeral of one of his neighbours, who had been dead about four hours.

"This invitation was extremely agreeable to us, as we had heard much of their funeral ceremonies; we therefore attended him to the house of the deceased, where we saw the corpse removed by six of his most intimate friends, from the bear's skin on which he had expired, into a wooden coffin; the body being first wrapped in linen, and the face and hands only being left bare. In the coffin they had put brandy, dried fish and venison, to subsist him on his journey to heaven; in one hand they put a purse with money in it, to see the porter of the gate of Paradise, and in the other a certificate, signed by a parish priest, and directed to St. Peter, informing him that the bearer had been a good Christian, and ought to be admitted into heaven; and at the head of the coffin was placed an image dressed like a pilgrim, which they called St. Nicholas, who was one of the seven deacons mentioned in the acts of the Apostles.

"This St. Nicholas is greatly revered in all parts of Muscovy, where he is supposed to be a particular friend to the dead; therefore his image is always fixed near the corpse, instead of a crucifix.

"They set fire to some fir-tree roots, piled up at a convenient distance from the coffin, wept, howled, and made a variety of strange gestures, assuming a thousand different attitudes to shew the extravagance of their sorrow. When this noise, and these gesticulations were over, they marched several times round the corpse in procession; asking the deceased why he died? Whether he was angry with his wife? Whether he stood in need of meat, drink, or cloaths? If he had been unsuccessful in fishing, or lost his game when hunting? After asking these, and a thousand other questions equally ridiculous, they resumed their howling, stamped with all signs of distraction, while a priest, who attended, frequently sprinkled consecrated water on the corpse and the mourners alternately.

"Being quite wearied with looking on these barbarous rites, we left our landlord behind us, and returned to his cottage, where we found his wife. She had made a sally from the place in which her husband had confined her on our arrival, and no sooner saw us, than supposing he was in our company, would have retired to her corner, but our interpreter acquainting her that her husband was at the funeral, and would not return for some time, she came very willingly among us, examined us all attentively one after another, appearing good humoured, and well pleased with us. When she had satisfied her curiosity, she sat down with us, and shewed us a bonnet of her own embroidering, very curiously performed with tinsel thread. After having tasted our provisions, but particularly the gingerbread, which she seemed fond of, and drank two or three glasses of brandy, she withdrew to her place of confinement, for fear of her husband's return, who would have certainly resented her taking such liberty, had he caught her among us.

"When the husband came home, he insisted on our eating and drinking with him, after which we smoked a pipe; and as our guide would touch nothing that was salt, he had a piece of bear's flesh, which he broiled on the coals.

"We rose early the next morning, and being furnished with convenient sledges, and excellent reindeer, were carried at the rate of six leagues an hour. As we were passing between two hills, we saw a Laplander going a hunting, who came up to us, and skated on the snow, which often lies unmelted till summer, as fast as we rode in our sledges. His skates, which were made of the bark of a tree, were seven feet and a half long, four fingers broad, and flat at the bottom. His dress was deer's skin, embroidered with tinsel, and he had a girdle of the same sort round his waist, a large quiver at his back, a dart in one hand, and a bow in the other, and was followed by a large black cat. He kept company with us about half a league, and we parted at the foot of the mountain.

"We continued our rout three days, stopping at the same places where we lay before, and meeting with nothing extraordinary. Our entertainment and method of travelling was exactly the same as before, and on the 21st of May, about nine o'clock at night, we arrived safely at Veranger, having met with no accident in the course of our journey, and having been every where treated with the utmost civility."

The Laplanders throw the dart with such dexterity, that they will hit a mark of the size of a crown piece; at the distance of thirty paces, and they are so expert in the use of the bow and arrow, that they can shoot a bird flying in whatever part they think proper: yet they are so averse to war, that if the King of Sweden or Denmark, or the Czar of Muscovy, wants soldiers from among them, they leave their dwellings, and skulk in the woods, to avoid being forced into the service.

The women of the Muscovite Lapland, who are kept under greater restrictions than those of the other Laplands, make all the cloaths for their husbands and families, which they embroider round the edges with tinsel thread drawn between their teeth to a surprising fineness. They are handsome, well shaped, and good humoured, but so extremely lewd, that they would give themselves up to the first comers, if they were not narrowly watched.

The Laplanders have plenty of fowl, which they feed with the grain of which they make their drink, and when that is scarce, give them dried fish. Most of the beasts of Lapland are white, as hares, wolves, foxes, &c. but what is very extraordinary, their crows may be compared to swans for whiteness, having nothing black about them, but their bills and feet.

There is a bird of prey in this country, of a deep pearl colour, as large as an eagle, but not otherwise resembling it than the beak and claws: his head is like that of a cat, his eyes are red and sparkling; he devours hares and other small game.

They have likewise a small cur, which is an excellent mouser, and feeds on his prey like a cat, these dogs, though very ugly, are greatly esteemed: they are about a foot long, and four inches thick; their ears prick up like those of a fox, and their heads are shaped like a rat's, the tail curls, and the hair, which is a light yellow, is very rough, and generally stands an end.

The fish, which when dried, the Laplanders use for bread, is called raff; it is very broad, and two or three yards long; it is firm, substantial, and excepting the fat, has a very good taste. They have plenty of other sorts of fish, and though they have an antipathy to salt, yet they boil them in salt water, if they live near enough to the sea, to get it conveniently.

The rein-deer, of which we have given a description, is a native of this country, and like certain trees, peculiar to other climates, seems calculated to supply in general, the wants of the simple inhabitants. The riches of a Laplander consist in the number of these animals that he possesses, which are equally useful and hardy, and entirely adapted to endure the cold winter of the arctic regions.

We met with nothing farther worthy of notice in Lapland, unless we were willing, like some authors, to crowd our relation, with an account of the wonderful forceries of the natives, who when intoxicated with brandy, are mad enough, by the help of an instrument painted with various figures, to pretend to foretel future events to those who are weak enough to believe them. We shall therefore close this account, and proceed to a description of the Russian Empire.

TRAVELS IN RUSSIA, SIBERIA, &c. BY MR. HANWAY AND OTHERS.

RUSSIA owes her elevation to her present pitch of greatness, to the active genius and unremitting toils of the Czar Peter the third, who first began to mould the rugged natives into men, and brought the vast unwieldy body he governed into the form of a growing empire, and an European power.

The ancient sovereigns of Russia, stiled themselves great Dukes, and afterwards Czars; but Peter the Great assumed the title of emperor, and that title is allowed by all Europe. The titles of the emperor at full length are, "Emperor and sole Sovereign of all the Russians, Sovereign Lord of Moscow, Kiow, Wadimirea,



A NEW
and correct MAP of the
RUSSIAN EMPIRE,
as Comprehended in
EUROPE and ASIA.
from the best Authorities and
Latest Improvements.

British Statute Miles.

70 280 560 980
Wests 104 to a Degree.

104 342 728 1456

East 90 Longitude from 100 London



Wadimirea, Novogrod, Czar in Casan, Astracan, and Siberia; Lord of Pleskow; Great Duke of Smolensko; Duke of Esthonia, Livonia, and Carelia; of Tweria, Ingria, Pernia, Wiatkia, Bulgaria, and Lord of several other Territories; Great Duke of Novogrod, in the low Country of Tshernickow, Yefan, Rostow, Jaroslaw, Bielo-fero, Uldoria, Condinia; Emperor of all the Northern Parts; Lord of the Territory of Juweria; of the Carthalinian, Grewzinian, and Georgian Czars; of the Kabardinian, Circassian, and Gorian Princes; Lord and Supreme Ruler of many other Countries and Territories."

The power of the Emperor of Russia is as absolute and unlimited as possible. Peter the Great published an ordinance, by which the succession was entirely to depend upon the will of the reigning sovereign; nor have they any other written fundamental law, relating to the succession.

The empire of Russia is bounded on the north and east by the main, and towards the west and south its limits are settled by treaties, concluded by several far distant powers; with the Swedes, the Poles, the Turks, the Persians, and the Chinese.

The number of provinces comprehended in the Empire of Russia being very great, and many of them very extensive, it necessarily follows, that the soil and temperature of the air, must be extremely various in different parts.

In those which lie beyond sixty degrees of north latitude, there are few places where corn will grow to maturity; and in the northern parts of the empire, which reach beyond seventy degrees, no good fruits are produced, except in the country about Archangel, where many bushes and shrubs grow spontaneously, and yield several sorts of berries. In the neighbourhood of that city horned cattle are also bred, and there are plenty of wild beasts and fowls, and several sorts of fish.

In the middle province of this empire, the soil produces most kind of trees and garden fruits, corn, honey, &c. They are also well stocked with horned cattle; the rivers are navigable, and filled with the best kind of fish, and the woods abound with game.

In the southern parts of the empire the cold is very severe, and the days in winter are extremely short; but the summers are warm and pleasant, and even in the shortest nights the twilight is very luminous.

When the day is at the shortest at Archangel, the sun rises at twenty-four minutes after ten in the morning, and sets at thirty-six minutes after one.

At Petersburg, the sun rises at fifteen minutes after nine, and sets at forty-five minutes after two: but at Astracan the sun rises at forty minutes after seven, and sets at twelve minutes after four. At the summer solstice, when the day is at the greatest length, this order is reversed, and the sun rises at Astracan at twelve minutes after four, and sets about forty minutes after seven; and at Archangel rises at thirty-six minutes after one, and sets at twenty-four minutes after ten.

It is generally remarked, that the eastern countries are much colder in winter, than the western that lies in the same latitude; this is particularly true with respect to Russia: for the river Neva, at Petersburg is in some years covered with ice, so early as the 24th of October; and in other years, when latest, about the 22d of November, but in general thaws by the 26th of April, old style.

The reader cannot fail of being pleased to see the progress of the seasons at Petersburg, which is situated in fifty-nine degrees of latitude, as given by Mr. Hanway.

February generally brings with it a bright sun and a clear sky; every object seems to glitter with gems, and the nerves become braced by the cold. There is no small amusement in riding in sledges upon the snow, to those who from the length of the winter have forgot the much superior pleasure, which nature presents when clothed in all her verdure.

March is frequently attended with showers, which

with the heat of the sun, penetrates the ice; this is generally three quarters of a yard thick on the Neva; and in some great rivers to the north-east; much thicker. This renders it like a honey-comb, and about the end of that month, it usually breaks up.

The month of April is very warm; summer seems to precede the spring; for it is sometimes the first of June before any verdure appears; and then the intense heat brings it on so fast, that the eye can discover its progress from day to day. Till the middle of July it seems to be one continued day; the sun not entirely disappearing above two hours in the twenty-four.

The rain and frost generally begins in September; and the severity of both increases in October; and in November the river Nerva is always frozen. At this time comes on the season for an easy and expeditious conveyance on the snow, by which, fresh provisions are brought to market, 1000 English miles by land; so that beef of Archangel is often eaten at Petersburg. The cold is so very intense in December and January, that the poor, who are overtaken by liquor, or exposed to the air in open places, are frequently froze to death: but the great quantities of wood, chiefly birch and elder, with which the country abounds, and the commodiousness of the stoves, enables the inhabitants to introduce any degree of heat into their houses.

There is not a tenth part of the Russian Empire properly cultivated, or sufficiently peopled; for notwithstanding its prodigious extent, the number of inhabitants who pay the poll tax, is reckoned at only five millions one hundred thousand; and the rest, including the females, are about ten millions, exclusive of the inhabitants of the conquered provinces.

The principal rivers of Russia, are the Wolga, which takes its rise in the forest of Walconski, and is one of the largest rivers in the world; for it runs above 2000 miles before it falls into the Caspian Sea. Its banks in most places are fertile, and though not sufficiently cultivated; on account of the frequent incursions of the Tartars, yet the soil spontaneously produces all kinds of esculent herbs, and asparagus in particular, of a very extraordinary size and goodness. This river receives several other considerable ones, among which are the Occa and Cama, and discharges itself by several mouths into the Caspian Sea, by which means it forms many islands.

The Don (or Tanais) has its source not far from Tulain, the Iwans Affero, or St. John's Lake. It first runs from north to south and after its conflux with the Sosna, directs its course from west to east, and in several large windings, again runs from north to south, but at length dividing into three channels, falls into the sea of Afaph. The Don in its course, approaches so near the Wolga, that in one place the distance between them is but a hundred and forty wersts, or about eighty English miles.

The Devina is a very large river, the name signifies double, it being formed by the conflux of the Sukona and the Yug. This river divides itself into two branches or channels near Archangel, from whence its runs into the White Sea,

The Nieper, the ancient Borysthenes, arises from a morass in the forest of Walconski, about 120 miles above Smoloski, and forms several windings through Lithuania, Little Russia, the country of the Zapor Cassaes, and a track inhabited by the Nagian Tartars; and after forming a marshy lake of sixty wersts in length, and in many places, two, four, or even ten wersts in breadth, discharges itself into the Black Sea.

The banks on this river are on both sides generally high, and the soil excellent; but in summer the water is not very wholesome. The Nieper has no less than thirteen water-falls, within the space of sixty wersts; yet in spring, during the land floods, empty vessels may be hauled over them. There is but one bridge over this river, and that is a floating one, at Kiow, 1638 paces in length. This bridge is taken away

about the end of September, to give the flakes of ice a free passage down the river, and is again put together in spring.

A great number of mills erected in boats, are to be seen on this river.

The lake of Ladoga, situated between the gulph of Finland and the lake of Onega, is esteemed the largest lake in Europe, and is supposed to exceed any other for its plenty of fish, among which are also seals. It is 150 miles in length, and ninety in breadth. This lake is full of quick-sands, which being moved from place to place, by the frequent storms to which it is subject, cause several shelves along its course, which often proves fatal to the flat-bottomed vessels of the Russians.

This induced Peter the Great to cause a canal near 70 English miles in length, seventy in breadth, and ten or eleven deep, to be cut, at a vast expence, from the south-west extremity of this lake, to the sea.

This great work was begun in the year 1718, and though vigorously prosecuted, was not completed till the year 1752, in the reign of the Empress Anne. There are 25 sluices on this canal, and several rivers run into it. At the distance of every werst, along its banks, there is a pillar marked with the number of wersts; and a regiment of soldiers are constantly employed to keep the canal in repair. The most fruitful part of Russia is near the frontiers of Poland, where the inhabitants have corn enough to supply their neighbours. The northern parts are over-run with forests, chiefly inhabited by wild beasts, and are extremely cold and marshy.

Fish is much more common diet than flesh, throughout the whole nation; for their fasts take up near two thirds of the year, during which they are absolutely prohibited by their religion to taste of animal food; which is observed with the utmost strictness.

A person may travel very cheap and expeditiously both in summer and winter in Russia; the post-roads leading to the chief towns are very exactly measured, with wersts marked, and the post stages fixed at proper distances; for throughout the whole empire, and even in Siberia, a pillar is inscribed with the number of wersts erected at the end of each.

Between Riga and Peterburgh, the hire of a post horse for every werst is no more than two copeiks and an half, which is one penny three farthings sterling; between Novograd and Moscow, but half a copeik. Nothing can be more accommodated to ease and dispatch than travelling in sledges during the winter, when the earth is covered with deep snow, and impassable for wheel carriages; for in the journey Mr. Hanway made in that season from Moscow to Peterburgh, he slept in his sledge, without waking, while he advanced 100 wersts, or 66 English miles.

The whole road betwixt those two cities was marked out in the snow by young fir-trees, planted on each side, at the distance of twenty yards, which at a moderate computation, amount to 128,480 trees. At certain distances were likewise great piles of wood, to be set on fire, in order to give light to the empress and her court, if they passed by in the night.

Her majesty, on these occasions, is drawn in a kind of house, which contains her bed, a table, and other conveniences, where four persons may take repast. This wooden structure, which has a sloping roof, and small windows to keep out the cold, is fixed on a sledge, and drawn by 24 post-horses; and if any of them fail on the road, there are others ready to supply their places.

The late empress was seldom more than three days and three nights on the journey, (notwithstanding her having several palaces at which she sometimes stopped to refresh herself) though the distance is 488 English miles: and once this journey was made by Peter the Great in 46 hours, but he did not travel in the same kind of carriage.

The Russian language is derived from the Slavonian, but at present it is very different from it; and with regard to religious subjects, abounds with Greek words.

Their alphabet consists of 24 letters, most of them Greek characters, as they were written in the 9th century; but as the latter did not express every particular found in the Slavonian language, recourse was had to several Hebrew letters, and to the invention of some arbitrary signs. Various dialects are used in the different parts of the Russian empire, as the Muscovite, the Norogrodian, the Ukrainian, and that of the Archangel.

The Russians profess the religion of the Greek church, which was first embraced by the Great Duchess Ogla, sovereign of Russia, in the nine hundred and fifty-fifth year after the birth of Christ. The external part of their religion consists in the number and severity of their fasts, in which they far exceed the Romish church. Their usual weekly fasts are on Wednesdays and Fridays. In lent, they neither eat flesh, milk, eggs, nor butter; but confine themselves to vegetables, bread, and fish fried in oil.

The Russians are great enemies to the worship of graven images, and yet are so absurdly inconsistent, that in their private devotions, they kneel before a picture of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, St. Nicholas, or some other saint, which is an indispensable piece of furniture in their closet. To this they bow several times, making the sign of the cross with their thumb, fore-finger, and third-finger, on the breast, forehead, and shoulders; at the same time repeating, in a low voice, the Lord's Prayer, and some short ejaculations; particularly, "Lord be merciful unto me." Indeed they seldom pass by a church without uttering these words, at the same time bowing and crossing themselves, without paying the least regard to any person who may happen to be within sight.

Great numbers of the common people, and even some persons of rank, either by way of penance, or some other motives of humiliation, prostrate themselves on their faces at the entrance of the church, and those who are conscious of having contracted any impurity, forbear entering the church. The bells are often rung; and as ringing is counted a branch of devotion, the towns are provided with a great number of bells, which make, as it were, a continual chiming.

The divine service is entirely performed in the Slavonian tongue, which the people do not understand, as it is very different from the modern Russian; and this service consists of abundance of trifling ceremonies, long masses, singing, and prayers; all which are performed by the priests, while the people only repeat, "Lord be merciful to me." They sometimes give a lecture from one of the fathers; but there are few churches in which sermons are ever delivered, and even in these they preach but seldom.

In Russia there are a great number of convents for the religious of both sexes; but Peter the first, with the utmost prudence and good policy, ordered that no person should be allowed to enter on a monastic life before 50 years of age; however, since his death, this regulation has been repealed, it being thought proper to shew a greater condescension to the monasteries; but no man is permitted to turn monk till he is thirty, nor any woman to commence until she is 50; and even then not without the express approbation and licence of the holy synod.

Russia affords a variety of articles of commerce, that are of great use to foreigners; and as the exports of this country far exceed its imports, the balance of trade is considerably in its favour. The Russian home commodities are fables, and black furs; the skins of blue and white foxes, ermines, hyænas, lynxes, squirrels, bears, panthers, wolves, martins, wild cats, white hares, &c. Likewise Russia leather, copper, iron, isinglass, tallow, pitch, tar, linseed-oil, train-oil, rosin, honey, wax, pot-ash, hemp, flax, thread, calamancoes, Russia linen, sail-cloth, mats, castor, Siberian musk, mamonts teeth and bones, as they are called; soap, feathers, hogs bristles, timber, &c. to which may be added the Chinese goods, rhubarb, and

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and Travels.



HABITS
of People in
RUSSIA

other drugs, with which the rest of Europe is partly supplied by the Russians.

The trade to China is chiefly carried on by caravans, and partly by private adventurers. The most valuable commodities, and those in the greatest quantity, carried by the Russians to China, are furs, in return for which they bring back gold, tea, silks, cotton, &c. The trade to Persia, by the way of the Astracan and Caspian seas, is considerable; and the returns are made in raw silks, and silk stuffs. The trade with the Calmucs, which is entirely in private hands, consist of all kinds of iron and copper utensils; in return for which they receive cattle, provisions, and sometimes gold and silver; but this trade is of no great importance. The trade to Bochara, one of the chief towns of Usbec Tartary, is either for ready money, or by bartering of goods for cured lamb-skins, Indian silks, and sometimes gems brought to the yearly fair at Samarkand. The traders in the Ukraine sell all kinds of provisions to the Crim Tartars; and also carry on a trade with the Greek merchants at Constantinople. The inhabitants of Kiow send cattle and Russia leather to Silesia.

The English enjoyed considerable privileges in trade, so early as the reign of the Czar Iwan-Basilowitz, to whom Captain Chancellor delivered a letter from Edward VI. in 1553, and received a license to trade, which was renewed by Peter the Great.

A treaty of commerce was concluded between Russia and England in 1742, by which it was stipulated that the English should be allowed the privilege of sending goods through Russia into Persia: but Captain Elton, an Englishman, having entered into the service of Nadir Shah, and built ships for that monarch on the Caspian sea, the Russians, together with the troubles of Persia, put an end to that trade; however, the English still carry on a considerable trade to Russia, and larger than that of any other nation.

Next to the English, the Dutch carry on the greatest trade with the Russians. Bills of exchange are drawn at Petersburg or Amsterdam only, on which account the traders of any other country than Holland, who give commission for buying Russian commodities at Petersburg, are obliged to procure credit, or otherwise to have proper funds at Amsterdam.

All the coins of Russia, except ducats, have inscriptions in the Russian tongue. The gold coins are imperial ducats; and the largest silver coin is the ruble, the value of which rises and falls according to the course of exchange. A ruble in Russia is equal to an hundred copeiks, or four shillings and six-pence sterling. The other silver coins are half rubles, which are called Potinnics, and quarter rubles. Agraphe, or griwes, is of the value of ten copeiks; and ten griwes are equal to a ruble. The copper coins are, a copeik, which is of the value of about a half-penny; or denga, or denushka, two of which make a copeik; and a polushka, which is a quarter of a copeik. There are no other foreign pieces current in Russia, except Holland rix dollars, albert dollars, and ducats.

Mr. Voltaire observes of the Russian empire, that "It is of greater extent than all the rest of Europe, or than the Roman empire in the zenith of its power; or of the empire of Darius; subdued by Alexander; for it contains more than eleven hundred thousand square leagues.

"Neither the Roman empire, nor that of the Macedonian conqueror, comprised more than 550,000 each; and there is not a kingdom in Europe the 12th part so extensive as the Roman empire. In length, from the isle of Dago, as far as its most eastern limits, it contains very near 170 degrees; so that when it is noon day in the west, it is very near midnight in the eastern part of this empire. In breadth, it stretches from south to north, 3000 wersts, which make 800 leagues."

Moscow was formerly the capital of this vast empire, till the Czar thought fit to build it at Petersburg.

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burgh, by which means he resolved to make Russia a considerable European power.

This city is built on several islands, which were nothing more than marshy spots of mud, over-run with reeds: but the immortal Peter, whose undertakings in every thing carried a magnificence of idea in them that can never be sufficiently admired, converted a miserable bog into a fine city.

This city is the soul of commerce in all these northern parts; it is the foundation on which all the Russian naval force has been erected; and the port, on which most depends their nursery of sailors. At the same time it is very deficient as a receptacle of the men of war of a great empire; for the depth of water, the freshness of it, the docks, yards, every thing at Petersburg, are against the use of it for that purpose. The yards are at Petersburg, but the depth of water is so inconsiderable, that nothing can be put on board the first rate men of war before they are conveyed to Cronstadt, which is not easily done neither. Once this work was effected by means of most expensive machines, but now they come without that difficulty by means of the new canal, which is not so complete but infinite attention is necessary for conducting them.

Men of war are not the only vessels that are built here; galleys are much in use for the Baltic, but as this empire has experienced of late great changes in the system of politics, the use of galleys varies accordingly.

A celebrated author says, "Galleys are here the proper things, be there never so little water, there is always enough for them. They glide between the islands and the rocks; they can land any where. The Czar was sensible of it at last, and sent for galley-builders from Venice. I met with one of them greatly advanced in years, and was not a little surprised to hear terminations in a. o. in 60 degrees of latitude. The galleys one sees here, are of different sizes: there are small ones which carry about 130 men, and others some much larger. They are all armed with two pieces of cannon on the prow, and furnished with chace-guns, and swivels on the sides. The Czar gave to each of them the name of a Russian fish. Now they are numbered as the legions were; there are upwards of 130 of them, and they are to be much more numerous. By this means an army of 30,000 men are transported with great ease. Rowing is to the Russian soldiers what the exercise of swimming was to the Romans. Every foot soldier learns to handle the oar at the same time as the musquet, by which means, without maritime commerce, and without embargoes, the Russians have always crews ready for their galleys. They cast anchor every night, and land where it is least expected. When disembarked, they draw them up upon the land, range them in a circle, with their prows and artillery pointed outward, and thus they have in a trice a fortified camp. They leave five or six battalions to guard it, and with the rest of their troops over-run the country, and lay it under contribution. The expedition ended, they re-embark, and begin in another quarter. Sometimes they transport their vessels from one water to another over a slip of land, as was practised by the ancients on several occasions, and particularly after the example of Mahomet II. at the siege of Constantinople.

"The Swedes can testify whether these Russian galleys are formidable. They have seen them ravage their rich mines of Norkopping, the whole coasts of Gothland and Sudermania, and shew themselves even before Stockholm."

Petersburgh is amazingly increased within these 40 years: at the death of Peter the Great, it did not contain 80,000 inhabitants, and now the Russians assert that there are 500,000, but this is an exaggeration. It covers a very great extent of land and water. The streets are some of them broad, long, and with canals in the middle of them; and others are planted in the Dutch fashion; the houses are immensely

menfely large; the palaces of the nobility exceed in fize, thofe of any city; and that of the empress is an amazing ftructure: but all is gigantic; they are rather great than beautiful; the fize is all that ftrikes the eye; and thefe prodigious piles are ftuck fo thick with ornaments, that there is hardly any fuch thing as judging of their proportions: the Italian architecture is mixed with the Dutch, and the whole forms very inelegant buildings, in which true tafte is wholly facrificed to a profufion of ornament. The Czar himfelf fpared no pains in rendering it as ftrong as poffible; for being at the very extremity of his dominions, clofe to his enemies the Swedes, and open to all the attacks which are poffible to arife from his European connexions, he made a point of having it impregnable; but herein he certainly failed. There are many forts, and whole fhores converted into platforms, and lined from end to end with great guns. Thefe works begin at Cronftadt, which is made very ftrong, and they laft to the city. There is a citidal regularly built, and capable not only of protecting the city on one fide, but alfo itfelf of ftanding a fiege.

There are many public buildings well worth the attention of a traveller, particularly the dock yards and the naval magazines, the arfenal, foundry, admiralty, &c. without infifting on the imperial palace, the cathedral, or many churches.

Here is a foundry: the iron is brought from Kexholm by water, and the number of cannon and mortars that are caft here are very great; alfo cannon-balls, fhells, and all forts of military implements in which iron is ufed; which are made here at as fmall an expence as in Sweden, or any other part of the world. The arfenal is always well ftored with them; and there are vaft quantities made on a private account for exportation, forming a very confiderable branch of commerce.

“ This city, (fays Mr. Wraxall) is as yet only an immense outline, which will require future empresses, and almoft future ages to complete. It ftands at prefent on a prodigious extent of ground; but as the houfes in many parts are not contiguous, and great fpaces are left unbuilt, it is hard to afcertain its real fize and magnitude. Devotion has not been wanting to add to her magnificence, and to erect places of worfhip in almoft every part. Curiofity and novelty have carried me to all of them. The external architecture differs very little in any: the Greeks feem as fond of domes, as the Mahomedans are of minarets in their churches. They ufually encircle one large with four fmall cupulos, and cover them with copper gilt, which has a fine effect on the eye when the fun fhines upon it. The ornaments within are coftly and barbarous: a Mexican temple can hardly be more fo. They furround a daubing of the Virgin Mary and Jefus, with gold and filver head-dreffes, and fometimes complete habits, and leave only expofed the fingers, which the multitude very devoutly kifs. Some of thefe ftrange compound figures of paint and metal, are very laughable, and the poor Madona feems like a prifoner in golden fetters. The priefts, are drefsed in veftments, which very much refemble the Romifh, and are generally compofed of tiffue and expenfive filks. The manner in which they perform the fervice, rather reminds me of an incantation, than a prayer offered to the Deity; and they repeat much of it fo incredibly faft, that one is tempted to fuppofe it impoffible the auditory can underftand one articulate word the prieft utters, let their attention be ever fo ftrong.

“ In the church of the citadel refofe the body of Peter I. and the fucceffive fovereigns fince his death; who are ranged in coffers fide by fide, but have not any of them marble monuments erected to their memories; nor is there any other motive to induce a traveller to enter this church, except the confcioufnefs that he beholds the wood which contains the afhes of Peter, and that mingled fentiment of reverence and pleafure, which the mind may experience from the contemplation of it.

Only one monarch is excluded, as if unworthy to be entombed with his progenitors and predeceffors in the throne of Ruffia. This is the late unhappy Peter III. who after his death, was expofed during fome days in the monastery of St. Alexander Newfkoï, a few miles out of town, to convince the people that he had not fuffered any violence, but ended his life naturally, he was afterwards privately interred there.”

The public buildings of different kinds are prodigiously numerous in this city. Some of them are ftone, but the larger part are only brick, or wood plaifted. The winter palace is compofed of the former materials, and was erected by the late Emprefs Elizabeth; it is very large and very heavy; one would have fuppofed Sir John Vanburgh was invoked to lend his aid in the plan of it, fince nothing can more ftrikingly refemble his ftyle. It is not yet quite finifhed, like almoft every thing elfe in Ruffia. The fituation is very lovely, on the banks of the Neva, and in the centre of the town, contiguous to it is a fmall palace, built by the prefent Emprefs, and called, The Hermitage. When her majefty refides in this part of the building, fhe is in retreat. Thefe apartments are very elegant, and furnifhed with great tafte. There are two galleries of paintings, which have been lately purchafed at an immense expence in Italy. The crown is perhaps the richeft in Europe. It is fhaped like a bonnet, and totally covered with diamonds. The fcepter is the celebrated one, purchafed by Prince Orloff for five hundred thoufand rubles (a coin of the value of about four fhillings and fix-pence Englifh) and prefented by him to his fovereign miftrefs.

There are two academies here, one of arts and the other of fciences. The prefent empress has founded the firft, which will be, when finifhed, a fuperb edifice: it is furnifhed with mafters in the different branches of polite letters, and filled with cafts from the moft renouned of Greek and Roman fculpture; but it does not appear that any eminent geniufes have arifen, though they have not been without artifts. Nature feems to have confined perfection in thefe elegant and exquisite productions, to certain climates and people, among whom they fpring fpontaneous for centuries; and which are only imperfectly copied by other nations, where the feeds are not fo happily difpofed, or the organs fo juftly adapted.

Our modern travellers obferve that the Thames is not comparable to the Neva, in beauty; and as the ftream fets constantly out of the Lake Ladoga into the Gulf of Finland, it is always full, clear, and perfectly clean. Along its banks is the fineft walk in the world. It is not a quay, as veffels never come to this part, but a parade running a mile in length; the buildings on which, are hardly to be exceeded in elegance. It is yet to be continued to double the length. Over the river in the narroweft part is a bridge on pontoons. From this noble river, canals are cut to all parts of the city; nor could any fituation be more favourable to the genius of commerce, if the inclemency of the latitude did not keep it frozen up at leaft five months annually.

“ As this place (fays Mr. Wraxall) is the formation of fo few years, it is laid out with great regularity; there is not any thing that looks odd, and much is ftill imperfect and unfinished. The buildings throughout have a very handsome appearance, and are like every thing elfe, on a larger fcale than is to be feen elfewhere. The ftreets are moftly paved; but they have a cuftom here of laying in many places a flooring of timber on the ground. This was more common formerly in Mofcow, where, in the frequent fires they ufed to have, the ftreet itfelf caught the flames, and the conflagations became terrible, as the houfes likewise are moftly made of wood even at prefent.”

The trade of Petersburg is much more confiderable than that of any other town in the Ruffian Empire; and would figure in comparifon with many very great marts in other parts of Europe; but unfortunately that

that vast commerce is nine-tenths of it carried on in foreign bottoms. The Dutch alone load annually here with timber, iron, and all sorts of naval stores, a great many ships, and the English many more.

The commodities these nations carry from Petersburg, are tar, bees-wax, pitch, hemp, flax, leather, skins, furs, pot-ashes, timber, plank, iron, yarn, linen, lint-seed, &c. and these in such quantities that the very balance of trade between Great Britain and Russia has been reckoned at 400,000 pounds a year against the former; the amount of the total commerce may therefore be easily conceived. The royal navy of England is almost totally supplied with hemp from Petersburg, great quantities of iron, and other naval stores, and all the shipping in England likewise; and this importation has increased very much since the Swedes laid a prohibition on our manufactories, so that the importation from that country was reduced to the few articles which necessity obliged us to have from thence; and all the rest very politically transferred to Russia.

The greatest trade at Petersburg is carried on by the English; next in rank come the Dutch; as to the French, they deal here as little as possible; for the two crowns are very far from being on a good footing, the French and the Swedes being in close alliance, they therefore trade to Sweden for all those commodities which England gets from Russia, some few excepted, which are not to be had at that market. Notwithstanding this, they consume large quantities of French commodities in Russia, but these come to them principally through the hands of the Dutch.

The building this capital has had a very great effect in improving large tracks of land in the surrounding provinces. The corn and other provisions brought hither, and the variety of merchandise exported from hence, employ some of the most considerable inland navigations in the world. The Neva, the great Lakes of Lagoda and Onega; the Tuerka, the Mesta, the Volcova, and the Wolga, all these rivers, with many others, though some of them are at a great distance, keep open a communication between Petersburg and those noble tracks of country upon the Caspian and Euxine Seas: but it may be supposed that the greatest advantages are made by the people who have not such a distance to go; so that the products of all the neighbouring provinces are infinitely greater than those of others more distant.

Next to Petersburg the favourite city of Peter was Azoph, the reason of which, was his design of establishing a trade from thence through the Thracian Bosphorus to the Archipelago. This would not only have given him greater mercantile advantages than Petersburg, but would have endangered the very being of the Turkish Empire; by letting a naval power of the Russians into the very heart of Constantinople; and that Peter designed something more than commerce, we may easily gather from his forming dock-yards and naval magazines, at Azoph; and actually had ships of seventy guns upon the stocks, which sufficiently shewed that he intended a naval war upon the Euxine Sea against the Turks.

The Russian Empire is but badly peopled. The best writers inform us, that it contains seventeen millions of inhabitants, and one million in the conquered provinces; but the present Empress has increased the number of her subjects many ways, principally by a general and very active encouragement of all arts, of agriculture, mining, manufactures, and commerce, and this with such effect, that all of them are more flourishing at this time by many degrees, than they were twenty years ago. And another means which she has taken to increase her people, has been inviting foreigners; this she has done in a still greater degree than any of her predecessors; almost from her accession to the empire she has brought continual bodies of Germans, Poles, and Greeks from Turkey, to settle in her dominions, and these not few in number; from the coasts of Germany ship loads, but from Poland and Turkey, whole towns, villages, and

districts, have left their habitations, and settled in Russia; nor has it been only at certain times, but regular emigrations, in consequence of her continued encouragement. All the expences of the journey or voyage of those foreigners from their native country, are borne by her; she feeds and supports them by the way. Upon their arrival at the territory appointed them to cultivate, (which has always been part of the crown lands) every family has a cottage erected at her expence, to which they contribute labour; they then are furnished with implements necessary for cultivation, and one year's provision for the whole family, and a further advantage is an exemption from all taxes for five years. All which is a system of such admirable policy, and carried into execution with such unusual spirit, even while the finances of the empire have been much distressed by expensive wars. The continual disorders in Poland, and the apprehensions in Turkey, have caused many thousands of families annually to leave their country, and make use of this bounty of the Empress. So that the number of the new comers is at present greater than ever, and promises to be so considerable, that in a few years, if the troubles in Poland continue, the increase of people will be immense, and with them certainly that of the power and wealth of the empire. Nor has any event of her reign discovered a greater understanding, than this regular favour shewn to population.

The revenues of the Russian Empire are very great, considering the value of money. The Empress is in many articles the sole merchant in her dominions. The whole trade by land to China is on her account; this is not indeed considerable, for a caravan rarely goes now. Rheubarb, pot-ashes, and spices, are branches in which she, and nobody else, trades. Salt is an article that brings her an immense revenue. Very large quantities of the best hemp of the Ukrain are bought and sold on her account; much iron the same, and even beer and brandy are hers. Besides these articles, she has customs, tolls, and a poll tax of three shillings and six-pence a head. The crown lands which are prodigiously extensive, bring in a considerable revenue.

We shall here present our readers with some circumstances relative to the life and character of Peter the Great, as selected from the best authorities.

He had the utmost aversion to rich cloaths, and liked no dress so well as his regimentals: he never wore but one suit of embroidery, and that only for a single day. It was his common custom in the summer time to drive about the streets of Petersburg in a chair with one horse, attended only by a single soldier on horseback. He has been often seen in winter, in a common hackney sledge; and it has sometimes happened that he had not the value of three-pence to pay the fare; on which occasions he has not scrupled to ask the loan of the money of any person whom he knew and accidentally met. Yet notwithstanding these seeming improprieties, the superiority of his genius, supported the dignity of a great monarch.

In the winter season he was usually at his tribunals and public offices by five in the morning; and thus his personal attendance and knowledge of business, taught his subjects their respective duties, confined them to those duties, and advanced the welfare of the state.

Peter the Great was not satisfied without examining to the bottom of things, and therefore, instead of making his people wait on him, he watched them; so that he was but seldom to be found in the palace. The care of providing public feasts for the foreign ministers was committed to Prince Menzikoff, so that the emperor lost no time in idle ceremonies; and with regard to his own diet, it was rather coarse than elegant. He used to eat and drink with all sorts of people, and was often god-father to their children; if his god-child died, he has even more than once attended their funerals.

He was very inquisitive about trade, yet he confessed it was what he least understood: but his establishment

blissment of the commerce in St. Petersburg, and bringing the greatest part of it from Archangel; the premiums he offered to those who should find out new branches of trade; his setting up and encouraging new manufactories of linen and hemp in his own country; the great countenance he gave to foreign merchants, and many other such like circumstances, are certain indications that he understood in many instances, the means of advancing commerce, as well as the great end of it.

This prince made even his pleasures and amusements subservient to the important ends of his government. He had more than once received very melancholy proofs of the impatience of his subjects under the reformation which he had planned, and was now accomplishing; this rendered him extremely suspicious of them. As mens hearts are generally most open in their cups, he often drank with them liberally, sometimes at court, and oftener at their own houses. His manners seemed to be rude, in requiring even the ladies, upon certain occasions to swallow goblets of wine, or other strong liquors; but in this he had his views: drinking is still the vice of Russia; but in this they conduct themselves with more decorum than they did formerly.

He had frequent convulsive distortions of his head and countenance, contracted by a fright in his youth, upon an occasion when his life was in danger; but in such cases it was always the rule of the company he was in, to look down, or a different way, and pursue their discourse without seeming to regard him.

He would never lie alone, lest any attempt might be made on his life; when he was not with the empress, or other companion, he ordered one of his chamberlains to sleep with him, which was an uncomfortable situation to them, as he was very angry if they awaked him; tho' he used to grasp them very hard in his sleep.

His character, as a master of exquisite art, and acute judgement, will appear from his being able to inspire his people with a contempt of that sordid ignorance which had for many ages reigned through the country, and which he made it his particular care to banish. He could not bring this about more effectually than by ridiculing the superstitious reverence they entertained for the customs of their ancestors; with this view he ordered a number of dresses of the several officers of the crown and court, as were worn in past ages, and in these himself, and his whole court appeared in masquerade; by which means the people were persuaded, that at least they were as wise as their forefathers.

Mr. Bell in his travels to Derbent, in Persia, has given us the following account of this great man.

About the middle of October, 1714, (says he) I arrived at Cronstadt in an English ship. The Czar having notice of the ship's arrival, came on board the next morning from St. Petersburg; being attended only by Dr. Areskine, who was his chief physician at that time, and on that occasion, served him as interpreter.

After his majesty had enquired news about the Swedish fleet, &c. he ate a piece of bread and cheese, and drank a glass of ale, then went on shore to visit the works carrying on at Cronstadt, and returned the same evening in his boat to St. Petersburg; distance about twenty English miles.

The first winter after my arrival at St. Petersburg, I lodged at Mr. Noy's, an English ship builder in the Czar's service. One morning before day-light, my servant came and told me that the Czar was at the door. I got up, and saw him walking up and down the yard, the weather being severely cold and frosty, without any one to attend him. Mr. Noy soon came, and took him into the parlour, where his majesty gave him some particular directions about a ship on the stocks, which having done, he left him.

His majesty's person was graceful, tall, and well made, clean, and very plain in his apparel. He generally wore an English drab-colour frock, never ap-

pearing in a dress suit of cloaths, unless on great festivals, and remarkable holidays; on which occasions he was sometimes dressed in laced cloaths, of which sort he was not owner of above three or four suits. When he was dressed he wore the order of St. Andrew; at other times he had no badge or mark of any order on his person. His equipage was simple, without attendants. In summer, a four-oared wherry was always attending, to carry him over the river; if he should want to cross it, which he frequently did: When he went about the town by land, he always made use of an open two-wheeled chaise, attended by two soldiers or grooms, who rode before, and a page, who sometimes stood behind the chaise, and often sat with his majesty and drove him. In winter he made use of a sledge, drawn by one horse, with the same attendants. He found these to be the most expeditious ways of conveyance, and used no other. He was abroad every day in the year, unless confined at home by illness, which rarely happened; so that seldom a day passed but he was seen in almost every part of the city.

I have, (says the author) more than once seen him stop in the streets to receive petitions from persons who thought themselves wronged by sentences passed in courts of judicature. On taking the petition, the person was told to come the next day to the senate, where the affair was immediately examined, and determined, if the nature of it would admit its being done in so short a time.

He rose almost every morning in the winter time before four o'clock, was often in the cabinet by three, where two private secretaries, and certain clerks paid constant attendance. He often went so early to the senate, as to occasion the senators being raised out of their beds to attend him there. When assembled, after hearing causes between subject and subject, or public affairs, regarding the interior of the empire, read by the secretary, and the opinion of the senate recited thereupon, he would write upon the process, or upon the affair under deliberation, with his own hand, in a very laconic style, Let it be according to the decree of the senate: and sometimes would add some particular alterations, such as he thought fit to mention, and wrote PETER under it.

His majesty knew so little of relaxation of mind when awake, that he never allowed his time of rest to be broke in upon, unless in case of fire. When any accident of that kind happened, in any part of the town, there was a standing order on its first appearance to awake him; and his majesty was frequently the first at the fire, where he always remained giving the necessary orders, till all further danger was over. This example of paternal regard of the Czar for his subjects was, of course, followed by all the great officers, and those of the first quality, which was frequently the means of saving many thousands of his subjects from utter ruin, whose houses and goods, without such singular assistance, must have shared the fate of their ruined neighbours.

In acts of religion he appeared devout, but not superstitious. I have seen him at his public devotions in church many times. I have been present when his majesty, not liking the clerk's manner of reading the psalms, hath taken the book from the clerk, and hath read them himself; which he did very distinctly, and with proper emphasis. His majesty was allowed by the best judges of the Slavonian and Russian languages, to be as great a master of them as any of the most learned of his subjects, whether churchmen or laics. He wrote a very good hand, very expeditiously, yet the characters distinct enough. As to the style, some of his secretaries, and other complete judges of the language affirmed, that they had never known any man who wrote more correctly than he, or could comprise the sense and meaning of what he wrote in so few words, as his majesty.

The following I had from a certain Russian gentleman of very good family, and who was a general officer of unexceptionable character, in the army, who attended

tended his majesty from his very youth, in all his expeditions. This officer being an old friend of mine, I went to pay him a visit one evening, long after the death of Peter the Great; when he told me that such and such officers, naming them; had dined with him that day, and that the principal subject of their conversation turned on the actions of their old father (as he termed him by way of eminence) Peter the Great. He told me further; that though his majesty seemed to be severe on certain occasions, yet not one of them all could produce or recollect one single instance of his having punished an honest man, or that he had caused any person to suffer any punishment, who had not well deserved it.

He hath been represented as making too frequent use of spirituous liquors to excess, which is an unmerited aspersions; for he had an aversion to all sorts, and to those too much given to drinking. It is true, he had his times of diversion, when he would be merry himself, and liked to see others so; this may have been necessary, and proper for the unbending his mind from affairs of great weight; but such amusements occurred generally during holidays, and festival times, and was with him, at no time of long continuance. It hath been imputed to him, and not without some appearance of reason, that he had political views in encouraging drinking at those times of merriment, for on these occasions, he mixed with the company, and, conversing with them on the footing of a companion, had better opportunities, at such times, of discovering the real sentiments of those about him, than when they were quite cool.

Those, who by their offices about the person of Peter the Great, might be supposed to be the best acquainted with his disposition, always disavowed his drinking, to excess; and insisted on his being a sober prince.

During the campaign of the expedition to Derbent, in Persia, he was not guilty of the least excess, but rather lived abstemiously. In this point I could not be mistaken, as the tent of Dr. Blumentrost, his majesty's chief physician, with whom I lodged, was always the nearest tent to that of his majesty. One instance occurs in proof of the temperance of this great man, viz. in our third day's march, on our return from Derbent, when we were kept in continual alarms by considerable bodies of mountaineers, both horse and foot, whom we saw hovering on the tops of the adjacent hills, though they durst not come down to the plain, to attack any part of our army, yet it was necessary to be watchful of them, which in some measure impeded our march. The evening of that day, we had a hollow way to pass, which took up much time, and obliged the greatest part of the army to remain there all night; so that none reached the camp, except the guards, and some light horse who attended his majesty. On my arrival there, about midnight, I found only his majesty's tent set up, and another small one for Mr. Felton, the Czar's principal cook, and master of his kitchen.

I went into Felton's tent, and found him all alone, with a large saucepan of warm grout before him, made of buck-wheat, with butter; which he told me was the remains of his majesty's supper, who ate of nothing else that evening, and who was just gone to bed.

During the whole course of his life, his majesty avoided all sorts of ceremony, except on public occasions. His manner of living in his house, was more like that of a private gentleman than of so great a monarch. I was once at court on a holiday, when the emperor came home from church to dinner, with a large attendance of his ministers, general officers, and other great men.

His table was laid with about 15 covers. As soon as dinner was served up, he and the empress took their places; and his majesty addressing himself to the company, said, "Gentlemen, please to take your places as far as the table will hold, the rest will go

home and dine with their wives." On such occasions, the princesses, his children, dined in another room, to whom he sent such dishes from his own table, as he thought proper for their dinner.

This great monarch took all the pains, and used all means possible, in order to be intimately acquainted with every thing proper for a man, who ruled a mighty empire to know. He entered into the detail of every branch of arts useful to mankind; into that of the manufacturies which regard the construction of ships, and fitting them for the sea; into that of the making of arms, artillery, &c.

If he had a ruling passion for any part of these acquirements, it must have been for ship-building, into which he entered himself very early, in the quality of a common workman, with his hatchet, and proceeded regularly through all the degrees, to the rank of master-builder, which he attained but a few years before his death.

After he got that length in the art, he made the draughts, formed the mouldings, and directed the building of several men of war, of the second and third rates, himself; and he duly demanded and received his salary as a master-builder. The day of launching the ships, which he himself built, he celebrated as a holiday, and put on laced cloaths, but before he went to work, to strike away stanchions, blocks, &c. he always put off his fine coat.

He was very frugal in what regarded his personal expences, and those of his household. Notwithstanding his frugality in what related to himself, he spared no cost, in whatever concerned the public, in the structure of the men of war, in the artillery, fortifications, arsenals, canals, &c. all which bore marks of very great magnificence. Nor has he spared in his buildings, and the decoration of his gardens with statues, grottos, fountains, &c. of which the buildings of the summer palace, and the gardens of St. Petersburg, at Peterhoff, Strelna, Czarisky, Scalo, and many others, are sufficient proofs.

As his majesty was always very early up in the morning, he went abroad generally without breakfast; came home to dinner about eleven o'clock; after dinner went to sleep for about an hour; after which, if business did not intervene, he sometimes diverted himself at his turning loom; then went to visit those he had a regard for, as well foreigners as Russians, with whom he would be very sociable, and easy in conversation. He sometimes supped with them, which generally in his latter days, was on hare or wild-fowl, roasted very dry, he drank small-beer, and sometimes a few glasses of wine, and generally was in bed before ten o'clock at night. He neither plaid at cards, dice, or any other game of chance.

This great monarch was at no time, even during masquerades, feasts, assemblies, or any other diversions or amusements, by day or night, without the attendance of some or other of his ministers, and of those who possessed his confidence; by which means business, and such affairs as were of the greatest consequence, went on regularly; and some of them were even concerted during those times of relaxation.

Notwithstanding these eulogiums, there have been those who have pointed out many defects in the character of this great man. They have said that he was given to intrigues with women, and that he was of a cruel vindictive temper. As to the first circumstance, several private anecdotes have been brought forward in proof of it. And as to the second charge, it has been thought sufficient to observe, that he put to death his own son, though many reasons have been offered, on the other hand in support of the policy and justice of the sentence. In effect, we are not to expect princes to be perfect characters, and much less are we to expect to find such perfection in the absolute monarch of a rude and barbarous people.

We cannot help taking notice here, that his amorous disposition, which at certain times would not

admit

admit of the controul of political considerations, led him to the most fortunate action of his life, when it occasioned him to advance an obscure Livonian to be the partner of his throne. When this prince and his army were surrounded by the Turks at a critical period, and saw no hopes of escaping their hands, in spite of his orders to be left alone, the Empress entered his tent, and proposed to him the only means of deliverance, which was to bribe the Grand Visir, who having excepted the proposal, after settling terms with the Czar, drew off his troops;—and thus did his consort preserve him from impending destruction.—

But to return to our traveller, he thus continues his recital. “As I advanced on my journey (says he) I every where made enquiries after new settlements on the lands belonging to the empress; but heard nothing of them till I got to Twera: there they told me, that in the forest of Volkoufskile, about an hundred miles to the South West, was a very large new colony of poles, settled at the expence of the Czarina. I immediately determined to go out of my way to view it, that I might have an opportunity to see in what manner they were fixed, and what a reception they met with. I got there the 16th, passing through a country, the chief of which is waste, being either forest or meadow, but with few villages. I found the settlement of Poles consisted of about 600 families; and pleased me better than any thing I had seen in Russia. Each family has a small, but not a bad house, built of wood, and covered with shingles; a house as good or better than the generality of small farm houses in England, where mud walls would give foreigners an idea that we were the poorest nation in Europe. Behind every house was an inclosure of about 50 English acres in one field. The fence was a ditch and parapet with a row of young plants for a hedge, that seemed to be a kind of elm. Each inclosure came down to a rivulet, where cattle might water. Each family had two sheep and a ram to a certain number, a cow and a couple of oxen to till the arable, with a cart and a plough; all which was at the empress's expence, and do not cost what they do in England. This may be conceived, when I give the rates: Two oxen for ploughing and carting come to about five pounds; a cow to thirty shillings; a sheep eighteen pence; a plough four shillings, a cart nine shillings, each house cost the empress about twenty-four shillings, and every family had an allowance of provision the first year from the neighbouring county, which cost her nothing; so that the total expence, per family, was only eight pounds ten shillings; and many of the families consists of eight or nine persons. The farms were all under culture, and subdivided by the people themselves: and I observed that these inner fences were done exactly in the same manner as the surrounding ones. Some had four fields, others five, and some six. The land, when they settled it, was waste forest, but not many trees on it, that yielded a wild and luxuriant grass; it is a red loam or clay. The peasants cultivate wheat without exception, which they had been used to in Poland; each had one field of it; also a crop of barley, oats, rice; with a piece of beans, and another of turneps. Their farms were in general in good order, and they seemed to be extremely diligent and industrious in their management. Some of them had vastly increased on the adjoining forest: some had more than twenty sheep, ten cows, and six oxen; but they had greatly increased their farms, which the empress allows, provided the former portion is all in culture. They all seemed to be perfectly happy, being entirely free from all oppression by being the lands of the crown: and there is no doubt but they will in time yield a fine revenue, without any severity being employed.

“Some of them had pieces of hemp, which thrives with them so well, that its culture increases among them daily. I enquired particularly into the value of an acre, and found that it was worth upon the spot from fifty shillings to four pounds, which I think is very considerable, and shews that these new colonies

may prove a source of very great wealth and population.

“It is extremely evident from this instance, that the way of bringing improvements to bear in Russia, is not by encouragements given to the peasants; unless they could at once be set as free as in other countries, which I am convinced already is an impossibility, from what I have seen on this journey; because the nobility and other land-owners, to whom they are vassals, fleece and oppress them to such a degree, that they can never be secure of any property, unless their encouragement comes from their own lords. Even they who are not vassals, but have possessions of their own, are trampled on by the soldiery. No improvements, by giving them a greater degree of liberty, can have any effect, unless it comes from their lords; as in this case of the Polish emigrants. The empress fixing them upon the crown lands, they are vassals of the crown, and all the liberty she chuses to give them they will securely enjoy without any one's daring to injure them in any respect; and as the sovereign can never profitably cultivate an extensive domain for her own account, this is the only means of working improvements; and they cannot fail of proving most highly profitable.

“These crown lands are so amazingly extensive, that very great things might in this manner be done, and far more effectually than by general laws, in a country where the people are so habituated to slavery, that it would be a vain attempt to free them under all masters. These 600 families had at once 30,000 acres in culture, besides the increase, which by many of them was very considerable; all which will, in process of time, yield a great revenue to the crown, besides the acquisition of strength which the empire receives by the addition of population, and the amount of so much industry as all these people create. After five years this colony is to pay an annual rent, which in ten more will be increased, and after that remains a freehold to the Poles, subject only to that rent.

“This colony of Poles have a market in the middle of their settlement on the great road, where the merchants resort to buy their spare products, hemp, &c. bringing all those sorts of commodities which they want; and this trade occasions a circulation among them, which is highly advantageous. The report of the indulgence and benefit they have met with has had great effect in Poland: so that they pointed out to me a track of land contiguous, where they soon expected 200 families more.

“I arrived at Moscow on the 20th, passing through a very fine variagated country, well watered and wooded, and spread in fine plains, with many villages, scattered through them; and much appearance of cultivation: all this country is in the hands of three or four nobles, whose stewards direct the management of it.

This city is the greatest in the empire; it was once strongly fortified for this part of the world, but the security of the present times has made every thing unnecessary except a wall: it is about sixteen miles in circumference, and contains about half a million of inhabitants, till lately the Czars spent a part of the year here; but the palace, which is a very indifferent one, having been damaged by fire, they have not of late years been there; but notwithstanding, this, Moscow is the residence of a vast number of the nobility, indeed of three fourths of those whose offices or expectations do not oblige them to attend the court, in which instance there is a greater appearance of liberty than in most other countries, for in general, all the nobility of a kingdom, flock to the seat of government.

“This city is very irregularly built, but it is a beautiful city; from the windings of the river, and from many eminences which are covered with groves of fine tall trees, and from numerous gardens and lawns, which open to the water, give it a most delightful airy appearance. I expected to see nothing but wooden houses, but was agreeably

agreeably surprised at the sight of many very fine fabricks of brick and stone. It is beyond comparison a finer city than Petersburg. The number of churches and chaples, amounting it is said to 1800, make a great figure in the printed description of this city; but from the appearance of them I should suppose the fact false, and that out of great numbers very few are worthy of notice. I saw the great bell, which is the largest in the world, and indeed a most stupendous thing it is. They have many other bells in this city, which much exceed any thing that is to be met with elsewhere; the Russians being remarkably fond of this heavy ornament of their churches.

"There is a very considerable manufacture at Moscow, of various hemp fabricks, particularly sail cloth and sheeting, which employs some thousands of looms, and many thousands of people: the hemp is most of it brought from the Ukraine; there are also great numbers of considerable merchants here; who carry on a very extensive commerce with all parts of the Empire; for there is water carriage from hence to the Black and Caspian Seas, and with but few interruptions to the Baltic also, which are circumstances that make it the centre of a very great commerce.

"Our author says, Moscow is much better situated for the metropolis of the empire than Petersburg; it is almost in the centre of the most cultivated parts of it, communicating in the manner above mentioned, with the three inland seas, not at a great distance from the most important province of the empire, the Ukraine, open to the southern territories on the Black Sea; and by the means of the rivers Wolga and the Don commanding an inland navigation of a prodigious extent. Its vicinity also to the countries, which must always be the seat of any wars with the Turks, the enemies most to be attended to of all those with whom the Russians made war; upon the whole made it infinitely a better situation for the seat of government, than that of Petersburg, which is at the very extremity of the empire.

"The 23d, (continues he) I left that city, taking the road towards the Ukraine.—I was fortunate in having very fine clear weather, and found the roads every where exceedingly good, no autumnal rains having yet fallen, I got that night to Molasky, the distance about sixty miles; nor did I find such a day's journey too much for the horses, the country all this way is a level plain, very fertile, and much of it well cultivated, with many villages, and in general, a well peopled territory; the peasants seemed tolerably easy, but scarce any of them have any property. From Molasky, fifty-six miles carried me the next day to Arcroisy, a small town situated in a territory not so well peopled as the preceding; the villages thinner, and but little of the soil cultivated, being covered with much timber of great size and beauty. On the 25th, I reached Demetrioitz, at the distance of more than fifty miles, every step of which, was across a forest in which I saw not the least vestige of any habitation; the road was not difficult to find, even if I had not had a guide, but it is not much frequented; the mercantile people making that part of the journey to the Ukraine by water.

"This immense track of wild country, is part open meadow and part timber, which would in England be thought a glorious sight: the soil is all a fine sand, and, if I may judge from the spontaneous vitation, a most fertile loom; so that nothing is wanting but an industrious population; but without that, the whole territory is of little worth. I baited the horses in the middle of the forest, and refreshed myself and company, much admiring the uncommon extent of country that was without the least appearance of being inhabited: I apprehended that the country must have a great resemblance of the boundless plains and woods of Louisiana.

"The 26th I rode forty miles through an uninhabited plain, to Serensky; no timber in it, but all one level fertile meadow. I saw some herds of cattle feeding as if wild, but the land was not a tenth part

stocked; for the grass, if we turned out of the road, was up almost to the bellies of the horses.

"The 29th, I got to Staradoff, at the distance of 50 miles, full twenty of which are through a rich and pleasant country, much of it very well cultivated; they were getting in part of their harvest; they cultivate all the grain and pulse common in England; and from what I saw, I have little doubt but their husbandry is extremely good."

From Staradoff to Czernicheu is 75 miles. Part of the track is as well cultivated as that on the other side of Staradoff, but much of it is covered with the forest. Czernicheu is a very well built town, finely situated on the banks of the river Desna; which is navigable for barges of 50 tons, is very well fortified; and inhabited by about 15,000 people, many of whom carry on a considerable trade with Kiovia, and by the Nieper, with Poland. All the track of country, which lies upon the river Desna, is very rich, and well cultivated. Many of the inhabitants of Czernicheu are Cossack Tartars; but a traveller has no more reason to fear them; than the inhabitants of any other part of Russia, for the government, although milder in the Ukraine, and the neighbouring provinces, from having been conquered from Poland, is yet the same, and the police as strict as any part of the empire.

Kiovia is the capital of the Ukraine; and eighty miles from Czernicheu. The road leads on the banks of the Desna, through a beautiful country, great part of it being well peopled and cultivated. It is inhabited by Tartarian descendants; but the present Cossacks; who have very little idea of husbandry, come far from the eastward, from countries that reach the river Don, at the distance of above 1000 miles from hence: The present race of the Ukraine are a civilized people, and the best husbandmen in the Russian empire.

Kiovia is a place well known in the empire; for though it has been subject to many revolutions; which reduced it to a low state, compared with its former grandeur; yet it has now recovered all those ancient blows; it is well built of brick and stone; the streets are wide and strait, and well paved; it has a very noble cathedral, much of it lately rebuilt, and eleven other churches. It has 40,000 inhabitants, and is strongly fortified. The Nieper is here a noble river; and several larger rivers falling into it, after washing some of the richest provinces of Poland; enable this town to carry on a very considerable commerce. It is the grand magazine of all the commodities of the Ukraine, particularly hemp and flax, which in this fine province are raised in greater quantities, and of a better quality, than in any other part of Europe. The Ukraine is the richest province in the Russian empire. Part of it formerly was a province of Poland, and the rest an independent sovereignty, under a Tartaran prince; but the whole is now a mere province of Russia, and much the richest acquisition that crown has made. It is upon an average 250 miles long east to west, and 140 broad from north to south.

The grounds are most of them inclosed with ditches, to some of which are hedges, but not to all. They have fine meadow grounds, which they convert to hemp, but leave them under grass for ten or twelve years before they break them up; and keep them in a tillage management as long: upon some grounds they have three crops of hemp running.

Flax they also cultivate, but they do not reckon it so profitable as hemp. In the management of their cattle they are very good farmers: they have large flocks, and they house them all whenever the snow is above four inches deep upon the ground; they litter them down well with straw, and feed them with hay or turnips; cows are their principal stock, and they sell immense quantities of butter and cheese; tho' it is extremely remarkable, that not many years ago, they knew not what butter was. The property of all this country is very much divided; here are very few great estates

estates belonging to the nobility; the old inhabitants of the country are very free; and have a great equality among them; and this in possessions as well as other circumstances; and fortunately this continues; though in subjection to Russia. Most of the peasants are little farmers, whose farms are all their own. They pay a considerable tribute, but raise it among themselves according to their own customs; and they also furnish the Russian armies with a great many very faithful troops. These points, with the immense value of trade the Russians carry on by the means of their products, hemp and flax in particular, render the province of the first importance.

Buda is a little town, or rather a village, prettily situated between two rivers in a country very pleasant.

To the north-west is Kordyne. Tobacco grows in the neighbouring country; and the Tartars upon the Black Sea, and the Kalmucks, buy large quantities, and they are not so nice in the separation of the sorts, as the American planters. They have large houses, highly run up for drying it. They think the land cannot be too rich for either hemp or tobacco, and accordingly plant them on fresh land.

Catherine II. who sways this vast empire may be ranked among those wise usurpers whose policy leads them by enacting good laws to obliterate from the memory of their subjects, the indirect means by which they arrived at that power they seem disposed to exercise for the good of their people.

When Peter III. had, by his attempts at reformation, gained the ill will of most of the orders of the state, all Europe with astonishment beheld a woman seize on the sovereign power. Surprised with the news of an insurrection, which he whom it concerned the most, was the last apprised of, he hastened from his country seat to the sea side, called Onenabium to take refuge in the fortress of Cronstadt, where he was refused admittance, and some guns which were not charged, being pointed at his boat, struck with a panic, he bore off, and after some friendly overtures surrendered himself at discretion. Every one knows he died in prison, and all may guess of what disorder; though his death was attributed to a natural distemper, and his body was exposed to public view for some time by command of the empress.

Mr. Wraxall gives us a short description of the person of this princess, which we shall present the reader in his own words, together with some remarks of his on her palace at Petershoff.

"As we arrived early, I had an opportunity of viewing the gardens before her majesty's appearance. They are very extensive, lying along the shore of the Gulf of Finland, and washed by its waters. In the midst of them stands the palace itself, situate on an eminence, and commanding a fine view, it was begun by Peter the I. but has been enlarged and improved by the empresses, his successors, so that it is become now very large. In the front is a canal of some hundred yards in length, which joins the Gulf, and from which three *jets d'eau* are filled, which do not like those of Versailles, only play on great festivals, but constantly through the year. The apartments are all very splendid; but my attention was chiefly engrossed by the drawing room, where hung five matchless portraits of the sovereigns of Russia. They are all length pieces, but by what masters I cannot say. Peter himself is the first, and opposite to him appears the Livonian villages, whom he raised from a cottage to the most unbounded sovereignty. I stood for some moments under this painting in silent admiration of the woman, who had passed from so humble a situation to an imperial diadem, of which her genius, her fidelity, and her virtue made her worthy. She is drawn by the painter as in middle life; her eyes and hair black, her countenance open, smiling and ingratiating, and her person not exceeding the middle size. The empress Anne and Elizabeth fill their respective places in this apartment, but did not long detain me from a portrait of the reigning sove-

reign, which is of a singular kind. She is habited in the Russian uniform, booted, and sits astride on a white horse, in her hat is the oak bough, which she wore at the memorable revolution which placed her on the throne; and which was likewise taken by all her adherents. Her long hair floats in disorder down her back: and the flushing in her face, the natural heat and fatigue she had undergone, is finely designed. It is a faithful and exact resemblance of her dress and person, as she appeared twelve years ago, when she came to Petershoff, and seized the throne of Russia.

"While my eyes were rivited to this picture, and my thoughts employed on the melancholy catastrophe of the unhappy emperor which so soon followed, the empress's entrance was announced. She was preceded by a long train of lords and gentlemen. I felt a pleasure corrected with awe as I gazed on this extraordinary woman, whose vigour and policy, without any right of blood, has seated and maintains her on the throne of the Czars: Though she is now become rather corpulent, there is a dignity tempered with graciousness in her deportment and manner, which strikingly impresses. She was habited in a deep blue silk with gold stripes, and her hair ornamented with diamonds.

Another modern traveller draws the character of the empress in the following manner.

"The empress (says he) entered more than once into conversation with us; and enquired into our opinions of several objects we had viewed. She is reserved in the manner of her speech, but has a noble open countenance; with a becoming greatness in her air and carriage. There is nothing lively or pleasing at court, the whole being but a dull though a fine scene. It is certain that the great wisdom that has hitherto appeared in all the actions and counsels of this princess, flows from her own personal genius and abilities.

"I have not learnt that she has any ministers, whose distinguished parts would give one any reason to suppose the success owing to them; besides, it is well known here, that the empress is very determinate in her opinion. She asks and hears the advice of her council upon important affairs; but generally follows her own opinion, which is evident from her acting directly contrary to the opinion of the whole in two or three affairs of consequence; and in which the success that followed, proved clearly that her own judgment was far superior than that of all her ministers. She is remarkable for being quick in her decisions; she never acts from long and repeated considerations, but determines almost instantaneously, and executes with equal celerity. Such a disposition is certainly fitter for the conduct of great affairs, than one in which more caution, and a greater degree of prudence appeared: for nothing is so fatal in the government of an empire, as inconstancy and irresolution.

Under the government of such a princess, there will be no wonder if the Russians see the schemes of Peter the Great, which were left unfinished, and happily completed, and the foundation laid for entirely reducing the power of the unwieldy Ottoman empire, which has so long tottered under its own weight. Catharine has already made them feel the force of her arms. She has sufficiently availed herself of the troubles in Poland; and where she has not shared in the partition of provinces, has depopulated whole tracts of land in that country, to add to the number of her subjects in one part of her dominions, whilst the Tartars in distant parts own her sway; and there remain yet vast regions capable of cultivation, and of filling her coffers, and increasing her power.

The palaces of the Russian nobles are not without their beauties.

I have made one or two excursions (says a modern writer) into the country, particularly to Gatchina, a place of prince Orloffs, about forty miles off. It is situate in the most eligible spot within a great distance

of the metropolis, and will when finished be a perfect seat. The gardens are laid out in the English taste by a man of great merit, who was sent for by the prince on that account. The nature of the ground, and a fine piece of water near the house, gave him scope for his genius. On my return from hence, I saw the royal palace of Zarsko-Zelo; this was built by Elizabeth, and is the completest triumph of a barbarous taste I have seen in these northern kingdoms. The situation is low, and commands hardly any prospect, nor has any natural advantage to claim such a preference. It is very large, and the front extends to a great length, as there is only one story besides the ground floors. All the capitals of the pillars, the statues, and many other parts of the external structure, are gilt; nor does the eye scarce meet any thing else, in the apartments within. One room is in a very peculiar and uncommon style of magnificence, the sides of it being entirely composed of timber, on which are disposed festoons, and other ornaments of the same. Its transparency, and the consciousness of its rarity, have a fine effect. This was a present of the reigning king of Prussia to the late empress. Her present majesty prefers this palace to any of the others; and when here she is in retreat, as in town at the Hermitage.

AMONG the extensive territories of the Czarina is Siberia, which if we may believe some modern travellers, is far from being incapable of improvement.

It is to this province that the Russians generally banish such criminals, as not having merited death, are yet adjudged worthy of severe punishment; and indeed these unhappy exiles, for the most part, suffer so much during their banishment, which is often for life, that it were better for them to fall by the hands of the executioner, than thus to drag on a miserable existence.

The frontiers of Siberia are for the most part well garrisoned, which is very necessary, to preserve them from the incursions of such of the Tartar tribes as are disposed to commit depredations upon their neighbours.

The religion of this province is called Nicholaitian. The judiciary proceedings are all expeditiously terminated, for all their courts of justice are courts of equity. There are no pettifoggers that prey upon the innocent and unwary, and under pretence of relieving innocence, and succouring distress, enrich themselves with the spoils of the widow and the fatherless.

The people of Siberia are grave, robust, swift, and very dexterous at shooting at the cross-bow, but they are ignorant, churlish, and jealous of their wives, whom they generally lock up; and even if they do not, none of them dare quit their rooms without leave of their husbands.

The adulterers of either sex are stoned to death; the murderer seldom escapes with his life; perjury is most severely punished, and the robber generally meets with his deserts.

Tobolsk, or Tobolske, is the chief city of Siberia, whose jurisdiction extends southward, beyond Bazapa, from Warchaturia to the river Oby; eastward to Samojedia; northward to Ostiaski; and westward to Ussá, and the river Zuzawaja. This province is every where well peopled, as well by Russians who depend on husbandry, as by all sorts of nations, particularly Tartars and heathens, who pay tribute to her Czarish majesty. Corn is so very cheap there, that a thousand German pounds of rye flour, may be purchased for sixteen cops; and as for flesh, the price of an ox is commonly two rix dollars; two and an half about eleven shillings English money; and that of an indifferent large hog is from thirty to thirty-five stivers. Besides, the river Irtis produces such a prodigious quantity of fish, that a sturgeon, weighing forty pounds, is to be bought for five or six cops or stivers; and these fish are so far from being lean, that when they are boiled their fat appears the

thickness of a finger. Here are great plenty of all sorts of wild beasts; as elks, stags, deer, hares, &c. and of wild-fowl, viz. pheasants, partridges, swans, wild geese, ducks, and storks; all which are cheaper than beef.

This city is secured by a strong garrison of well armed soldiers; who upon orders from the Czar; can bring 9000 men into the field; besides which; here are several thousand of Tartars, who serve their Czarish majesties all on horseback on occasion.

Strolling incursions in the west, upon their Czarish majesties frontiers; are very frequently made by the Kalmucks, the Cosack Orda; and the subjects of the Tassicham, or governor of the Bucharian Tartars. Besides which, the Ussimer and Bakirian Tartars commit several insolences; but these birds of prey are immediately opposed and repulsed by the Tobolefskians.

This city is also the place of residence of the metropolitan or chief ecclesiastic, who is sent from Moscow hither, and exercises spiritual jurisdiction over all Siberia and Dauria.

About a century ago, this city, and the whole province of Siberia, became subject to the Czar, by the following accident. Jeremak Timesciowitz, a certain robber in the reign of Czar Ilam Wasitiwitz, having plundered these, and all the circumjacent countries, had greatly injured those of his Czarish majesty; when he was pursued, he and his companions fled up the river Kama, and from thence into the Iwzawaja, which falls into the Kama, where lie the lands of Straginoff, famous for his vast estate and works, which take up the greatest part of the shore, and stretch to the length of 70 German miles. It was this rich man's grand-father that he applied himself to for protection, and begged his interest in obtaining his Czarish majesty's pardon, offering at the same time, by way of atonement for his felonious crimes, to reduce the whole province of Siberia to be subject to the Czar; pursuant to which he also obtained from the abovementioned Straginoff, assistance of barks, arms, and necessary workmen; and thus provided, and accompanied with his fellow robbers in light barks, he passed up the river Serebrenkoy, which runs by the north-east part of the Werchaturian hills, and falls into the Iwzawaja; thence he conveyed his equipage by land to the river Togin, on which he sailed into the Tura, took the fort of Tumeen, situate thereon, razed it to the ground, and advanced up the river Tobol to Tobolsk, where then resided a Tartarian prince, aged about 12 years, whose name was Altanai Kutzjumswitv. This city he likewise attacked and took with small loss; after which he carried the prince prisoner to Moscow, and put the conquered city into a better posture of defence.

After this success he proceeded down the river Jeti-foh; but was set upon in the night by a party of Tartars, not far from Tobolsk, who cut off a great many of his men, and he himself endeavouring to step from one bark into another, leaped short, and by reason of his heavy armour, irrecoverably sunk to the bottom; his body was carried away by the force of the stream, and never found. In the mean while Straginoff had obtained the Czar's pardon for Jeremak; and several Muscovite officers and soldiers came and garrisoned and fortified the places which he had taken; and from this juncture the Czar's sovereignty over Siberia is to be dated.

Most of the inhabitants of the country near the river Irtis are Russian Jemskicks, who are in the annual pay of her Czarish majesty, for which they supply the way-wodes, that are ordered this way, and all other persons who travel on the Czarish affairs in Siberia, with free carriages and men to work; and are obliged to carry them by water, as far as Surgut, situate on the Oby, at a very reasonable price. These people keep great numbers of dogs, which they make use of to travel with in winter, for it is utterly im-

possible

possible to pass this country with horse-fleds, by reason that sometimes the snow on the Oby is above a fathom deep.

These dogs are yoked two to each sled, which is for that purpose made very light and thin, and can carry from two to three hundred German weight. Neither the sled nor the dogs are hurt by the snow, but both run very swiftly over, leaving a trace only of the depth of a finger's breadth. Some of these dogs know before hand whether there is a likelihood of any work to be for them, as we are told; and if they are likely to be employed, they herd together in crowds, and howl in a dismal manner, whence their masters draw their presages. If when they are on the way, they are inclined to hunt, the master takes his gun on his shoulder, and puts on his long sliding shoes, with which he goes over the ice, takes his dogs with him, and steps a little way into a wood, turns up all manner of wild game, perhaps a fine black fox; and the skins of the game are the master's, and the flesh he gives the dogs. Thus they make a sufficient and very profitable use of these draught dogs, which are middle-sized, sharp-nosed, with long-erected ears, and carry their tails crooked, some of which are like wolves or foxes, insomuch that as they lie asleep in the woods, they are sometimes by mistake, shot for one of those two species; to countenance which, it is also certain, that these dogs mix their strain by a promiscuous copulation with that of wolves and foxes; whence it is that whenever a coursing match happens among the inhabitants of the villages, they find a great number of both species near the villages, as hath been frequently observed.

The banks of the Oby are inhabited by a people called Ostiacks, who worship terrestrial gods, but acknowledge, that according to nature, there must be a Lord in heaven, that governs all; nevertheless they do not pay any worship at all to him, but have their own gods made of wood and earth, in several human shapes. Some of the richest amongst them dress these deities in silken cloaths, made after the fashion of the Russian women. All of them have these idols placed in their huts, which are made of barks of trees, sewed together with harts guts.

On one side of the god hangs a bunch of human and horse-hair, and next that a wooden vessel, with milk pap, with which they daily supply their gods, and thrust it into their mouths with a spoon, made for that purpose, but by reason the idols cannot swallow this their milk diet, it runs out again at both sides of their mouth, down their bodies, in such a filthy manner, as is sufficient to disgust one from eating that diet. When this nice god is to be worshipped or prayed to, his adorers stand bolt upright, and toss their heads up and down, without bending their backs in the least; besides which they chirrup or whistle through the lips, as we do when we call a dog.

They call their god Saiturn. Mr. Ides in his travels from Moscovy to China, tells the following pleasant story, of the idolatry of these people. "Once, (says he) several Ostiacks came on board the ship in which I was, to sell us fish, and one of my servants, a Nurenburch-bear in clock-work, which when wound up, drummed and turned his head backwards and forwards, continually moving his eyes, till the work was down. Our people set the bear at play a little; and as soon as ever the Ostiacks saw it, all of them performed to it their customary religious worship, and danced excessively to the honour of the bear, nodding their heads, and whistling at a great rate. They represented our bear for a right Saiturn, crying out, What are our Saiturns which we make? If we had such a Saiturn, we would hang him all over with fables and black fox-skins. They also asked if this clock-work was to be sold; but I ordered it out of their sight, to avoid administering any occasion of idolatry."

They have as many wives as they can maintain, and marry their near relations without any scruple: If a relation dies, they cry incessantly for several

days, covering their heads, and sitting on their knees in their huts; and will not suffer themselves to be seen; but they carry the corps on poles to the ground to be buried. They are a poor people; and live very miserable in sorry huts. They might indeed live well, since all parts near the Oby, abound with great quantities of rich furs; beside that, there is extraordinary good fishing in that river, insomuch that 20 large sturgeons may be bought of them for three penny-worth of tobacco; but they are so horrid lazy, that they do not desire to get any more than will barely suffice them annually for the winter; for when they travel, they eat mostly fish; especially when they are on the water fishing, for then they live on nothing else. They are of a middle stature; most of them yellowish or red haired; and their faces and noses disagreeably broad; they are weak, and unable to labour hard, not at all inclined to wars, and utterly incapable of military excursions. Bows and arrows are their weapons, with which they shoot wild beasts, though not much addicted to this either. Their cloaths consist of sturgeon and other fish-skins, and they wear neither linen nor woollen; their shoes and stockings are fastened together; and they wear a short coat with a cape, which in case of rain they pull over their heads. Their shoes are also made of fish-skins, and are sewed fast to their stockings, but not closely, so that their feet must necessarily be always wet. When they are upon the water, notwithstanding the thinness of their cloathing, they will bear extraordinary great cold; for if it be but a common winter, they are no better cloathed than abovementioned; but if the winter prove hard, those who are thus cloathed, are necessitated to put another coat of the same sort of fish-skin over that; and they express this severe winter amongst one another, by saying, Do you like the winter that forces one to wear two coats of skins? They sometimes go a hunting in the winter with a single coat only, and their breasts bare, depending upon warming themselves quickly with sliding and running over the ice in their scates, or sliding shoes; but if, as it often times happens, they are overtaken by an extraordinary severe frost, and it seems utterly improbable to escape or save their lives, (so incredibly does it sometimes freeze on the Oby) they with the utmost haste throw off their fish-skin coat, and fling themselves into the deepest snow, and willingly freeze to death: the reason why they put off their coat is, only that they may die the sooner and with much less pain.

The womens cloaths are almost like the men; the men's greatest diversion is bear-hunting, to which sport they gather together in crouds, armed with no other weapon than a sharp iron, like a large knife, fixed to a stick, about a fathom long.

When an Ostiack is jealous of one of his wives with another man, he cuts some hair off the under part of a bear's skin, which he carries to the man whom he suspects: if he be innocent, he then accepts it; but if he be guilty, they believe he dare not venture to touch it, but acknowledges the truth, and then amicably makes up the business with the husband, and the wife is sold. But if any should presume to be so rash as to take the hair, though he was guilty, they tell us they are assured, that the bear's skin from whence that hair was cut off, will again become a living-bear, which after the expiration of three days, will appear in the woods, and tear the perjured wretch to pieces, who was not afraid fraudulently to receive his hair in order to deny the truth. On this occasion they invoke bows, arrows, axes, and knives, and firmly believe that if any guilty takes any of these, he shall certainly be killed by those individual instruments, which he accepts, within the space of a few days, which is not only averred by themselves, but also unanimously backed by the Russians, who live all round these parts.

Buratz is a fortress, the country about which is inhabited by Buzartians; of whose manners, and those of the neighbouring people, the following account

count is extracted from M. Ides's Travels. The houses of these people are built at some distance from each other, as in villages, and are generally situated at the side of a river. Close to their doors several poles are erected in the ground, on some of which are stuck sheep, on others bucks, and some fasten horse-hides on them.

In spring and autumn they go out by hundreds, in a troop on horseback, to hunt stags, wild sheep, and roe-bucks. When they have found a place where there is game, they range themselves in circular order, so that they can easily come near one another, by which in such a ring, they will hunt together, and encompass some hundreds of beasts; and having once got them within reach of their arrows, every one lets fly, so that very few of the beasts escape, each hunter being so well provided as to make thirty shots successfully.

After hunting, each huntsman easily finds his arrows, by their peculiar marks; but there is one great misfortune attending this way of hunting, which is, that they unawares frequently shoot one another, and the horses are often wounded. They skin their game, cut the flesh from the bones, and dry it in the sun; on this provision they live as long as it lasts, and when it is gone, they go out a hunting again.

Those who want oxen or camels of an extraordinary size to convey their goods to China, are obliged to buy them of these people, who will not deal for money, but receive in exchange of the buyers, pale fables, pewter, copper basons, red Hamburgh cloths, otter skins, and Persian silks of all colours, in which commodities the price of an ox is not above four or five rubles, and that of a camel seldom exceeds ten or twelve rubles.

Both men and women of this country are large, robust, and have tolerable handsome features. In the winter both sexes wear long coats made of sheep-skins, with a broad girdle tipped with iron. They have a sort of caps which they draw over their ears in cold weather; and in summer they wear coats of a light red cloth. These people never cut the nails either of their hands or feet, nor are ever washed, except at the time of their birth; so that they make a very nasty appearance. The hair of the unmarried women sticking fast together in plaits, stands an end, and makes them look just as Envy is represented by the painters. The married women have only two plaits, which hang down on each side of their heads, adorned with all sorts of tin figures.

When any of them die, they are buried with their best cloaths, bows, and arrows. Their religion consists of worshipping the dead bucks and sheep which are stuck upon their poles before their houses, at several times of the year, as long as they continue unputrified. Their adoration of them is performed by bowing the head, while they are kneeling with their hands clasped, without either prayers, or so much as speaking one word.

This is the only divine service they are acquainted with, nor will they learn any other. They have indeed several priests, whom, when they think proper, they kill and bury, together with cloaths and money, alledging it is necessary to send them first to the other world to pray for them, and that they ought to have money to spend, and cloaths to wear, lest they should be driven to necessity.

When they are to take an oath, they go to a hill which they esteem sacred, and upon this hill they take the oath, firmly believing that the false swearer shall never come down alive. To this hill they frequently offer up all sorts of slaughtered cattle, and have paid a veneration to it for many years; but upon what tradition this reverence is founded, is not as yet known.

In this neighbourhood is found the musk cat. This animal is almost like a young buck, without horns, with this difference, that its hair is a little black, and the head resembles that of a wolf. The Chinese call this animal Yelicam, that is Musk-hart, on account

of its likeness to a stag; but besides the dissimilitude of the head, it hath two tusks like that of a wild boar, which stick out of its mouth. The musk is contained in a certain swelling at the navel, like a little purse, which is composed of a thin skin, covered with a very fine hair.

Philip Martinus, in his Chinese Atlas, gives the following description of this animal:

"The musk-cat is almost like a young hart or doe, only that he is somewhat browner, and so slow and unactive; that the hunter's greatest difficulty is in putting him up; for that once done, he is immediately shot, for he suffereth himself tamely to be killed, without either defending himself or stirring; the musk, of which there are various sorts of different values, is prepared from this beast in the following manner.

"After he is taken, all his blood is drawn off and reserved; and from under his navel is taken out a bladder, that is filled with blood, or some other odoriferous liquor there concentered; after which the animal is flead and cut to pieces.

"When the Chinese design to make the best sort, they take the hinder part of the animal, beginning from the kidneys, which they stamp and bruise to a jelly, which they dry, and there with it fill the small bags, which they make of the skin of the beast.

"But if they desire a slighter sort of musk, which should yet be very good, and not at all sophisticated, they then beat all the parts of the animal together, without any distinction, to a jelly, with a little of his blood, in a mortar, with which, as before, they fill up the bags made of the hide.

"Besides these two, there is another sort of musk, which is highly valued, though not so good as either of the former. This is prepared of the fore-part of the animal to the kidneys, which they particularly lay by the rest of his body, in order to make the common musk; so that none of this creature is thrown away, but all parts of it are good; whence it is said to be better dead than alive."

Thus far Martinus; we will now pursue our author.

After travelling some days, he arrived at the city of Jakutkoi, which was large and populous. In this city, grain, salt, flesh and fish, were very cheap: an hundred weight of rye was sold for seven stivers. For some miles round the city, the land is very fruitful, and corn grows in great abundance; besides which great numbers of Russians have settled here, and it is inhabited by some hundreds of villagers, where they follow agriculture, with great industry and success.

Opposite to the city on the east side, is a burning cave, which for some years before Mr. Ides was there burnt very violently, but was then almost extinct; it is a large cleft in the earth, and on a long pole, being put into it, it felt very warm.

Near this city was a very fine cloister, in which lived a Mongolian Baron, who had put himself under the protection of their Czarish majesties, and embraced the Greek Christian religion.

This gentleman had a sister, who, according to the Mongolian customs lived in the devoted spiritual state, and was almost inclined to receive the Christian faith. When any one discoursed with her on that subject, she used to reply, "I am satisfied that the Christians God must necessarily be a strong God, since he will return thither, though he shall again be beaten down."

Our author paid a visit to this lady, who on her entering the room saluted no person, her order not admitting of such condescension. She had a rosary or string of beads in her hand, which she constantly passed round through her fingers. There was with her a lama, or priest, who had also a string of beads in his hand, which he very swiftly and incessantly turned over through his fingers, continually moving his lips, as though at his devotions; and with this perpetual telling of his beads, his thumb was worn through the flesh and nail up to the knuckle; which

which having been rubbed off by very flow degrees, did not pain him at all.

Mr. Ides and his retinue having remained some time at Jakutskoi, set forward in sledges on the first of March, towards the lake of Baikol, which they reached on the 10th of the same month, and finding it frozen up very hard, passed safely over.

The lake of Baikol is about forty German miles long, and six broad. The ice in it was about eight feet thick. There are commonly in it several broken places or wind holes, which not being frozen up, prove very dangerous to travellers when surpris'd with snow or tempestuous winds: for the horses, if not sharp shod, are driven so violently by the fury of the winds, that they cannot tread sure, but falling on the ice, are hurried on by the wind, till they and the sledge are swallowed up in one of those open places, by which both horses and passengers are infallibly lost: besides, to augment the danger, the ice of this lake is sometimes torn open several fathoms by sudden winds, which make a noise as loud and terrible as thunder claps; but after the expiration of a few hours, the ice joins again, and soon becomes as close as before.

The camels and oxen which travellers take with them on their journey to China, are obliged to pass over this lake from Jakutskoi; in order to which the camels have a kind of boot tied about their legs, which is very sharp at the bottom; and the oxen are provided with sharp irons struck through their hoofs, without which it would be impossible for them to go forwards.

The water of this lake is clear, tastes very fresh, and yet it is of a deep green, like that of the ocean. Where the ice was open, our author frequently observed a great number of sea-dogs, and fish in great abundance, particularly sturgeons and pikes, some of which he asserts weighed two hundred German pounds.

We have already mentioned the custom of sending exiles into Siberia, whither persons of rank are frequently banished after having their ears and noses slit, or receiving some corporal punishment.—In order to give the reader a clear idea of this matter, we shall here quote the narration of a traveller, who conversed with some of these unhappy exiles there, together with his description of the city of Papinowgorod, whither he was going when he met with the adventure.

“Having held on our way (says he) through almost impassable forests, and over high mountains, at length, after three hours journey, as we approached a thick wood, we observed five men in long coats of white bears skin, made after the Muscovite fashion, each of whom had a gun on his shoulder, a pouch on one side, and a knife and sheath on the other. As they advanced towards us, our guide stopped the rein deer. When the five men being near enough to be heard, one of them perceiving that we were strangers, bad us good-morrow in the German tongue, wishing they were as free as we were. Our supercargo being a native of Lower Saxony, was attracted by the sound of his own language, and asked him what countryman he was; when entering into conversation, several things were started, by which it appeared that they had been intimate acquaintances. The supercargo now alighted from his sledge, embraced him, and enquired how he came there; to which he replied, that he had been banished for hunting fables, a very capital offence.

“While they were discoursing, I had leisure to survey the other four, when one of them, of whose features I had some idea, though I could not instantly recollect who he was, asked me in French whence I came, and whither I was going. Finding that I could not recollect him, he told me his name, and that he had often drank with me at Stockholm. I now knew him well; he was a person to whom I had been greatly obliged, having received many civilities from him in Sweden. He was a gentleman by birth, a native of Lorrain, and lieutenant colonel of a regiment of Muscovite horse. He had endeavoured to per-

suade me to go with him to Moscow, by offering to procure me a post of honor and profit; but I had declined the proposal.

“When I compared the fine appearance he made at that time, the respect with which he was treated on account of his estate, his rank, and his character, with the miserable condition to which I now saw him reduced, I could not refrain from tears. I embraced him with the utmost tenderness and affection, and enquiring into the cause of his disgrace, he replied, that the Czar unjustly suspecting he had not been so zealous in his service as he ought to have been, had banished him to Siberia for three years, where he endured hardships not to be expressed; being exposed to the greatest dangers in hunting wild beasts for his subsistence, to the miseries of hunger, and the rigour of the seasons, which he and his companions were obliged to endure, no person daring to afford them the least relief. He said that scarce a day passed but they were attacked by wild beasts, which they met in herds seeking for prey, and that they frequently found great difficulty in defending themselves; that besides, they were obliged to supply the Czar's officers with a certain number of fables, under the penalty of being severely lashed with a whip of thick hard leather, on their naked backs, till they were covered with blood.

“One of the others had been receiver-general of the Czar's revenues, another had been a major-general, and a fifth a man of note. They all joined in deploring their misfortunes, exclaiming loudly against the Czar, and declared, that when once the time of their exile was expired, they would take care to get far enough out of his power. We offered our best endeavours to facilitate their escape; but they told us this was impossible, all the frontiers being guarded by forts, to the commandants of which their faces were well known, and that nothing less than the cruelest death barbarity could devise, would be the certain consequence, both to them and us, for the attempt.

“Having refreshed them and ourselves with such provisions as we had with us, we told them we resolved to spend a few hours with them, for we could not think of leaving so very suddenly, men whom we had known in better days, when fortune smiled upon them.

“They received this proposal with great joy, told us they had five little huts, which they had built in the neighbouring wood, and if we would be so kind to go thither with them, they should be greatly obliged to us, and all the skins they had should be at our service, except the fables, which they were obliged to reserve for the Czar: they added, that the remembrance of the happy hours they should spend with us in their solitude, would make many future months glide more sweetly. We immediately complied with a request so politely and affectingly enforced, and on approaching the huts, we found that necessity had rendered these unhappy men ingenious. They were built of fir, and were higher and more commodious than any we had seen in our travels; there were two or three rooms in each of them, and lattices to let in the light at the sides. They were each shaded by trees, and so artfully paved with fish bones, that the floors looked as if they were inlaid with ivory. To defend themselves from the depredations of wild beasts, they had dug a trench round these buildings, and erected pallisadoes with strong posts and pieces of wood nailed across them, on the tops of which were spikes of fish bones. Thus, when their gate was closed, they were as secure as in a fortified place. They had within all kinds of hunting and fishing-tackle, besides a good store of salted rein-deer venison, biscuit, and methelin.

“While the rest of the company sat down to drinking, the lieutenant colonel and I withdrew to his hut to converse together. Our conversation turned chiefly on the wilderness of the country, and the barbarity of its inhabitants; and his descriptions were so lively and just, as added greatly to the picture. He told me that when the time of his exile should

be expired, he intended to return home; and gave me his direction in Lorrain. When my friend and I had tired ourselves with talking, we composed ourselves to sleep, upon bear skins, as our companions did also when they were tired of drinking; and slept soundly till next morning.

"We arose early, at the desire of the five exiles, took each of us a gun, and attended them into the woods, to examine their snares, to see what prey was caught in those they had laid the night before. We killed ten or twelve white foxes, and half a dozen grey martins, but met with none of the larger game. As we intended to pursue our journey in the afternoon, we did not chuse to lose much time in hunting, but returned to the huts, and having dined heartily, and drank plentifully, we took our leave, truly affected at not being able to relieve those unhappy gentlemen.

"At parting, they forced upon us some ermines, bears, foxes, and wolfs skins, for which they would take no money; however, we prevailed on them to accept some brandy, tobacco and cloth, which we took care should exceed in value the commodities they had given us. We wept reciprocally at parting; and having taken a last farewell, we mounted our sledges, and pursued our journey with the usual expedition.

"In about three hours we came to five or six huts, inhabited by about a dozen people, of whom we bought all their skins; and afterwards following the course of the river Petzora, we frequently met with small villages, in some of which we found inhabitants, and in others none; but whenever we meet with any body to trade with, we were sure of having skins either for money or brandy, but none would venture to sell us fables. We now reached a large ridge of mountains, that are almost always covered with snow, and so barren, that no human creature can live upon them. On both sides of these mountains were vast numbers of white bears and wolves, which put us in fear of our lives; though I am apt to believe those beasts were as much terrified as we were, for they fled from us on all sides, perhaps frightened by the glittering of our arms, which we took care to display to the best advantage.

"We were above twelve hours crossing these mountains, over which our cattle had great difficulty to draw us; but we at length reached the descent, and soon arrived at a village in Siberia, where the people had linen shirts, close buskins, and garments of bear-skins, with the hair outwards; they appeared to be less barbarous than those with whom we had lately conversed, receiving us with great hospitality and civility, asking our country and business. Having resolved their questions, we bought all their skins for ready money; feasted with them on dried bears and wolfs flesh, rice cakes, and brandy; and then slept upon bears skins, in houses built after the manner of those in Lapland. At our rising, they treated us with a glass of brandy, and then we set forward for Papinowgrod, which place we reached in twenty-four hours.

"The governor hearing of our arrival, sent for us, upon which we immediately waited on him, and answered all his questions much to his satisfaction. When he understood we were Danish merchants, who had travelled so far to buy furs, he treated us in a very friendly manner, and as a mark of his respect, sent for his wife to entertain us, which was a most singular honour.

"She came into the room with a bottle of brandy in one hand, and a silver cup in the other, and was followed by a servant maid, who carried a plate of gingerbread. We saluted her according to the custom of the country, by bowing our heads, when untying the knot of her shift sleeves, she let it fall to the ground, and the supercargo taking it up, we each of us kissed it. She then furled it up again with her left hand; and taking the bottle and cup, which she had set down to perform this ceremony, gave each of us a bumper of brandy, and gingerbread, standing all the

while near her husband at the end of the table. She then withdrew, and the governor treated us with an excellent supper.

"The entertainment being ended, we were conducted to the lodgings prepared for us in the castle, and considering the country, lay in very good beds. Having slept about seven hours; we arose, and the governor instantly waited on us, followed by a servant with a bottle of brandy, of which he gave each of us a hearty cup for a morning's whet. He then produced his skins; which though they were valued much higher than any we had met with in our travels; they were the best worth our money.

"When he had disposed of his own stock; he ordered one of his servants to enquire for chapmen among the people of the town; and while the supercargo was dealing with the people, I diverted myself with walking about the town.

"The houses of Papinowgrod are low and meanly built, of mud or wood, the chinks being stopped up with moss, and the streets are paved with timber, laid close together. The country about it is very fertile; and well watered by a fine river; in which there is variety of excellent fish.

"The people of fashion wear a long cloth coat, which reaches down to their toes; with very close sleeves of another colour, under which they have breeches, and stockings of the same cloth. Their shoes, or rather their boots, are of blue, red, or low colour, buttoned on the top; and on their hands they wear cloth caps, lined and bordered with ermine, sable, or black fox skins. The women are very handsome, and somewhat fat; their hair is of a light chesnut colour, hanging down to their waist; and their head-dress is an oval cap; their upper garments, which like the men's, hang down to their feet, are made of a red, blue, or violet coloured cloth, and are lined either with sable, or white fox-skin, studded with pearls, and their shifts are made of fine callico, with sleeves all ruffled up from the wrist to the shoulder, some of which are five ells long; and this bundle prevents their using the arms of their robes, which therefore hang useless, and are only pinned on."

The banishment of prisoners into Siberia by order of the government of Russia, is in general considered as a punishment even worse than death itself; and yet we find that there are some authors of a contrary opinion. And the country, although as barren as we have represented it, yet is in a capacity of admitting of many improvements, which good sense will point out, and honest industry will submit to; indeed it must be granted in favour of the unhappy persons who are condemned to live in those inhospitable deserts, that their spirits are depressed, and consequently they have no desire to cultivate the ground. They are often left in a state of uncertainty, with respect to the time allotted for their banishment, and thus think it unnecessary to begin what they may not accomplish.

Many persons were banished to Siberia in the reign of Peter the Great; but most of these were persons of eminence, who had incurred the royal displeasure; for that emperor although in many respects an eminent person, yet being a slave to his passions, like Alexander the Great, often destroyed his most intimate friends. It was the design of Peter, nor has it ever been lost sight of by his successors, that nations can never rise to grandeur, unless commerce is cultivated; and for this reason, Peter whose dominions were interior, and whose people were savages, left nothing undone in order to establish a harbour, from whence he could send ships into any parts of the known world.

It is well known what methods Peter made use of in order to cultivate the manners of his subjects, and while he was laying the grand scheme for the conquest of Livonia, the opposition he met with from his rival Charles XII. served rather to accelerate than frustrate his design. After the battle of Pultou, 1709,

Peter found the whole province of Livonia as it were laid open to him, and it was taken possession of by his victorious troops. On a cluster of islands he built the city of St. Petersburg; and partly by promises, and partly by force, he caused some of the most respectable persons in his empire to come and settle in it. The encouragement he gave to men acquainted with the liberal arts and the sciences, induced many persons to settle in the new city, and this part of his conduct is imitated by his successors:

The late empress, who died 1762, made it an invariable rule never to put a criminal to death; and this practice gave rise to the frequency of banishments to Siberia. It was common to send regiments of raw undisciplined recruits along with these prisoners, and when these young men returned again to Petersburg, they were so much inured to the severe hardships of the climate, that they became soldiers able to undergo any fatigues whatever. This was a bold stroke of policy, and it is in part owing to it that the Russian armies make at present such a distinguishing figure. It is well known that at the battle near Frankfort on the Oder, in 1758, the Russian forces, commanded by General Apraxin, stood like an immoveable wall against the forces of that experienced general the present King of Prussia, and obliged him to quit the field.

The banishment of criminals to reside in wild deserts has been attended with different consequences, in different ages; and there have been many instances wherein the descendants of the banished have returned to those countries from which they were driven, as unworthy of a place in society, and established governments upon more enlarged principles of freedom.

Astracan, by some writers called Astrakan, is situated on a plain near the river Wolga, and not far from the borders of Russia. It is a town of considerable antiquity, and according to Mr. Hanway, who visited it in 1742, it is in a thriving condition. It is built upon an ascent, and surrounded with a wall, which has been lately rebuilt; and within the wall are many pleasant gardens, where the inhabitants spend much of their time in summer. Two or three regiments of soldiers, are commonly stationed in it, and there is a castle where the governor resides. The inhabitants are partly Greeks, Mahometans, and Heathens. The Greeks, as in other parts of Russia, have their churches; the Mahometans have a mosque, and the heathens a temple; for it is a maxim in the Russian government, to grant a toleration to the professors of all different religions, so as they do not give any offence to the civil power. This is in all respects consistent with the infancy of a government, which aims at extensive power, and intends to establish an universal monarchy. The persons who assemble in the Heathen temple of Astracan, are disciples of the ancient Magi; but they having been so long mixed with the Tartars, they have forgot the principles of their religion; and are now become worshippers of images and attendants on sacrifices.

When Mr. Hanway was at Astracan, his curiosity led him to be present one day in the Pagan temple, where sacrifices are offered, and he found these to consist of flesh, cakes, and such liquor as the country affords, and one of the officers of the temple, brought him a part on a plate, but he refused to eat it, knowing it had been offered to idols. He adds, that the Heathens in that city are not very numerous, and in general they are composed of the lower ranks of people. They have some confused notions of a Supreme Being, but although there can remain no doubt of divine revelation having been made known to them during the first ages of Christianity, yet there are at present no remains of it among them. But the Greeks, and the Mahometans in Astracan, and throughout the whole of that province, are equally as ignorant as the Heathens; and Peter the Great was so much intent on acquiring a digni-

fied place in the political system of Europe, that he paid but little regard to such of his subjects as lived eastward of Moscow.

All along the banks of the Wolga there are such vast numbers of Tartarian robbers, that the government has found it necessary to punish them in a most exemplary manner. The mode of punishment is indeed consistent with the manners of a barbarous, ferocious people; but it is much to be doubted whether they ever lead towards the reformation of manners; those who are savage in their manners, pay little regard to torture, when inflicted on themselves, for severity of punishment serves rather to harden than to humanize the mind. A constant repetition makes it familiar, and that which would to us become shocking, is considered by these barbarians no more than ordinary punishments; in the same manner as the people in France, Germany, and other countries, are not in the least shocked when they see a man broke alive upon the wheel.

Mr. Hanway, who travelled that extensive part of the Russian empire which lies between Petersburg and Astracan, had an opportunity, as a man of experience, to make proper remarks on every object that presented itself to his view, and being well acquainted with drawing, he sketched out the forms used in the execution of those Tartarian robbers. All along the banks of the Wolga, small platforms of wood, like scaffolds, are built, and in the centre of each is a pole with great hooks stuck into it. These hooks are almost in the form of a gardeners pruning knife, with the points standing upwards, and when the thief is taken, he is strip'd naked, and the point of the hook is driven in between two of his ribs, and the point stretching upwards, it keeps the criminal so confined to the stake that he is like one nailed to a cross. This part of the barbarous ceremony being performed, the soldiers, who are the executioners, set the scaffold afloat on the river, and it frequently happens, that some of these wretches will live three or four days under the most excruciating tortures; nay it frequently happens, that some of them make their escape, and although this may appear rather incredible to some persons, who never visited the country, yet we cannot doubt the veracity of Mr. Hanway, a man esteemed by the learned, the pious, and indeed by all those who are not ashamed of virtue and truth.

When he visited that country, robberies were perhaps more frequent than they are at present, and he himself, although he had a guard to escort him from Moscow to Astracan, yet was very often in danger. He saw many of their temporary gibbets floating on the river, and there were generally a few soldiers to take notice of the criminals till such time as they expired.

One day a thief was fixed to the gibbet in the manner already mentioned, and set afloat on the river. This happened about noon, and notwithstanding the severity of the torture, yet he continued in that condition till night, when by an unaccountable exertion of his manual power, he extricated himself from his confinement, and swam ashore. It was not enough for him that he had recovered his liberty, nor did he value self-preservation so much as the desire of being revenged on his tormentors. Accordingly he walked slowly to the place where three soldiers were posted, two of whom were asleep; and he wrested the gun from the third, who was not the least aware of his coming. He soon dispatched the centinel from whom he had taken the gun, and with the butt end of it he knocked out the brains of the two others who were asleep. He then went in quest of his companions, carrying the three musquets with him as a valuable acquisition.

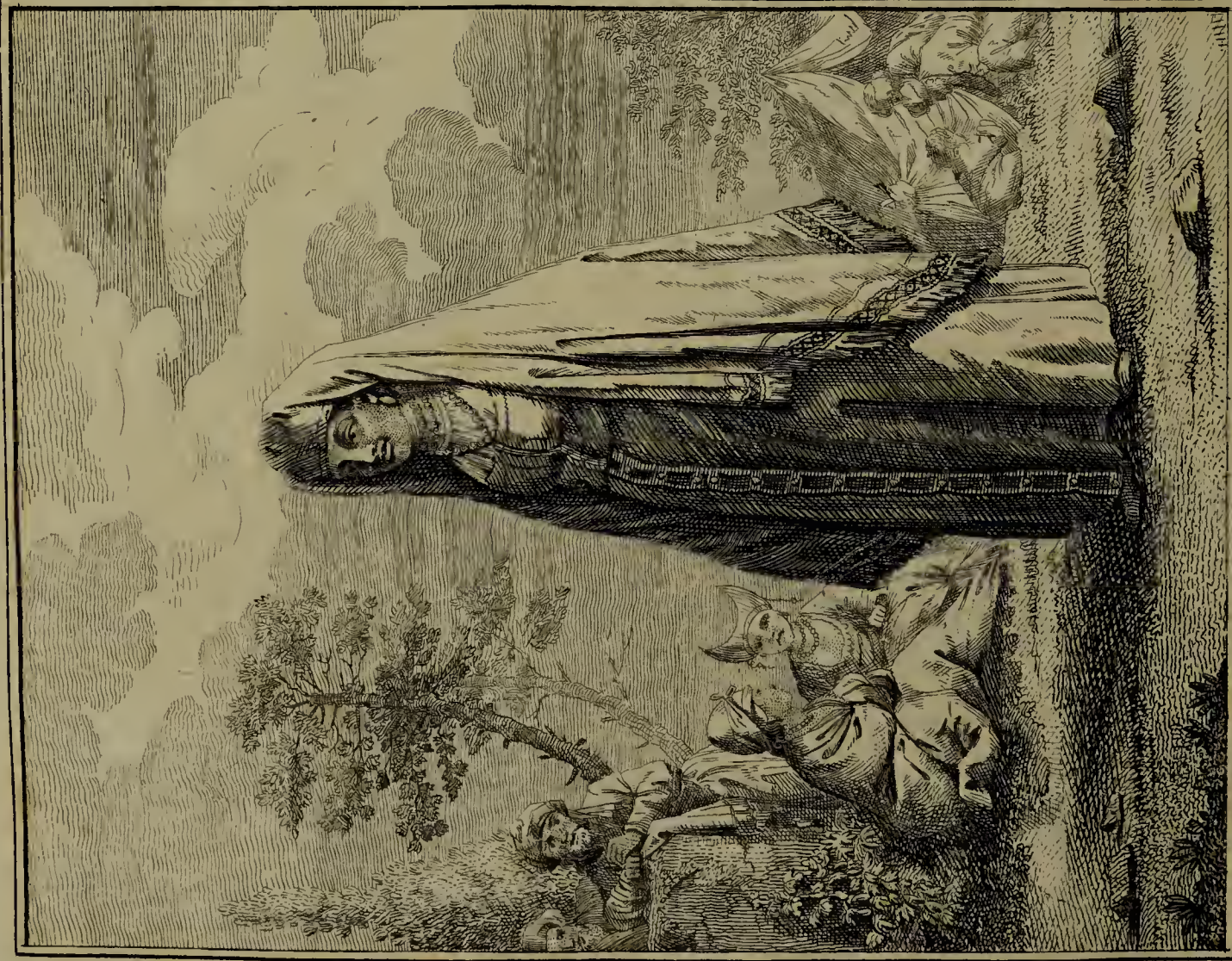
From what has been said concerning these barbarians, of whom we shall have still more to say when we come to treat of Asiatic Tartary, it appears that the Russian empire, is like an unwieldy body with a small head. The extent of territory is too large for government to take proper notice of the conduct of

Engraved for. Hoare's Voyages & Travels

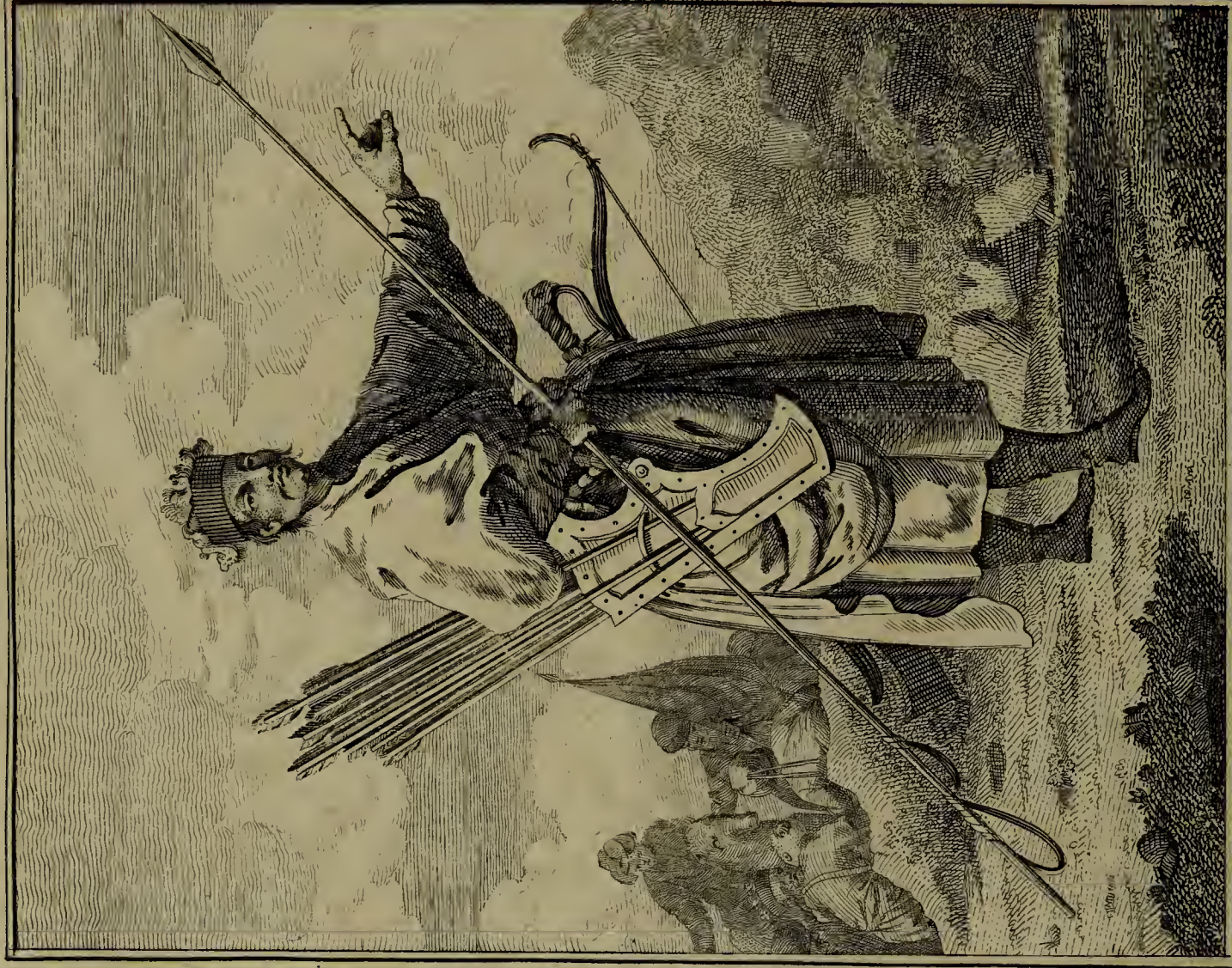


Various CARRIAGES & SLEDGES used for the conveyance of Goods, Merchandise, &c. during the Winter in RUSSIA.





HABIT of a MOSCOVITE WOMAN.



ARMS and DRESS of a CALMOCK.

all the inhabitants; and the civil power is still weak; there being yet no fixed body of laws; for the preservation of property and protection of society. This extensive empire would be greater in power and more rich in commerce, if its territories were less; and its subjects not so numerous. It is very probable, however, that it is rising from obscurity, on the decline of some of the greatest European powers; and it will acquire glory, as well as strength, in proportion to the virtue of the people.

The late war between the Russians and the Turks has been of more service to the latter than the former. The Turkish janissaries had been long unaccustomed to war, but here an unexpected event roused them from a state of lethargic stupidity. It was the design of the present empress to establish a port on the Euxine sea, and from thence to open a passage into the Mediterranean. The French apprised the Turks of the design of the empress, and forces from all parts of the Ottoman empire were brought to oppose the Russians. Most people believed that the Russians would have prevailed, but they had a more dangerous enemy to engage with than the Turks. The warmth of the climate, and the luxurious way of living, fought and prevailed against men who had been brought up and inured to hardships in a cold mountainous country.

It was during this conflict which the Russians had with the Turks, that a fleet of men of war for the first time passed through the sound, and from thence up the Mediterranean as far as Constantinople. Very little success attended this expedition, for the French continued to send assistance to the Turks, and all the Russians could do after the loss of many thousands of men, was to conclude a peace on the best terms they could. The present Empress continues to give all

possible encouragement to men of learning to come and settle in her dominions; but what with the difference of religion, and the unsettled form of government, there are but few that chuse to go, except such as we commonly call adventurers, who having no fixed habitations in the country which gave them birth, think all nations alike to them.

The religion of Russia is what we call the Greek; and seems to resemble that form of worship which prevailed in the Eastern church about the eighth century. Missionaries from several parts of Greece introduced their religion in Muscovy about the middle of the eleventh century, and in most things there is but little difference between them and the Greeks in the Levant. They have archbishops and bishops, with convents both of monks and nuns. None of the secular priests can be ordained till they are married, and if they should marry after ordination, they are deposed. Every protestant who embraces their religion, must be re-baptised and anointed with oil, as was the case of the present empress and the grand duchess, both of whom were brought up Lutherans. They have vast numbers of convents near Muscow, which was once the capital city, but there have so many foreigners settled at Peterburgh that we find not many of them there except a few for form sake. Originally the great land-holders had power to sell their tenants, but in consequence of their progress in refinement in manners, that barbarous custom begins to sink into oblivion. In a word, Russia will either become a most flourishing empire, or it will sink under the extent of its dominions. Its internal resources are much contracted, and therefore prudence and well timed œconomy can only promote the interest of the people, and support the dignity of the sovereign.

TRAVELS FROM ASTRACAN THROUGH ASIATIC RUSSIA TO CHINA;

BY FATHER AVERIL, THE MUSCOVITE AMBASSADORS, &c.

THE antient geographers had so little knowledge of that vast extent of land situated between the river *Oby* and the famous Chinese wall, that they either passed it over in silence, or invented fabulous stories concerning it. Neither have the modern geographers been more successful, for most of them have told us, that in that vast country there are nothing besides mountains and deserts. For the discovery of that country we are obliged to the *Zaporogian Cossacks*, a savage body of people, whose situation was originally beyond the *Borysthenes*. These having been oppressed by the Russians, they formed a resolution to shake off the yoke of subjection, and to effect this they marched in great numbers towards the *Wolga*, by the way of *Cassan*, and from thence to the river *Jolish*, where they built a city, which they named *Tobol*, from a river upon which it was situated. It was not long before they extended their conquests a great way into the country, but not being able to procure the necessaries of life, they once more submitted to the Muscovite yoke, in order to carry on a trade by disposing of the skins of such beasts as are found in the country, but notwithstanding their formal submission, yet they pay no more regard to the Russian laws, than as it suits their own interest.

The most valuable creatures throughout Tartary are the sable martins, and the manner in which they are hunted is very singular. Some companies of soldiers are sent once in seven years into those provinces where these creatures are found. They are found in

general in the small islands, or on the banks of the rivers, and the soldiers kill them with cross-bows, lest fire-arms should spoil the fur. As the chief part of this hunting depends on the activity and diligence of the soldiers, so the officers are obliged to reward them with some of the skins. Some of these officers clear upwards of four thousand crowns during the seven years they are there, and the common soldiers six or seven hundred, which are vast sums in that country. There are also in this country black foxes as in Siberia, and these are considered as extremely valuable. Formerly the Muscovites were contented with ordinary furs, except the ermines, which were used only by persons of quality, but since the discovery of these more precious furs, they have been so eager in the search of them, that by penetrating every year further into the country, they have discovered the roads leading to China. The first of these roads is through the territories of the great mogul, but the vast deserts being much frequented by robbers, the journey is extremely dangerous. All those who travel this road are obliged to go in caravans of two or three thousand each, carrying fire-arms and other weapons along with them for their preservation. Several of the French jesuits have travelled this road, particularly Father Averil, to whom we are under many obligations for the curious discoveries they have made, and the information they have communicated to all the European nations.

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The second road is that used by the merchants of Bocara, who travel through the cities of Samarkan, Kabal, Kachemire, Tourian, and so on through several other cities to Barantola, the most considerable city of great Tartary. This road, like the other already mentioned, is equally dangerous, for there are many sandy deserts, and vast numbers of Calmuc Tartars, who rob and murder all those who are not able to defend themselves; and yet it is often made choice of by the Russians, in preference to any other. The third, and that which is most commonly used by those who regard their preservation, is from Tobolsko, along the banks of several lakes, yielding large quantities of salt; and this journey takes up about nine or ten days before they arrive at the great wall of China. The fourth road is along the banks of the river Oby, and this leads them to Szelingii Khun's residence, which is a journey of about eight weeks, from whence by means of a small present, they procure carriages and guards to conduct them to the great wall.

This is the road the Muscovites have used ever since they were last at war with the Chinese, and it is reckoned the most safe of any; for although the roads are sometimes pestered with robbers, yet here they seldom appear in large bodies; but all those who travel along this road, must, before they begin their journey, provide themselves with water, otherwise they will be in danger of perishing. The fifth road is that which Spartavius the Russian ambassador took to China; he passed through Siberia, to the city of Narezinski, on the river Najunai, and from thence to Chiria, which is near the entrance into China. This road is the more safe, because the travellers generally once in a day meet with the sable martin hunters, who are well acquainted with the country, and who for a small gratuity, are always ready to escort them.

The sixth road is likewise through Narezinski, and the country of the Monguls, and from thence to the Lake Dalai, out of which rises the river Argus, which is navigable all along, and joins its current with the Turnour. Near the Argus are mines of silver and lead, and the prince, or Taifo, whose territories border upon it, is obliged to find the Muscovite caravans, which pass that way three times in the year, carriages and horses.

From Narezinski, to the Lake Dalai, is a journey of upwards of a week, and near it we find a province, subject to China, the inhabitants of which cultivate the ground near the lake, and in three weeks carry passengers in waggons drawn by horses, to the great gate of the Chinese wall.

And hence it may be proper to say something concerning these tribes of Tartars who inhabit the country near the borders of China, and over whom the Russians pretend to exercise a sovereign authority. This account is taken from the writings of the Jesuits, who have been indefatigable in finding out new unknown countries, in order to make converts to the church of Rome. The first of these are the Bogdoi, and their country being of a large extent, they are divided into several tribes, or herds, each having a particular prince of their own. One of these provinces is called by the Russians Dionerski, and is inclosed between the eastern sea, and the two great rivers Ebingala, and Yamour. They were anciently known to the Chinese, but little regarded by them, till they made an irruption into that empire, and conquered six provinces, which induced the Chinese to send for the Youfbec Tartars to assist them; but these settled the family of Jvina on the throne of China, and by the princes of that family, the empire was governed till 1386, when being expelled by the Chinese, who enthroned the family of Tayminga, and they reigned till 1664, at which time the Diousghi Tartars again invaded China, and made an entire conquest of that kingdom. Their prince who took possession of the throne of China, was named Cuncki, and his posterity are at this time sovereigns of that empire, of whom more shall be mentioned afterwards.

Throughout the whole country of Bogdoi, and several other of the neighbouring provinces, subject to Russia, all the houses are built of earth, and their trade consists in exchanging with the Muscovites fables of martins and black foxes skins. In their features they are much like the Crim Tartars, but they are more polite in consequence of conversing with the Chinese. They are all heathens, and worship many different idols, but they have no regular system of theology. They wear crosses about their necks, called lamas, and some of them pretend to pay much regard to the Christian religion. Probably it had been once planted among them, but at present there are no remains of it to be found; for, when the Jesuits began to enquire into their sentiments, they found them extremely ignorant. Their language is a sort of corrupt Persian, but they have sixty letters in their alphabet, and, like the Chinese, read from the top to the bottom. Their rivers of Argus, Yamour, and Ebingala, produce great store of rubies and pearls, which they sell to the Russians, for things of a more useful nature, and they know the use of gunpowder, although it does not appear that they avail themselves of that destructive invention.

Next to the Bogdoi, is a vast extent of land to the west, called Mongul, beginning at the eastern countries of the river Yamour, and extending westward, to the dominions of the Calmuc Tartars, from whom they are separated by great deserts. Upon the south east it borders upon Turqueston, and reaches to China on the east. These people live under the government of their Taifos, or Khans, but as they are all of one family they live together on the most amiable terms, and assist each other against all their enemies; not excepting even the Russians themselves, who vainly call them their subjects. As they inhabit neither towns nor villages, so they live mostly on plunder, by making excursions into those territories near the Lake Dalai. As their grounds are watered with a great many rivers that fall into the Szelinga, they are very fertile, fit for pasture, and rich in cattle, which makes them live on good terms with the Muscovites, to whom they pay a small annual tribute. Amongst themselves they are peaceable, but when it happens that a quarrel arises, it is referred to the decision of the judge, whom they call contrista, and one of that character attends all their clans when they go out to war, or to plunder their neighbours.

The Monguls bear a constant grudge against the Bogdoi, ever since the latter had the address to plant one of their colonies in China, and to give sovereignty to that vast empire. But as they are not acquainted with the use of fire arms, so they are not in condition to do them any considerable mischief, any farther than to drive away their cattle and sell them to the Russians, and this practice is very common.

One of the chiefs of the Monguls is called Otchiourticane, and he pretends to derive his origin from the great Tamerlane, and this is not in the least improbable. This prince has vast power over those who are in possession of smaller territories, and even the Russians who pretend that he is their vassal, are often obliged to court his friendship. He lives in great magnificence, and is served with as much ceremony and grandeur as the emperor of China. His subjects have no fixed habitations, much less either towns or cities, but live in the fields under tents made of skins, and these are very commodious and neat; for as they lead a vagabond wandering life, they are the quickest in the world at encamping. Some time ago one of these chiefs of the Monguls raised an army to invade Russia, and advanced near to Astracan. While he lay encamped in that neighbourhood, he was visited by a French officer, who found that he had no less than one hundred thousand horse; but he contradicted the common accounts that this prince was served in gold and silver, which would be very surprising indeed, when we consider that the Tartars have but few artists among them.

All the inhabitants of Russian Tartary, are Pagans,
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An IMAGE worshipped by the CHINGULAIS as the Deity who presides over Health, Wisdom, Plenty, &c.

and they have a supreme high priest, whom they call Dalac Lama, but this name is a quality; for even the Dalac is supposed never to die; which has some affinity with the notions entertained by the Egyptians, concerning their God Apis, who was no other than a bull, and when he died another was substituted in his room to deceive the people.

This Dalac Lama, has his temple in the fortress of Beatabac, near the city of Barantala, the metropolis of the kingdom of Tunchut; lying between China and Persia. It is in a manner impossible to describe the veneration shown to him; all the Tartars send presents to him annually, and sometimes they carry him into China, where he is worshipped as a god. As soon as he dies, his priests make choice of one of their own body to succeed him; so that it is not a difficult matter for them to make the vulgar Tartars believe that he is immortal. It is rather more than probable, that this Dalac Lama, is no other than the famous Prester John, of whom we have read so many fabulous accounts in history; and when we consider the stories related of him, it will be more rational to look for his residence in Asia, than in Abyssinia, where he certainly never was. To make this the more evident, it is to be observed, that when John II. king of Portugal, had sent Peter de Coulan to make the discovery of the passage by sea to the East Indies, he gave orders in the most particular manner, to the said Coulan, to make an exact enquiry after the famous Prester John, so much talked of in Europe, without its being known in what part of the world he resided. Pursuant to the king's commands, Coulan advanced a great way into the Indies, where after the most diligent enquiry he possibly could make, he could not hear one word of Prester John, but on his return home, coming to Cairo, he was told that in Ethiopia, beyond Egypt, reigned a certain potent prince, a professed protector of the Christians, and that whenever he appeared in public, he had a cross carried before him.

As these characters bore a near resemblance to those of the prince he was in search of, he thought himself sufficiently informed of the truth of what he eagerly sought for, and believing this monarch to be the same Prester John, king of the Abyssinians, he sent an account thereof to the king his master, containing a relation of his discovery. The king received the news with transport, and next year, when his ships failed to Africa, he gave orders to make further enquiries, and they, upon their return home, spread the news through every part of Europe, that they had found the country and city of the famous Prester John; so that the story was believed, and several accounts were written concerning this extraordinary person, but all stuffed with the grossest falsehoods. Father Kircher justly observes, that none of the Abyssinian historians make any mention of this Prester John, and therefore it is reasonable that we should look for him in Asia.

But this subject is of too much importance to be slightly passed over, especially as we find something of this Prester John in most of the writings of our ancient travellers, although they generally differ from each other. Some of the Jesuits tell us, that the emperor of the Tartars having sent his son to conquer the Lesser India, which he effected, he advanced with his victorious army, against the Greater India, at that time inhabited by Christians; where he was overthrown by their prince, commonly called Prester John. This agrees with what Paul the Venetian, another Jesuit, says on this subject, and he resided several years in the palace of the Great Khan of Tartary, and was better acquainted with that country than the rest of his brethren. It is certain, that by Kitay, the Russians understand that country which runs from the Wolga to China; and the only objection against this opinion is, that the subjects of the ancient Prester John, are said to have been Christians, whereas the modern Tartars are all heathens, except a few Mahometans who reside amongst them.

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But this objection is soon answered, for if any credit can be given to history, there are many nations now in the world sitting in darkness under the power of idolatry; whose ancestors were once illuminated with the glorious light of the gospel. It is generally allowed that Thomas the apostle preached the gospel in India; for there is a province northward of China, where the inhabitants are still called by way of derision, the Disciples of St. Thomas, although it does not appear that they have any vestiges of Christianity left among them.

Upon the whole, it appears evident that this Prester John, so much talked of, was one of the Tartarian princes in the middle ages, since the incarnation; and that he, as well as his subjects, had some faint notions of Christianity, and the name itself seems to have been corrupted by oral traditions among the ignorant barbarous inhabitants. And as knowledge decreased among the Tartars, nothing was more easy than for some of their priests, who were slaves to superstition, to make the natives believe, that Prester John was still alive, and as ignorance increased, he became an object of idolatry!

It is true, the Dalac Lama is no temporal prince at present, as Prester John was of old, but this must be the consequence of some revolution, of which history is silent. He is still at the head of religion, and he is called in the language of the country, Lama, which signifies a cross, and all his followers wear crosses.

Besides these Tartars before mentioned, there are several other tribes or hordes, such as the Ostiaki, the Bralski, the Jacuti, and the Tonguessi, who inhabit about the lakes, betwixt Siberia and the Monguls. As they speak the same language, and wear the same habits as the Calmucs, so it is probable they are of the same original, but having, in their roving manner, settled near to Muscovy, became subject to that empire, rather from motives of self-interest, arising from the benefit of trade, than with any design of becoming slaves. They are generally of a swarthy complexion, inclining to an olive colour, with broad flat faces, high above, and falling in below. Their noses are flat, their eyes are sparkling, and they suffer their beards to grow. Their habits are sheep-skins, or skins of any other animals sewed together, in the shape of vests, close to their bodies, having a cord about their waists, instead of a girdle, whereunto they fasten their bow and quiver, wherever they go. They shave their heads, leaving a small tuft of hair on the middle of the crown, and on their heads they wear a round bonnet of the same stuff with the rest of their habit, and to the top of their bonnet is fixed a piece of cloth in the form of a cockade, to distinguish the horde to which they belong. Those who live in the countries where they catch martins, make themselves cloaths of their skins, as also of dogs skins, of which they have vast numbers.

Sometimes they wear double vests, and when that happens, the skins of the martins, although much esteemed, are kept within next to the body, and those of the dogs without. And natural sense in those people, who are little better than savages, points out an excuse for this part of their conduct. They say, that as the dogs assist them in taking the martins, so they are more noble creatures than the latter, and that the martins, for their cowardice, ought to be concealed, and the dogs for their boldness, exposed to public view. Here is philosophy, without education, and from these savages we may learn that all the difference between mortals in the exertions of mental powers, consists only in the aids that we receive from human learning, self knowledge, and an acquaintance with the world.

From what has been here said, it appears evident, that the Russians could be under no great difficulty in opening a road and establishing a communication between their own empire and that of China; for although it is not an easy matter to subdue populous nations of savages, yet when these savages are divided

In small hordes, political and designing princes can easily set them against each other. By these means the power of these hordes is weakened; and they become an easy prey to those who have standing armies inured to hardships, and acquainted with military discipline; for as the Russians know the art of war, and are acquainted with the use of gun-powder; it could not be supposed that those savages should be long able to oppose them; and yet the Russians have never been able totally to subdue them.

It would be much for the interest of the Russians to erect forts for the defence of their conquests, the furthestmost of which is called Albaza, not above three weeks journey from Peking, although above three months from Moscow. It is seated on the banks of the River Yamour, which occasioning a difference between the Russians and the Chinese about the privileges of pearl fishing and hunting of fables, broke out at last into a war; but the Russians considering the disadvantages they lay under in exposing an army to be destroyed for want of provisions in so vast a country, thought it most convenient to accommodate the matter in an amicable manner, by leaving things in the same state as before.

The Russians in journeying to the east, commonly set out in the months of February, the snow being then hard, and they are drawn by rein deers on sledges properly constructed for that purpose. They wait near the borders of Siberia a few days to see whether it will thaw, which if it does, they sail in boats down the River Oby, but if the frost continues they go on by land to the country of the Ostiaks, a horde of Tartars, under the jurisdiction of the Russians. Here, if the thaw does not overtake them, they send back their carriages to Tobolosko, which they change for others, and in order to make the rein deer run as fast as possible, there is a great dog behind each of the carriages, who barks and scares the creatures when they begin to be idle. But the most surprising thing is, that in the open country all the way between Siberia and Mount Caucasus, the travellers to ease their beasts have a method of putting up sails to their sledges, which, if the wind be favourable, carries them over the snow and frozen rivers. In this manner they travel over the ice to the River Geneffai, where the Russians have built a city of the same name. There they take shipping on the river, which carries them to two other rivers, Tonguessi and Angara, which runs out of the Lake Baskala. The waters of this lake are so clear, that although very deep, yet a person can see the stones which lie at the bottom. This lake is surrounded by lofty mountains, but although it is not above eight leagues in length, yet, on account of some troublesome winds, it often takes them eight days to cross it.

Having passed the lake, if they intend to go further by water, they embark in small vessels on the River Schelinga, which carries them to a city of the same name, built by the Russians for the convenience of their caravans; but when they intend to go by land, they buy dromedaries and mules from the Mongul Tartars. This being one of the principal roads which the Russian merchants take to China, makes it appear, that all that country, known formerly by the general name of Great Tartary, is not so unpeopled as many have represented it.

They have many fine rivers, which produce abundance of precious commodities, such as pearls, ginseng roots; and in many parts of the country there is plenty of rhubarb, castors, azure-stone, with fables, martins, black foxes, and lead mines. The Russians have found out a kind of ivory, which for its whiteness and smoothness, surpasses any that is brought from India. This they are furnished with by a certain amphibious creature, called behemoth, found most commonly in the River Laka, or near the shore of the Tartarian Sea. "I have seen (says Father Avaril) several of these creatures at Moscow, and their teeth were about ten inches long, and two in diameter. These teeth are more beautiful than the

elephant's, and they have a remarkable quality in stopping the blood of wounds. The creature is very fierce, and it requires much labour and trouble to hunt him. The Tartars used to carry along with them their whole families to the chase, and it frequently happened that proceeding too far upon the ice, many hundreds of them have perished.

Among the many rivers that lie beyond Siberia in Tartary, the four following are the most noted, the Oby, the Geneffai, the Lena, and the Yamour. The most westerly of these rivers is the Oby, and it is extremely dangerous by reason of the vast mountains of ice lying at the mouth of it, which prevents ships from getting into the sea. The next to the east, is the River Geneffai, which, besides the mountains of ice in common with the Oby, it labours under another inconvenience, that of being incommoded with seven cataracts or water-falls, which puts the merchants to vast trouble in loading and unloading their vessels. The River Lena has a more uniform current, but instead of ice, it is so much pestered with rocks and shelves at the mouth, that it is only passable for small boats. The River Yamour, the most easterly of all, which falls into the sea of Japan, is not subject to those inconveniences, but where its waters mix with the sea, there grow such prodigious quantities of bulrushes, and those of so large a size, that the entrance is extremely difficult.

The Russian ambassador who travelled over Tartary to China, has related many curious particulars, which will not surprise the reader that he went in a public character, and a numerous retinue to attend him. "Walking one day along the banks of the Pultou, (says Brand, the secretary) we saw at a distance some of their huts, and among them one somewhat bigger than the rest, which raised my curiosity to go and take a view of it, having obtained leave of the owner for a small present of bread and salt. I entered without any ceremony, and found three women lying on the ground, who rose up as soon as they saw me, and by their gestures, sufficiently testified their displeasure, but as I had secured the owners good will, I went forward, and took a view of every thing in the hut. I was afterwards told that those were the wives of one of their princes or chiefs; but their furniture appeared but little suitable to such a rank. The only thing worth notice in the hut, was their domestic idol, which they call their *Sheitan*. It was made of wood, about a yard in length, of a most dreadful aspect, for its head being covered with an iron plate, it appeared as black as a chimney, occasioned by the incense they offer to it; besides that, its garments were nothing but a parcel of woollen rags of different colours. One day, the ambassador being in a good humour, ordered one of his servants to bring out a wooden machine, made in the shape of a drum, so curiously contrived, that it beat by means of clock-work within. He immediately set it a beating, which so much frightened the Tartars who were present, that they all ran away; but recollecting themselves, they imagined it to be a god, and returned and worshipped it in the same manner they do their own idols. They begged earnestly that the ambassador would let them have it, but he did not chuse to comply with their request, lest it should encourage their idolatry.

Their manner of devotion is the most singular that can be imagined, for instead of saying their prayers, they whistle them, clapping their hands together, and knocking their heads against the ground: when they swear, they lay their hands upon a bear's skin, and each of the parties drinks a cup of horse's blood. They have such respect for their idols, that in all public entertainments, the first dishes are set before them, and when they neglect that ceremony, they believe that the victuals would rot or turn to worms in their bellies. Their chiefs are much addicted to tobacco, and they take it after a manner peculiar to themselves. Having filled their mouths with water, they draw the smoke from the pipes into the

the water and swallow it, which is the reason that frequently at taking it, they fall down in a fit, but soon recover themselves, and it does not affect them any more at that time.

The ambassador having rested himself two days at the village Buhutsha, began his journey through the northern desert, and did not find any houses in it except a few huts, although it took up eight days to cross it. At the eastern extremity of this desert, there is a numerous tribe of Tartars, called Tongueffes, who were formerly reputed for their valour, but they have been for many years subject to the Russians, and pay an annual tribute. They are, generally speaking, well proportioned, and have straight limbs, and there is no difference between the dresses of the men, and those of the women. They have a custom which seems peculiar to themselves, which is to stitch the cheeks of their children while infants with black thread, through and through in different forms, some being like crosses, and others square, or which ever way they chuse, and this they consider as a badge of honour and antiquity, transmitted to them by their ancestors, and these marks they retain as long as they live.

Their huts are made either of the skins of rein deer, or of some other wild beasts, or of the bark of trees, and in these miserable places they live, enduring the severest winters, being inured to cold from their birth; for no sooner are they born, than they are laid into cold water, in the summer, and on the snow, in winter. These Tartars, in this province, are divided into three hordes; the first live by plundering their neighbours, and they are very expert horsemen; the second subsist by hunting, and the third are so barbarous, that in their way of living, they resemble beasts, rather than men. Their idols are all of wood, every one having his domestic god, or patron, unto whom they direct their devotions: but if they do not obtain what they pray for, they make nothing of throwing them out of doors, where they must lay till they procure an answer to their prayers, when they are again taken into the house, and have an offering made to them. In all places where five or six families live together, they jointly maintain a Shamman, or Priest, and at their meetings, this priest makes his appearance in a habit, having upon it all the figures of lyons, bears, serpents, adders, and such like, which being made of iron, they sometimes weigh two hundred pounds, and the priest beats on an instrument like a drum, while the people make the most dismal outcries and lamentations, pretending that they see apparitions under the forms of ravens, and some other birds.

In the mean time the priest leaving his drum, pretends to fall into a trance, which the people consider as a sure sign of his sincerity, and while he remains in that posture, they believe him to be conversing with spirits. Notwithstanding their wretched way of living, they maintain a plurality of wives, especially the chiefs, who buy the young women from their parents, for a few rein deer each. He that is to take an oath, must drink the blood of a dog, stabbed in the fore legs for that purpose, and the blood is suffered to run out till the creature dies. They neither bury nor burn their dead, but hang their bodies upon trees, till they putrefie. The worst curse they imprecate upon those who offend them, is, that they may be taken into Europe by the Russians, and forced to cultivate the ground; so that although they pay a small tribute of skins annually, yet it appears that the Czars, are rather their nominal than real masters.

As the ambassador approached nearer the borders of China, he stopped at a village, where there was a sheep and a goat killed, and fixed on a tree with their heads upwards, being intended as sacrifices to the heavenly bodies. Mr. Brand, the secretary, made some enquiry into the religion of those Tartars, but all he could learn was, that they were Pagans, who offered a sheep and goat every year, to the Creator of

the Heavens; and they adored the sun. They are very rich in cattle, particularly in camels; whom they sell to the Russians, who travel towards China.

In eight days after they arrived at Udinsky, a Russian fort, and were met a mile from the place by the commanding officer of the garrison, who treated them in the most hospitable manner. This fort is situated on a hill fortified in the Russian manner, and is considered as a place of great strength, and the chief bulwark of the province of Dauria; for although it has been often attacked by the Mongul Tartars, yet they have never been able to take it. In this place the ambassador and his retinue were obliged to remain three weeks, to provide themselves with camels and horses, and with such other necessaries as were wanting to conduct them over a great desert, through which they had to pass.

Having procured what they wanted, they entered the desert, on the 6th of April, with a caravan consisting of 250 men, some hundreds of camels and horses, 400 waggons; the camels carrying about 600, and the horses about 250 weight a piece. As the Mongul Tartars are generally abroad in large parties, those in the ambassadors retinue were obliged to be constantly upon their guard, and for that purpose when they pitched their tents at night, it was done in a circular form, that centinals might be the more conveniently placed round it, at a proper distance from each other, to give the alarm to the others if there should happen to be any necessity for it. This precaution having put it beyond the probability of the Tartars doing them any harm, they soon found themselves molested in a manner they little expected. The Mongul Tartars being well acquainted with the nature of the country, set fire to the grass, in order to prevent them from procuring provisions for their cattle. Several of their horses and camels died for want of subsistence, which was very agreeable to the Tongueffes, a certain horde of Tartars, who inhabit that desert, and live chiefly on horses flesh, as the most delicious food in the world. These Tongueffes, whom the Russians call their subjects, know little or nothing of any civil government whatever. They burn the bodies of their dead with all their moveables along with them, and if any of them become decrepped before they die, they burn them upon a high mountain, and impale their horses beside them. Having crossed the desert, they came to the city of Nerkinskoy, seated on the banks of the river Nestza, where there is a colony of 600 Tongueffes, settled by Peter the Great, and they have fortified the place against the Mongul Tartars. In this city the ambassador was obliged to remain two months, in order to procure carriages and horses, having lost a great number in crossing the desert. Besides the guard they had already with them, they were allowed 50 Cossacks, who were to conduct them into China, and escort them again into the Russian territories.

Leaving Nerkinskoy with part of the caravan, they reached the same night the Schilaka, which they ferried over, but as this was their general rendezvous, they were obliged to wait three days, till the rest of the caravan came up.

At last they arrived, being in all about 600, and every one having had his share of bread, beef, and venison, they proceeded on their journey, for three days together, through a vast boggy forest, and three days more through a dry barren desert, and two days more through another desert, which brought them to the river Samur, where they pitched their tents, of which they had no more than 50, the road having been so bad that many of their camels were not able to travel. Here they refreshed themselves, and setting out for the city of Arguin, where they arrived in ten days after, but very much fatigued. Near this city is a river, from which it takes its name, and the stream is so rapid, that it was four days before the whole caravan could pass it. This river is in some parts the boundaries between the two empires

pires of China and Russia, for the city of Arguin is the last frontier of the province of Dauria, subject to the jurisdiction of the Russians.

As the Mongul Tartars are always roving abroad for booty, the ambassadors caravan was obliged to keep a watchful eye wherever they went, but as those Tartars are for the most part, pusillanimous cowards, they were not much afraid of them. The ambassador dispatched twenty of his Cossacks to the town of Naun, on the frontiers of China, in order to know in what manner he was to be received, but they could not proceed in less than four days, because the rivers were so much swelled, that they had overflowed their banks, and rendered it dangerous for those Cossacks to attempt passing them, although they are seldom afraid of the most threatening dangers.

About ten days afterwards the Cossacks, with the messengers that had been sent to the city of Naun, returned and brought advice to the ambassador, that there was a person of rank come from Peking, to meet him and receive him with the honours due to his rank. While they were waiting for the return of these messengers, a Russian convoy came up, consisting of 300 camels. They were returning from China, where they had been to purchase goods, and to dispose of the commodities of their own country. They spent two days together, entertaining one another in the most friendly manner, for few things can be more pleasing, than for the natives of a country to meet each other in a foreign land.

These friends having parted, the ambassador with his retinue proceeded on his journey two days longer through many fruitful plains, and encamped near the source of the river Gull, which is another of the boundaries, between Asiatic Russia, and China. For several days after they travelled through the most delightful wood, the branches of the trees covering their heads. Here were likewise many filbert trees, and although not so high as those in Europe, yet they were so loaded with fruit, that they afforded an agreeable entertainment to those people in the caravan, while the camels and horses were refreshed by the sweet grass, that grew along the sides of the paths. At last they were received by the Chinese messengers from the emperor; but of this we must treat afterwards, in our account of the different travels into that extensive empire.

Those other parts of Asiatic Russia, which we have not yet described, are such as lay near the borders of Persia, along the banks of the Wolga. The first place deserving our notice, is the isle of Dolgoi, which is all sandy and barren, producing nothing for the support of human life, except what is brought forth by the severest industry of the inhabitants, in their gardens, and in some small spots of ground. The continent on the right hand is no less barren, but on the left, towards the river Jaika, are some very good pastures. On this side the Wolga is a very long heath, extending seventy German leagues to the Euxine sea, and another extending eighty leagues to the Caspian sea, the last of which generally takes up two weeks to travel over it. The only thing these barren heaths produce, is salt, of which there are many valuable pits, and it is a useful article of commerce, for the Russians in their dealings with the eastern Tartars, who purchase large quantities of it for the preservation of their fish, upon which they live great part of the winter.

This salt is baked by the heat of the sun, which leaves it to swim upon the surface of the water of about half an inch thick, much in the form of rock crystal, and in such prodigious quantities, that for the value of a halfpenny, one may be permitted to take up of it about forty pounds weight, one crust being no sooner taken off, but another comes up. This salt is much esteemed, but we do not find that any of it is sent into Europe, because it answers the end of the merchants to a better purpose to send it

among the Tartars, who pay them for it in the commodities of their own countries.

The Wolga between Astracan and the Caspian sea abounds so much with fish, that the gentlemen in the retinue of the ambassadors from the duke of Holstien, bought twelve large carp for two-pence, and 200 young sturgeons for half a crown; lobsters are here in infinite numbers, because the Muscovites and Tartars do not eat of them. The numerous isles in the river afford a great variety of wild-fowl, especially wild geese, and wild ducks, which the Tartars hunt with falcons and hawks; and in the breeding of these birds, the Tartars are very ingenious. These Tartars are very much addicted to the hunting the wild boar, and because their religion does not permit them to eat it, they sell it to the Muscovites.

The fruits here are much inferior to those which grow in Persia, but some of them are much eaten, particularly a sort of melons, called Arpus by the Tartars, because they are of a cooling nature. The seeds from which they grow were first brought from the Indies, and the fruit is pleasant both to the sight, and the taste: the rind being of a lively green colour, the meat of a pale carnation, and the seed black, and yet for all that, they are sold as cheap as the worst of our apples.

Grapes were but lately introduced here by means of some Persian merchants who brought the first samples of them to Astracan, and being sold to an old monk, who happened to be there on a visit, he carried them home to his convent, and planted them in his garden. Peter the Great, having tasted some of these grapes, ordered the monk to propagate them with unremitting industry, which he did so effectually, that some years ago when the Holstien ambassadors visited the place, no house was without its walks or arbours of vines. This turned so much to the advantage of the inhabitants, that the landlord where the ambassadors lodged, told them, that the year before, the vines about his house had yielded him one hundred crowns, and that some of the vines in small gardens had yielded no less than sixty pipes of excellent wine.

This monk, whose name will ever be treated with respect in the country, was born in Austria, in Germany, and being taken prisoner by the Tartars, was sold to those Muscovite Tartars, and by them to the Muscovites. Having embraced the religion of the Greeks, he turned monk, and became the superior of a convent. He lived to a great age, and was much esteemed and respected by all who knew him. And when any strangers came to visit him, he treated them with all that his convent could afford, and with such pleasure as none but the virtuous feel.

The Tartars of Nagalia, near the Wolga, were formerly governed by their own princes, till they were conquered by the Muscovites, about the year 1554, and now there are so many Muscovites among them, that they begin to live on amicable terms, many of the Tartars having embraced the religion of the Greek church. These Tartars are much more refined in their manners, and less ferocious than those we have mentioned inhabiting near the borders of China; but they still retain many of their ancient customs, such as eating the flesh of horses, and drinking the blood of those animals when they are taken sick. When they go out to war, they are all mounted on horse-back, and when they come to a deep river that cannot be forded, they dismount in an instant, and plunging themselves into the water with their horses bridles in their hands, swim across with as much ease as if they were marching on land.

In all that part of Tartary which lays south of Astracan along the banks of the Wolga, the people in winter assemble in troops together, and lodge at a proper distance from each other, that they may be in a condition to assist each other against the Calmucs, who in that season generally pay them a visit to rob them of every thing they can carry away. For this reason the Russians furnish them with arms and ammunition.

ammunition to oppose the common enemy. This is the more necessary, because if they had not arms, they would be in danger of being murdered, and robbed of all they have in the world; and the Calmucs are obliged to return soon from their expeditions, lest a thaw should take place, and then their journey would subject them to be attacked by those whom they came to rob. The Tartars along the banks of the Wolga, who acknowledge the Russians to be their masters, are obliged to furnish the empress, or the sovereign for the time being, with a certain number of troops, and this they are to do whether he is attacked in his own dominions, or makes war upon those of any other prince. It is true, they have provinces of their own; but in order to secure their allegiance to the Russians, they are obliged to give up hostages, who for the most part are kept confined in the castle of Astracan, where they are treated in a princely manner, in order that, when they are exchanged in the room of others, they may carry home with them a favourable report to their own country. This is attended with another advantage; for as many of these hostages are induced to embrace the Greek religion, so when they return home, it is no difficult matter for them to make converts among their countrymen, and this is perhaps one of the wisest maxims in the Russian government.

The Crim Tartars are generally low of stature, inclining to fat, with large faces and little eyes. They are of an olive colour, and the men have wrinkles, with short beards, and their heads shaven. The men wear a garment of coarse cloth, with a mantle of sheep-skin over it, having the woolly side outward, and a cap of the same materials. The women are tolerable in their shapes, and they most commonly wear a robe of coarse linen cloth, with a coif on their heads, round about which hang a great number of the smallest sorts of Russian coins.

The secretary to the Holstein ambassador says, that while he was there, he did all he could in order to find out their manners and customs.

“They have a custom (says he) of devoting their children to that god, or idol, who is the object of their worship: and if the child is a girl, she is distinguished from others by a ring with a ruby, hanging from her nostrils; but if a boy, he wears it in his right ear. It is not unnecessary to observe, that this custom prevails in many other parts of the world, particularly in Persia.

“They live upon what their cattle, their hawking, and fishing supplies them with, and their cattle are exceedingly large. Their sheep have large fat tails, with flat noses, and hanging ears like our spaniels. Their horses are small, but capable of undertaking any fatigue; and their camels have two hunches on their backs, which seems to be peculiar to this country and Persia; for we did not see any of the same shape in the other parts which we visited. We made particular enquiries into their manner of living, and we found that it was mostly on fish, dried in the sun, which they use instead of bread, though the better and more opulent sometimes make cakes of meal, rice, and millet, and fry them in oil or honey. They eat the flesh of camels and horses, and they drink either water or mare's milk; but the latter is the most esteemed, and they treated us with it as a mark of respect.”

As we proceeded towards the Caspian sea, we had frequently occasion to stop for provisions; and no sooner did we stop for that purpose, than some of the Tartarian princes came to visit us, and presented us with all such necessaries as their country could afford, such as melons, apples, apricots, peaches, and grapes, in exchange for which we presented them with distilled waters and sweet-meats. As we proceeded farther down the river, we met with still greater civilities, particularly one day, when we were in want of provisions, we were obliged to send our shallop on shore, to try whether the natives would let us have any of those things we were in need of, but this they

could not do without permission from their prince. Accordingly we made application to him, and he came on board our vessel, attended by forty domestics, and having along with him another prince, who seemed to be his relation. The first was a tall, comely looking man, who seemed about twenty-eight years of age, of a fine complexion, and merry disposition, being richly clothed after the fashion of the Muscovites.

We received them with sound of trumpets, under the discharge of three pieces of cannon, and after a stay of two hours in the ambassador's apartment, and viewing our vessel, he was reconducted on shore; for although we had prepared a collation for him, yet he politely refused to eat any of it; but with the utmost condescension ordered his people to bring us what provisions we wanted. His presents consisted of rice, millet, and several sorts of dried fruits, with twenty fitches of bacon, and a great number of large fishes dried in the smoak, a barrel of beer, and two or three barrels of mead.

Next day the Tartarian prince desired the ambassador would honour him with a visit; and accordingly we rowed our boat to the shore, and were received by him in the most polite manner.

We were conducted to an apartment prepared for us without the city, where we were met by the prince, who attended us to an apartment richly hung with tapestry, which is common in that country, because they purchase it from the Persians. There was a noble collation of fruits prepared for us, and we were served with wines, beer, mead, and spirituous liquors resembling what the Europeans call Geneva. The prince in the most humble posture drank the health of the Czar; and such was the respect he had entertained for him, that he would not put on his cap till he had drank to all his pages. Here it was that we met with the Muscovite ambassador, or rather deputy; for although he is called an ambassador, yet he enjoys a power superior to that name. His business is to enquire into the public revenues, that he may send an account thereof to Peterburgh, and according to his account of the state of affairs in the province, the taxes are regulated. He does not exact the tribute himself, but another person of an inferior rank is sent to do it, who acts much in the same manner as the Roman quæstors, although with much less power.

This Russian ambassador entertained us in the most sumptuous manner, for he was a man of experience, who had been formerly on several embassies into Persia, so that he had acquired a very considerable knowledge of the world, and was respected by all those who knew him. After the entertainment was over, we wanted to take a view of the habitations of the Tartars without the city, but the Muscovite guards would not permit us, it being contrary to their orders, nor could the ambassador from that court comply with our request, unless he would have gone beyond the line of his duty.

A few days afterwards, the Russian ambassador came on board our vessel, to pay us a visit, and we treated him as magnificently as we could, consistent with our circumstances, being then far from home, in a strange country, and depending for subsistence upon people whom we imagined to be savages, although we found them quite otherwise. This ambassador was about fifty years of age, had a most graceful appearance, and was well acquainted with the Latin language, the mathematics, and several other sciences; and what was still more to his honour, he had, during his embassy, at his leisure hours, begun making daily progress in every thing that could enlarge his mind in human knowledge. He was so well acquainted with astronomy, that he could at any time calculate an eclipse, and take the elevation of the pole while he stood in the fields, or in the streets, to the no small surprise of such of his countrymen as attended him.

Proceeding still farther down the Wolga, we

came to the territories of a prince who was nominally subject to the Russians; but paid little regard to their government. He entertained us with much civility, and conducted us to the places where the Tartars have their houses, that we might be able to form some notion of them; for he told us that we had been misinformed with respect to many particulars concerning them. To this we answered, that it was not much to be wondered at that we should be misinformed; because there being so many nations of Tartars, we sometimes considered them all as one and the same; in consequence of the imperfect accounts that had been transmitted to us; but we were glad to find ourselves mistaken, and for the future would be cautious how we drew our conclusions.

Here it was that we first observed that they did not thresh their corn as we do in Europe, but trod it out by oxen and horses; nor did we meet with a hut so mean but it had its hawk and falcon. In our return we met with one of their deputy princes, who came with his hawk in his hand, as did all the rest of his retinue. He complimented the ambassadors in the politest manner, telling them, that he was sorry he had not an opportunity of waiting on them at home, that he might have treated them according to their rank.

The next place we came to was a Russian or Greek chapel, and near it was a village, which the natives call Zuanzuk, a place where vast numbers of fish are taken, and here the Wolga is divided into many channels, which form so many islands, all covered with bushes, canes, and ozers, as indeed is the greatest part of the coasts of the Caspian sea. Among the rest of these islands, there is one of considerable bigness, on which there is a house pretty high, having on the top a pole, with the skull of a sheep fixed to the summit of it. They assured us that this was the sepulchre of a Tartarian saint; and that the inhabitants who pass that way, kill a sheep, part of which is offered up in sacrifice, the remainder they feast on, and the head is fixed on a pole, where it remains till it falls off, and then another is put up in its room, and this is the reason why the Muscovites call this place, The Tartar's Sacrifice. In the same island are a vast number of huts, where the fishermen reside free from the noise of a tumultuous world, for if their enjoyments are small, their desires are few, and they are utterly unacquainted with luxury.

At night we came within sight of another fishing place, fenced in, and guarded by about a hundred Russian soldiers, where we saw a great many dog-fish, or sea-hounds, and a kind of fowl, called by Pliny *onocratus*, with long beaks, round and flat at the end like a spoon beaten out, having taken its name from the noise it makes like an anvil, by putting its beak into the water. We also discovered a vast number of creatures as large as wild geese, larger than swans; their bills about a foot and a half long, two fingers broad, and forked at the ends. They have under their bills a bag of skin, which they can contract or extend as they please, and it will contain three gallons of liquor, and this they use as a preservative for the fish they take till they can swallow them. We shot one of them, and it measured two ells and a half between the extremities of the wings, and seven feet from the head to the feet. We also saw a kind of wild ducks much larger than those in Europe, and as black as crows, with forked bills, and their feathers as hard as those of crows. The Russians call them *braclun*, and they never appear but in the night, when they make a most horrid noise.

When we arrived at the mouth of the Wolga, we found it full of small islands covered with reeds and canes, and these islands extend six leagues into the sea, which has given rise to a proverbial expression among the natives, "That the Wolga has six mouths." With respect to ourselves, we found we had many difficulties to encounter, for the bottom was all muddy, with shallow water not above four or five feet deep; so that in seven days we did not advance

above four leagues. One day we stuck upon a sand bank near one of these islands, and after fatiguing ourselves several hours in getting off, we came into six feet of water; but soon found it was only a pit, surrounded on all sides with sands; and the wind changing about, brought us in three feet water, so that we soon found ourselves fixed in the mud.

We unloaded our goods into the Tartar's boats, and tried day and night to get her out; but in vain, there being no hopes of relief till the return of the water, which could not be expected without the change of the weather. In four days after, perceiving the waters to have increased five feet, we began to entertain some hopes of being extricated out of our difficulties; and the next day a tempest raised the water to nine feet, and we might have got into the sea had not the violence of the winds prevented us. Our Russian pilot was extremely ignorant, and all the maps we had along with us were false, so that we found it necessary to address ourselves to the colonel of the soldiers who did duty there, to procure us a pilot, to conduct us to the Caspian Sea.

This gentleman, who was a native of Moscow, came on board our vessel, and we having treated him in the best manner we could, he promised to send us a pilot, but no sooner was he gone, than he set sail in a vessel of his own, and left us to reflect on our credulity. We met with this fellow after our arrival at Terki; and when we upbraided him with his insolence and perfidy, he only laughed at it; nay, he had even the impudence to tell us, It was a fine matter to talk of.

In the mean time being reduced to such straits, we resolved to apply to the master of a Persian vessel, a man of some knowledge in navigation, far beyond most of his countrymen. No sooner had he heard our request, than he came on board our ship; and at eleven at night ordered the anchor to be weighed, so that we soon found ourselves in eighteen feet water, and continued sailing along the coast till next morning, when, to our inexpressible pleasure, we beheld the trees waving over the sea.

Having escaped from these dangers, we discovered the country of Circassia, which extending along the coast, forms a spacious bay, in the form of a crescent. We did all we could to get round the point of the Gulph; but the wind veering about, had infallibly forced us into it, had we not cast anchor at the entrance. About twenty fishermen, who came to sell us some fish, put us in much fear, because we believed they were Cossacks; but coming nearer, we discovered who they were, and bought plenty of provisions of them. The fish they sold us were large; and what was very remarkable, most of them had lobsters in their bellies. The remainder of the day was spent in giving God Almighty thanks for his gracious goodness to us, in preserving us from such imminent dangers, and in the mean time our Persian pilot not only sent a proper person to direct us, but likewise a boat as a guide.

Next day a thick mist surrounded us, so that we were obliged to lay at anchor till morning, when, after much fatigue, we weathered the point, and cast anchor about a quarter of a league from the shore. We were told that the Cossacks had a design of attacking us the night before, near the point where we had been reduced to so many difficulties; but missing us, they had the insolence, upon their return, to attack those Tartarian princes who had treated us with so much civility. In this, however, they found themselves doubly mistaken, for the Tartars fired upon them, and killed several, upon which, they begged for mercy, telling them that it was only the Germans whom they wanted to rob; which circumstance serves to shew, "That idleness will always stimulate people to acts of the greatest injustice."

A rumour that the Cossacks were in the neighbourhood, had been spread the same morning in the city of Terki, and the noise of our great guns having increased their fears, because they knew that their

prince

prince Muffalto was there, occasioned a great alarm in the place, which was however quickly appeased, when the prince and his fleet soon after came into the road, and giving a salute with their fire arms, invited us to honour them with a visit, at the house of his mother. But here we must stop, to give some account of the city of Terki.

This antient city is situated about two miles from the shore, upon a small river called Temenski, a branch of the great River Buströ, and facilitates a communication between the sea and the city, which has no other avenues by land, being surrounded with trees for a quarter of a league round.

The situation is low, and all the houses, as well as the ramparts, were formerly built of wood; but Peter the Great ordered a rampart of earth to be thrown up, and several other fortifications to be raised. There is a large garrison constantly kept in this city, and a battalion of them attends the Tartarian prince.

Circassia is a very antient kingdom, and although now subject to the Russians, yet they still enjoy their own religion, and in general are governed by their own laws. The men are strong limbed, and of a tawny complexion, but in general not so broad-faced as those Tartars we have already mentioned. They wear long black hair, but shave the middle of their heads from the forehead to the neck, but not above the breadth of an inch, leaving a lock just at the crown, which falls down behind, and makes them appear frightful to strangers.

Several authors have represented them as extremely barbarous, and probably that was the case formerly; but it is not so at present, for ever since they became subject to the Russians, they have been making daily improvements in politeness, as far as is consistent with the state of the country and the form of government. Besides their own language, which is that of the Tartars, many of them, particularly those in offices, speak the Russian, which is much esteemed among them. In their dress they resemble the other Tartars who inhabit those parts; only that their cloaks are somewhat longer, and fastened to the neck with a string; but as they do not cover the whole body, so they turn them according to the weather. Their women have good shapes, amiable countenances, and fresh complexions. They wear no veils, and their locks hang down in tresses on both sides. They wear black coifs upon their heads, and cover them with a piece of fine calico or linen cloth tied under the chin. In the summer the women wear scarce any thing but a shift, which is either green, yellow, or blue, and they are cut so deep before, as to betray a large share of immodesty.

Widows are distinguished from the others, by having the bladder of an ox full blown, and covered with calico, or any other sort of stuff, hanging from their necks. Their women in general treated us with much familiarity, taking particular notice of our cloaths; and not in the least offended, when some of our servants, proceeding from one familiarity to another, would often thrust their hands into their bosoms.

Some of them invited us to their huts, and told us that it was the custom of the country, when strangers came to visit the women, for the husbands to go abroad into the fields. They have, notwithstanding all this, the reputation of being very virtuous; and one day an officer in our retinue, having got into a familiar acquaintance with one of them, who was very handsome, having an opportunity to make trial of her chastity, found her deaf to all his intreaties; but at the same time was not displeased; when he told her it was common enough in his own country, she said, she would shew him all the kindness in her power consistent with modesty and decency, but further she would not go.

Polygamy, or a plurality of wives, is allowed among them, and they may marry as many as they please, so as they can maintain them, but in general

they are contented with one. If a man dies without issue, his brother, if unmarried, must espouse the widow; and this practice being one of the maxims of the Jewish law, there is reason to believe that these Circassians learned it from those people, while they were captives in Persia. Some of them are Mahometans, others are Christians; their rites consisting of a mixture of Jewish, Popish, and Greek ceremonies. The heathens, however, are the most numerous, and some of their ceremonies differ from those of the Tartars. Thus, when a person of any note dies, the relations of both sexes appoint a meeting in the fields, to perform the sacrifice, which is a he goat, that creature being considered as most proper to make an atonement for sin.

The first thing they do, is to try whether the goat is fit for the sacrifice; and for this purpose, they cut off his testicles, and throw them against a wall. If they stick there, they slay the goat; and stretch the skin upon a long pole, before which they offer the sacrifice; the flesh is both boiled and roasted, after which, it is eaten. After the feast, the men pay their devotions to the skin; which done, the women are sent home, and the men conclude the day with drinking spirituous liquors to such an excess, that they appear rather like beasts than human creatures, and seldom part without blows. The skin of the goat remains fixed on the pole till another person of quality dies, for these sacrifices are not for the ordinary ranks of people. We saw one of these skins near Terki, upon a black cross, with the head and horns on it; it was fixed in the middle of a quick-set hedge, to keep the dogs and cattle from profaning it.

In burying the bodies of the deceased, they use a great number of ceremonies, persons of quality having houses built over their tombs; and to express their grief for the loss of their departed friends, they scratch their foreheads, arms and breasts, till the blood flows plentifully; and so far do they carry this ridiculous part of their superstition, that they tear open their wounds, and make them bleed afresh.

So far as we can learn, there is little or no mention made of the Circassian Tartars in antient history, and equally as little by modern authors; Scaliger makes mention of them in very few words, and calls them by the name of Ziga; as Strabo, the famous geographer, did of old; and he assigns their habitations beyond Mount Caucasus, upon the Euxine Sea, near the Palus Mæotis, betwixt Asia and Europe.

In this however, they are mistaken; for those Circassians mentioned by our learned traveller are descended from the antient Scythians, inhabiting part of Albania, being inclosed on the east and west by the Caspian Sea, by Mount Caucasus to the south, and the vast mountains of Astracan to the north. Our traveller proceeds to describe several other curious particulars:

“In the neighbourhood of Terki, we saw several creatures of the bigness of a man’s arm, and six feet in length, sporting themselves in the heat of the sun, and the place is pestered with a species of creatures called jerbuah, or field mice. They are mostly of the size of a squirrel, and not unlike it in shape, only that they are more inclining to black, with heads like rats, long ears, and the fore feet shorter than the hindmost, which makes them unfit for running, but they will leap five or six feet high from the ground, with their tails laid over their backs, which are long without hair. They are in great numbers, not only in Tartarian Circassia, but all the way along as far as Babylon, and many of the people eat them.

“If they get into the houses, they will carry every thing they can along with them to their nests, and they will even take money, as happened to a Persian, the father of one Ackwerdi, who was my servant. He had long missed some money, and although there were no thieves that any one knew of, or suspected in the place, yet his pockets were picked almost every night. He told this to our landlord, who desired him

to search the nest of one of these creatures, and there he found more than he had lost."

Having seen every thing worth notice in Terki, we prepared to continue our journey, and bargained with our inn-keeper to furnish us with waggons at a crown each, with two horses, to carry us through the desert, which was about seventy leagues, between this place and Astracan. We were joined by as many Persian, Turkish, Greek, and Russian merchants, that we had in all about two hundred waggons, each carrying three or four persons, so that we amounted to about seven hundred and fifty. Our provisions for such a journey were as scanty as can well be imagined, each of us had a few pounds of hard biscuit, a mouldy loaf of bread, and the half of a dried salmon for his portion. We had no water, because Baron Brugman, one of the ambassadors, would not consent to hire a waggon to carry it, and most of us did not urge the matter, although we had reason afterwards to repent of this part of our conduct.

We had only left Terki a few hours when we came in sight of the dreadful desert, our journey being along the east of the Caspian sea. It was no small matter of surprise to us not to see a city, town, village, house, or even a tree, for eleven days; nay, not so much as a bird, or a river, except the Kifibar; the whole was one vast sandy plain, which here and there produced a little grass, and some standing pools of salt, with a little corrupted muddy water; near one of which pools, we took up our lodgings, on the 11th night, having made no more than two leagues a day. On the 13th day we travelled through fenny grounds, that were scarce passable, and were much afflicted with heat, thirst, gnats, wasps, and other insects, especially the camels, who having no tails, could not defend themselves against them so well as the horses.

On the 14th day we made four leagues in the forenoon, and after having refreshed our beasts, we made four more in the afternoon; and in the evening, the Tartars, who were along with us, roasted one of their horses, which they had killed, because it was likely to die, and they seemed to eat it with much pleasure. On the fifteenth we travelled seven leagues, and encamped near a standing pool, made by the overflowing of the sea, but the water was so much corrupted, that we could not drink it without holding our nostrils. On the sixteenth we travelled seven leagues farther, and had the good fortune to encamp near a small brook of fresh water, near the banks of the sea.

On the seventeenth, we travelled eight leagues, and encamped near a pool of fresh water, formed by the Wolga, but the taste was so nauseous, that few of us could drink it. This day some of our Tartars having been in pursuit of wild boars, killed several of them, and brought them to us in the evening. In this place we found an eagle's nest, with two young ones not quite fledged, which we considered as a very great curiosity. On the eighteenth day we travelled eight leagues, and pitched our tents within sight of Astracan; and the next day we came to the banks of the Wolga, just opposite to that city. It was surprising to see some of our people who had not tasted fresh water from the time they left Terki, running into the river to quench their thirst. We were no sooner arrived here than some of our friends came from Astracan, and brought us fresh provisions, which were received by us with a hearty welcome, and we continued encamped till we could learn whether the governor would provide us lodgings.

Having obtained permission of the governor, we crossed the river, and had lodgings assigned us in a long stone-house without the city, near the river side, where we were furnished with plenty of provisions, sent us by the duke of Holstein's resident. The ambassador, for reasons we were not then acquainted with, ordered all the baggage to be put into one room, which was done accordingly; which so exasperated some of our retinue, that they burst open the doors, and took away the chests, in spite of the

centinel who was to guard it. The governor of Astracan treated us with the utmost politeness, and sent us beef and mutton, with all sorts of poultry that the country afforded, together with beer and other liquors, in recompence for a present we had made him.

About this time, a misunderstanding took place between our two ambassadors, in consequence of Baron Brugman being apprehensive of being called to an account for his conduct, for during the whole of our journey, he had treated us in a very indifferent manner. He became morose and sulky at table, and would scarce speak to any of us, and often broke out into injurious and offensive expressions. This happened in a remarkable manner one day, after dinner; for not content with quarrelling with his domestics, he broke out into the most abusive language against me, whom he wanted to charge with the whole of his misconduct. I said a few words in my own vindication; but this, instead of allaying the heat of his passion, enraged him so much, that he laid hold of a knife, and would certainly have stabbed me, had I not risen from table and left the room. He treated the chaplain of the embassy with so much cruelty, that he was often in want of the necessaries of life; and one day, while he was administering the sacrament, the Russian governor took notice that he had nothing under his cassock but a pair of drawers. The governor ordered cloaths to be made for the poor minister; but although he was in such want of them, yet he durst not accept of them, lest Brugman should have treated him with still greater severity. This Russian governor did all he could to soften the temper of Brugman, but all to no purpose, for he continued to increase in his severity every day, and even laid a plan for ruining his colleague. Nor did the Russian governor, who had treated us with so much tenderness, escape his censure, for he even wrote to the emperor concerning him, accusing him with things he had never been guilty of; which had such an effect upon the poor gentleman, that he poisoned himself.

While we remained at Astracan, a German, whose name was Andrew Reufner, provided with letters of recommendation from the duke of Holstein to the king of Persia, came in a caravan from Moscow to Astracan, where in a little time he entered into so strict a friendship with Brugman, that he relinquished his design of going to Persia, and engaged to return with the ambassador to Holstein. We had an opportunity while we were at Astracan of seeing a public festival, which is observed annually in memory of the Russians having taken the place, which was on the first of August, 1554. Mass was said in the morning, then the great guns of the castle were fired off, and the evening was concluded with much drunkenness and debauchery. Several persons were killed; for such is the licentious disposition of these Russians, that they will intoxicate themselves, and then fight like so many wild beasts.

A Muscovite caravan, consisting of two hundred persons, went by land from this place to Moscow, which induced Andrew Reufner to embrace that opportunity for his departure. Some of our retinue were also sent at the same time, and every thing was got ready for our departure, it being the ambassador's design that we should go by water to Casan. A few days before the time fixed for our departure, some Russian Tartars brought to the ambassadors two young girls, one of ten, and one of seven years old, whom they proposed to sell. The first was the daughter of a Tartar of Frecos, taken by the Cossacks, when they took possession of Azoph, a place of considerable strength, situated near the mouth of the river Don. The young one of seven years old had been stolen from a village not far from Astracan, and the wretches had put her into a bag, like a pig. She had on her cheeks two large marks, to be known by her parents, from which circumstance, two things are to be learned; first, that the practice of stealing children is common in that country; and secondly, that

that however barbarous people may be in their manners, yet a lover of their offspring is to be found throughout the whole human race. The ambassador Brugman purchased both the girls, the eldest for twenty-five, and the youngest for sixteen crowns, and after his return to Holstein, he presented them to the duchess, who had them instructed in the Christian religion, and baptized.

Much about the same time the Persian ambassador, a man of seventy years of age, bought a wife for 120 crowns. This Persian ambassador was a man of a fine appearance, and a vigorous constitution, owing, as he told us, to his living chiefly on hemp-seed, baked in the embers. The lady he purchased was the daughter of a Tartarian prince; and one of our interpreters, nearly related to her, had embraced the Christian religion. His sister endeavoured to persuade him to go with her to Persia, but nothing could prevail with him; and being afraid lest he should be trepanned and taken away, he seldom went out of the ambassador's apartments. In the mean time the Persian ambassador received orders to visit the duke of Holstein, and therefore it was proposed that we should all set out together in boats on the Wolga.

Such is the present state of that vast extensive country in Asia, subject to the Russians, or at least pretended to be so; for, as we have already taken notice, the Tartars in most parts of the Russian empire look upon themselves as free, although for their own interest they sometimes submit to the name of vassals. And now the grand question before us is, "Is it consistent with sound policy in the Russian government to attempt the cultivation of one part of the empire, and pay no more regard to the other than just to consider the inhabitants as beasts of burden?"

A proper answer to this question is of much importance to the inhabitants of those European nations who are continually seeking to extend their conquests over savage nations, without considering whether it will ever be of any service to them. It would be happy for us in the present case if we could draw a parallel line between the Roman empire and that of Russia; but this cannot be done, the circumstances being in many respects different; to which may be added, "We know what Rome was, but we know not what Russia will be."

The Romans were at first a band of robbers, but having formed themselves into some sort of society, they gradually, from time to time, subdued the inhabitants who lived in the villages around them, till at last they laid the foundation of a city, which has for many ages been the admiration of the world. When Rome was built, the territories of the Romans did not exceed in extent one of our English counties, nay, it was less than some of them; but the love of power, so peculiar to the human mind, surmounted all difficulties, and most of Italy soon became subject to them. From Italy they extended their conquests into Gaul, now called France; into Iberia, now called Spain; into Africa, part of which they subdued; into all the known parts of Asia, and Greece submitted to their victorious arms. But of that grandeur there remains nothing at present but the name.

Had we been as well acquainted with the origin of the Russians, as we are with that of the Romans, many rational conjectures might have been formed; but as they have no writings to throw any light upon the actions of their predecessors, we are obliged to sit down contented with what has been transmitted to us by travellers, without having recourse to antient writings. It is common to consider all nations as emerging from a state of obscurity, and doubtless Russia did so; for it was formerly divided into many principalities, although at present it bears one general name. Their extending their conquests into Asia, was partly from motives of self preservation, and partly from the love of power.

The Tartars invaded them so often, and drove away their cattle, that it was found necessary to make re-

prisals. This happened in early times, when the Russians were little better than savages, and utterly unacquainted with commerce; but as circumstances have taken a different turn, different objects should be kept in view. Every man of common experience will grant, that it is more for the interest of a prince to be the sovereign of a small country well cultivated, and its inhabitants civilized, than to have the vain empty name of being the lord of barren deserts inhabited by savages. This will in every respect apply to Russia, and to all those other nations in the world, where there are more inhabitants than the civil power can take notice of. And here we would suggest a few thoughts that have often occurred to us in the perusal of the history of different nations in the world.

The conduct of Peter the Great, in attempting to civilize his subjects, was truly laudable, and his endeavours to extend commerce gave a proof of his good sense; but, like most other human beings, he had his weak side. One grand object he had in view, was, to equal any of the European princes in glory, to become a mediator in all quarrels amongst them, and in war to take part with those whose cause he espoused from motives of policy. This part of his conduct is not mentioned merely on account of its being blameable, but to point out that he attached himself too much to it; because by pursuing it with unwearied assiduity, he neglected the interior parts of his empire. This might have been rectified, and his errors amended, had his predecessors adopted the following plan; and carried it into execution with perseverance.

Had the successors of Peter continued to extend the cultivation of the Empire, in the manner it was begun at St. Petersburg, they might before this time have carried it on as far as Moscow, which is an extent of territory reaching six hundred miles in length. To have effected this valuable scheme, it would have been proper for the sovereign to have given every sort of encouragement to husbandmen. This is not yet too late; and until it is put in practice, little good can be expected in Russia, either from commerce or conquests. Let the government consider the peasants as the most useful members of society, and bestow upon them lands in proportion to their ability to cultivate them. This would carry civilization to a great height; for men become in love with the spot of ground they have cultivated, and, where they have brought up their children. It would prevent them from roving about in idleness, and their neighbours next to them in situation would cheerfully copy their example. It is true, this would be the work of time, but if once begun, perhaps a single generation might see it accomplished. As Mr. Pope says of refined self-love, it would gradually extend itself to all the provinces of the empire.

Another thing to be attended to is, that along with encouragement given to the cultivation of the lands, the same care should be taken to improve the minds of the rising generation; knowledge expels barbarity, as light swallows up darkness.

It is said of the present Empress, that she gives every sort of encouragement to the liberal arts and useful sciences; but it is much to be feared, that her benevolence is confined to such sorts of learning as can only be of service to her military and naval officers. This conveys a most unnatural idea to the mind, for it is like beginning a structure where it should end.

To give encouragement to the liberal arts and sciences, is laudable in every country; and the neglect of this, is what has kept the Turks so many years in a state of ignorance; but to disregard the improvement of the minds of the vulgar, is like a father who having twenty sons, suffers nineteen of them to continue in ignorance.

It is of little service for the Empress to say, that she has academies, which she supports at her own expence, while the greatest part of her subjects remain in a state of profound ignorance. It would be much to her honour to have schools established in the province of Livonia, at her own expence, and this she

could the more easily do, because she is under no restriction with respect to the uses to be made of the public money: it would be a noble and generous exertion of her regal authority, and serve to point out that even absolute power, when employed in a proper manner, might be of service to mankind. The general objection to be made against what is here laid down is, that sovereigns are discouraged from undertaking what they may never live to see accomplished; but this objection is no more than a silly excuse: with the same reason might a man say, I am afraid to begin building a house, or to undertake any thing whatever, because I may die before it is completed. It is our business, in whatever station we are in here below, either to begin something beneficial to ourselves, or to carry on that which has been already begun.

The Russians, by confining their attention to the provinces near Petersburg for some time, would be

of great service to the rest, especially those which lay more to the east; for it would stimulate the inhabitants to seek for the same useful arts to be established among themselves. There are many parts of Great Britain as barren and mountainous as many of the provinces of Russia, and yet who can say that we have a savage amongst us; nor was this the work of a day; it required time; and we may now safely say, that the poorest of our peasants are as civilized in their manners, as some of the chiefs in other nations. Upon the whole, it is probable that Russia will never make a very great figure, until learning is encouraged among the lower ranks of people. This, with agriculture, would civilize their manners, humanize their minds, lead them off from antient prejudices and superstitions, and might even, in the end, reach as far as those inhospitable deserts in Siberia, Tartary, and many other parts which we have already described.

TRAVELS IN CHINA, BY THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR, FATHER NAVARETTI, FATHER DUHALDE, FATHER LECOMPTE, &c.

THE vast Empire of China, of which we have no accounts in ancient history, is bounded on the north by the great wall which divides it from Western Tartary. On the west by Tibet and Ava; on the south by the Laos Tong-king, and the Chinese Sea, or Oriental ocean; and by the same ocean on the east. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the vast distance of China from us, and the sentiments of the people so opposite to ours, in politics as well as in religion, yet by the unwearied industry of the missionaries from the society of Jesuits, the dimensions have been well ascertained, and from them we are enabled to discover how it is situated. China lies between an hundred and fifteen and an hundred and eighty-one degrees of east longitude, and between twenty degrees twenty-five minutes of north latitude. It is in shape almost square, being in length, from south to north, about 1270 miles, and 1100 in breadth.

China is, by many travellers, reckoned the finest country in the world; being exceeding fertile, and the mountains are cultivated even to the tops. In many parts it produces two crops of rice annually, with all sorts of other grain, besides a variety of fruits and herbs. It abounds with horned cattle, sheep, and all sorts of game; and it has many fine rivers, stored with all sorts of fish. Its mountains yield mines of gold, silver, copper, and many other metals; and in every province there is plenty of coals.

The provinces of Pe-che-li, Kyang-nan, and Shang-tong, are in most parts flat, and cut into canals like Holland; but the northern provinces are more mountainous, being of great extent; the southern parts are hot, and those to the north cold, but in both the air is generally pure and wholesome. It exceeds all other nations or empires we know of, in the number of its inhabitants, cities and towns; and its temples, according to their mode of architecture, are the most magnificent in the world. Their laws are founded upon principles of morality, and their courts of justice are regulated with the strictest care.

The commerce of China, consists in gold, silver, precious stones, porcelain silks, cottons, spice, rhubarb, besides tea and many other articles. The trade of the provinces with each other is so great, that

the empire could very well exist without any commerce with Europeans. The Jesuit Lecompte tells us, that there are in China one thousand four hundred and seventy-two rivers and lakes, and upwards of two thousand remarkable mountains. Besides oranges, lemons, and citrons, which come from thence; there are the varnish tree, the tallow tree for candles; the iron wood, of which anchors are made; and here we find the musk deer, the man ape, the gold fish, very beautiful, and another fish called the Hay-song, very hideous.

The public works in China are extremely numerous, and some of them are curious, others stupendous, particularly the great wall already mentioned. According to the account which the Jesuits procured from the most learned men in China, this wall was built two hundred and fifty years before the incarnation of Christ, and it was done in order to prevent the inroads made by the Tartars.

It is in length one thousand seven hundred and seventy miles, about twenty-five feet high, and broad enough for six horses to travel abreast. The great canal extends three hundred leagues in length, quite through the empire, from Kanton to Peking. It was cut about four hundred years ago, and is constantly crowded with small vessels, carrying goods from one place to another. There are upwards of three hundred bridges on this celebrated canal, one thousand one hundred and fifty-nine towers and triumphal arches, erected in memory of great men; two hundred and seventy-two libraries, and above seven hundred halls; thirty-two palaces for the emperors, and thirteen thousand six hundred grand houses for the nobility and magistrates. All along the banks of the canal are vast numbers of fine gardens, laid out in the Chinese taste; and these are adorned with summer-houses, pleasant walks, and the most refreshing groves. In these the nobility, and people of high rank in office, divert themselves during the heat of summer, as the delicious fruits which grow in them serve to heighten their pleasures.

The cities in China are generally all built on the same plan, although many of them are different in grandeur. Where the ground will permit, they are square, surrounded with high walls and towers built at proper distances from each other, and they have ditches,

ditches, either wet or dry, according to the situation of the place. Within their cities they have temples, for the worship of their gods, with grand triumphal arches, in memory of such persons as have been of signal service to the state. Their streets and squares are broad and open, but few of the houses have any more than the ground floor, and none of them more than two. In these streets are their shops, and before the doors of each their goods are piled up so as to make a grand appearance. Before the door is a pedestal, with a board fixed upon it, either painted or gilded, with three characters, by way of a sign. On this board are painted the names of three or four sorts of goods, and underneath that of the shopkeeper himself, with the following words, *Pú hú*, that is, "he will not cheat you."

We shall not pretend to say whether the Chinese always act consistent with principles of honesty, but probably they do as much so as their neighbours, and it is certain that their laws are well calculated to promote such a salutary purpose. That which the Romans called the *lex talionis*, was long attended to in China, but at present it is in a great degree fallen to decay. Thus the murderer was put to death in the same manner as he had murdered the deceased; and a thief was sold as a slave, to make a recompence for the loss of the stolen goods. Of old, and even during the last century, the punishments they inflicted upon criminals were attended with circumstances of the most horrid barbarity; but whether by their connections with the Europeans, or by some other means, this much is certain, that the ferocity of their manners begin to wear off, and at present they are in many respects, more civilized than the Russians, only that they are still jealous of permitting strangers to settle among them. With respect to their titles of nobility, they are not hereditary in families; for although a son may, and frequently does succeed to his father's estate, yet he does not enjoy his honours, for these are bestowed upon other persons; for the emperor gives them away to whomsoever he pleases. Perhaps it would be much better if this was attended to in other nations; for by such a practice none could have reason to expect honours, but those whose merits entitled them to the enjoyment of them. This method makes the Chinese youth studious to tread in the same steps with their ancestors; and when they do so, the emperor generally restores them to their father's titles. All the princes of the blood royal enjoy titles, but they have no power annexed to them. Each of them is allowed a palace, with proper officers; and every thing becoming their rank; but although the people treat them with the greatest respect, yet they are not permitted to possess any place at court, either of honour or profit.

But notwithstanding all that has been said, the emperors of China are far from being backward in rewarding merit, even when they find instances of it in foreigners. In 1678, Father Verbiest, a Flemish jesuit, happened to be in China, and being well acquainted with every thing in astronomy, the emperor sent for him, and desired him to draw out tables of the celestial motions of the heavenly bodies, and calculations of eclipses for two thousand years backwards. This the jesuit completed in thirty-two volumes of maps, and presented them to his majesty, whose name was *Kang-hi*; and the emperor was so much pleased with them, that he caused them to be placed among the archives of the palace; and to reward the jesuit for his extraordinary ingenuity, he made him president of the college of astronomy, with the title of *Tau-sin*, which in English signifies, "Great Man:" such a title as this is seldom conferred, even on the most deserving of the natives; but when it is, it extends to all their kindred, even of the most remote degree of consanguinity.

Although Verbiest had no relations in China to enjoy this honour, yet all the missionaries passed for his brethren, and were considered under that title by the mandarins. This title of great man, gained

the Jesuits an easy admission into the court, and most of them had it inscribed on the doors of their houses. In every city in China, there are schools, with teachers to instruct the youth in the sciences, and the sons of people of fashion have tutors to attend them. In these seminaries of learning, the youth are instructed, first in the fundamental principles of their language; from that they proceed to hear lectures on morality, according to the doctrine of Confucius; and last of all, they are made acquainted with the laws of their country.

The employment of a school-master is counted honourable; and whenever the parents of the youth meet them, they give them the right hand, and say, *Syew-seng*, "Our master, our doctor:" and their pupils have the highest respect for them as long as they live, and generally make them valuable presents.

Although there are no universities in China as in Europe, yet every city of the first distinction has a place set apart for the examination of those who have been brought up at the public schools, and most of these places are built in the same manner. They are enclosed with high walls, the entrance is magnificent, and before it is a large square, one hundred and fifty paces wide, planted with trees, having benches and seats for the captain and soldiers who do duty during the time of examination.

The entrance is first into a large court, where the mandarins sit in state, attended by a numerous retinue, and at the end of this is another wall, with folding gates. These gates being opened, there is a bridge over a canal, which leads to a third gate, where guards are planted, who let none in without orders from the proper officers; passing through this gate, there is a narrow passage leading to a broad open square, on both sides of which are a vast number of little chambers close together, four feet and a half long, and about three and a half broad, for the students to lodge in, who are on some particular occasions above six thousand in number. As all these students are obliged to compose their themes without any assistance from others, that there may be no deception with respect to their knowledge, they are stopped when they come to the gate, and searched, lest any papers should be found upon them: if in such cases any fraud was discovered, the youth would not only be excluded from all connections with the learned, but he would also be punished as an impostor. When every one is examined, the gates are shut up, and the public seal affixed to them; and there are officers appointed to see that every thing is conducted in a proper manner, and that the students may not go out of their chambers to speak to each other; for this would in all respects deprive them of the benefit of their degrees.

At the end of the narrow passage above mentioned, there is a tower erected upon four arches, and flanked with four turrets or a sort of round domes; from which, if any disturbance is perceived, a drum is immediately beaten to alarm the guards, that the disorder may be remedied. Near this tower there are several apartments, and a great hall, in which those assemble who are to be present at their first examination. Passing through this hall, there is another nearly adjoining to it, but more magnificently furnished, with divers apartments for the presidents and principal officers. There are also galleries, a garden, and many little apartments for the mandarins, secretaries, and other inferior officers whose business it is to attend. In the apartments are beds, fire places, kitchen furniture, with every thing necessary for the reception of the examiners; because many of them come from very distant parts, and therefore it is but reasonable that they should be supported at the public expence.

The presidents before whom the youth are examined, are the *Fu-ywen*, the *Chi-si*, and the *Chi-byen*, who are governors of provinces and cities, of the first and third rank. As soon as the students have passed the examination of the mandarins, they must begin with that of the *Chi-byen*, in whose jurisdiction

jurisdiction they were born. In every province there is a mandarin, who is sent to reside in the palace by the emperor, and at the end of three years he returns to Peking. When these mandarins arrive in the province allotted for them, the first thing they do is to offer up sacrifices to Confucius; for although this celebrated person is allowed to have been a human being, yet divine honours are paid him. After this all the students are brought together, along with their teachers, and examined with respect to the progress they have made in learning; and if they are approved of, then they are sent up to the chief city in the province, to receive their degrees.

But the most remarkable thing is, that the same mandarins who examine the students in the common sciences, likewise examine the cadets in military discipline; and these military cadets cannot be admitted into any office, nor have a commission in the army, till they have given the utmost proof of their abilities in riding, shooting, fencing, and such like manly exercises. This mandarin, whose title is Heyo-tau, delivers themes to the students, who are obliged to return answers within a limited time, otherwise they will be expelled from the seat of learning; he is also obliged to visit every city, town, and village, in the province, and transmit to Peking an account of what comes under his notice. This is such a plan of excellent policy, as ought to be imitated by all those nations who ever heard any account of it.

The mandarin generally divides his students into six classes, whom he visits once every year; and if at the third examination any should happen to be absent without assigning a reasonable cause for it, they will be in danger of losing their degrees. All those who have had their degrees, go once in three years to Peking, to hear the public examinations, unless they are in office, and then they are excused. On these occasions the emperor is present, and dictates questions to the young gentlemen.

In China, the husbandmen are treated with great respect, and considered, as they always ought to be, as worthy members of society. They are preferred to all sorts of merchants and mechanics: their profession being accounted the most necessary in the state. Most of their children are brought up at the public expence, for they look upon the cultivation of the earth as the principal means of human existence. Great part of their husbandry consists in rice, and they manure their land extremely well; gathering, for that purpose, all such things as can be of any service to it, such as rotten herbs, linseed oil, and many other things. This sort of manure, which in some countries would burn up the plants, is of great service in China, where they have the art of tempering it with water, before they use it. They gather the dung in pails; which they commonly carry covered on their shoulders; and this contributes very much to the cleanness of their cities, the filth being taken away every day. The industry of those husbandmen is almost incredible; but such is the kindness of the soil, that it repays them amply for their trouble, by producing generally two crops in the year of different sorts of grain.

The number of merchants and traders in China is exceeding great; for into whatever town one enters, there seem to be more sellers than buyers: they are all very obliging, and will not refuse money, so as they can be in the least gainers. When they once tell the lowest price of their goods, they will not abate any thing; notwithstanding all the arguments that might be used for that purpose. We are told by Le-Compte, that there are no people in the world better acquainted with trade than the Chinese: for they are very insinuating in their manners, and their eagerness to get money puts them daily upon the invention of some new schemes. They turn every thing to advantage, and undertake the most difficult voyages for the least hope of gain. They have a mean opinion of foreign merchants, it being a maxim with them, in their commerce, that all those

who come to trade with them, would have their goods for as little as possible, or even for nothing at all if they could.

Having said thus much concerning China in general, we shall proceed to give a more particular account of it in the words of the travellers themselves.

“The first place we came to (says Brand, secretary to the Russian ambassador) was a fortified town on the confines of the province of Dauri, inhabited by the Tanguts, a rude people, formerly without any form of government, but now subject to the Chinese; for all that part of Dauri lying on the other side of the river Argum, is subject to the Russians. We found most of the people here employed in husbandry, and we saw large crops of barely, oats, and tobacco. After we had spent three days more in travelling through the desert, we came to the village of Suttegat; where being met by the Adogeda, or minister, who had along with him about fifty persons, he invited us to his tent the same evening, where he treated us with milk-tea, and some sweetmeats and preserves. Next day, the adogeda having invited the ambassador to dinner, he met him at some distance from his tent, and, after a mutual salute, conducted him thither.

The dinner was served up, on a small table, without a table-cloth; the ambassador, and the adogeda, having each his own dish, as had every one of the rest. Our dishes were filled with soup and mutton; and the second course was pottage with a kind of pudding in it, long and thick like a gut. There being no knives or forks, we were at first greatly at a loss, till we saw the adogeda take two straight sticks of ebony, tipped with gold and silver at the end, and about a quarter of a yard in length; with these he took the victuals out of the dishes, and having bit a large mouthful, let the rest fall into the dish again. After dinner, two silver cups filled with brandy were brought in, one for the adogeda, and the other for the ambassador, which they both drank off; and we who attended, were served in China cups with the same liquor, which we were obliged to drink to the bottom, and then we had a dish of sweetmeats served up.

Having rested ourselves two days longer, till September the 14th, the ambassador invited the adogeda to dinner, and we found that our provisions seemed as strange to them, as theirs did to us. After dinner the adogeda and ambassador, by the help of the interpreter, conversed very friendly together, and then we found what our allowance was to be from the court. The emperor had ordered the adogeda to furnish us with carriages and all sorts of provisions that we should want, such as bread, mutton, brandy, and milk-tea, so that we were not in want of any thing. We found all the inhabitants in this part of the country the grossest pagans we ever met with; for they worshipped the devil in the night, with the most horrid outcries. Their houses are both convenient and neat, and most of them procure a subsistence by planting tobacco. On the 16th, the ambassador sent the adogeda a present of forty sables, fifty ermines, with two fine looking glasses, and several other things; but it was difficult to persuade him to accept of them, for the Chinese have very high notions of honour, it being a maxim with them never to accept of a present without making a double return.

September 21st, the adogeda sent the ambassador six tables with sweetmeats, and several bottles of brandy; and invited us to dinner on the 23d, as we did him on the 24th. On the 29th, our carriages being got ready, we proceeded on our journey, and spent the two next days at a village, where we were treated with great hospitality; for it ought to be mentioned, to the honour of the Chinese, that they are very obliging to strangers. We found many instances of this, for all the while we passed through the desert, we were accommodated with very convenient lodgings, and where-ever we arrived at night, servants were ordered to attend us with what kitchen utensils we wanted, and in the morning they conducted us part of our journey. We were sure to have fresh horses every other day

Engraved for Moore's Voyages & Travels.



CHINESE HUSBANDMEN with their manner of TILLAGE

Engraved by Thos. Gifford.

day, and we were constantly guarded in the night by persons who had bells to give the alarm if there should be any necessity for it. Our conversation with the adogeda turned mostly upon politics, which ended chiefly in praise of the Chinese; for, like most other people, they are extremely fond of flattery.

The chief difficulty we had to struggle with was, the scarcity of water, for it is very muddy in the desert, so that whenever we met with any that was fresh, we were obliged to fill our leather bottles with it.

We frequently diverted ourselves with hunting; which I was once in danger of having paid dear for. Having gone out one morning with a particular friend of mine, to shoot some sheep, we missed our caravan, and rode about the desert two days and nights, till coming within sight of some Tartarian huts, we were much afraid, and sought to conceal ourselves, lest they should have murdered us. But we had formed too harsh notions of those people; for no sooner did they see us, than they conducted us to their cabins or huts, where, beyond our expectations, they treated us very obligingly, and having by signs made them understand that we belonged to the Russian ambassador, they sent a messenger to give him notice of our being there; and that we waited for his coming, which we accordingly did till the caravan passed that way."

From what is here related by the secretary, we find that Europeans are apt to use too harsh expressions in calling all heathens savages; for although their manners are not so refined as ours, their vices are not so numerous. Notwithstanding some of them may commit robbery, and murder travellers, yet we must not suppose them all equally guilty; and probably those who do commit such crimes, are such as their own laws would punish. We have but too little reason to condemn them, while such crimes are daily committed amongst ourselves, of which it would be in vain to produce instances. In all accounts of these people, we should judge in the most candid manner; for if the Chinese have not been able to civilize those Tartars subject to them, neither does it appear that we have made many improvements in the manners of those heathens where we have settlements.

October 15, we arrived near the banks of the river Casumur, which falls into the river Naun; where having refreshed ourselves for twenty-four hours, we continued our journey, and on the 10th passed in sight of the ruin of several antient cities, the remains of them having some strange figures upon them, very different from any that are to be found in Europe. They told us that those places had been destroyed by Alexander the Great; but although Quintus Curtius tells us, that the Grecian conqueror extended his conquests into India, yet no man, who has the least knowledge of the country, on recollecting the short time that hero lived, who died in the 33d year of his age, will ever believe that he went so far as China. At the same places we saw large stone pillars, with bells hanging on them, which made a noise as often as the wind blew upon them. A little beyond these we discovered the ruins of some places, with the figures of men, women, and beasts cut on stone, but could not learn for what reason they had been set up. The most probable conjecture we could form was, they had been set up in memory of some illustrious persons, whose names are not recorded in history, and that all this devastation happened when the Tartars invaded China, or when the Chinese fought against each other, as was frequently the case.

There were vast numbers of wild sheep, deer, and hares, all the way along as we crossed the desert, and we had leave to shoot as many of them as we thought proper. There were likewise vast numbers of pheasants, but as they did not sit upon the boughs of the trees, so we found it a difficult matter to catch them; but the talios, or secretary, whom the adogeda had brought along with him, was very expert in that exercise, and we were surprised to see how easily the Chinese could shoot any fowls flying. We observed

that the nearer we approached the Chinese wall, the country appeared more and more populous; and our last three days journey, before we got sight of it, was by a road cut very conveniently through the rocks, in the midst of which was a city, cut out of a mountain, called Rora-Ratou. In this place we were allowed hogs instead of sheep; and it may not be improper to observe, that although the Chinese hogs are not large, yet they are so fat, that their bellies hang down to the ground. As these rocks through which we passed, are infested with tygers, leopards, and panthers, it was ordered that none should leave the caravans, unless there were at least three in company, and fire-arms along with them; for nothing is more common than for those wild beasts to devour single passengers, of which there will be many instances recited in the course of this work.

Having passed these rocks, we had a good journey to the Chinese wall, and here we had an opportunity of making some inquiries into the ceremonies of the Mongul Tartars, who inhabit those parts. They have their domestic idols, to whom they offer up sacrifices; but they believe there is one Supreme Being, although they have very confused and gross notions concerning him. When they bury their dead, they place a cock upon the lid of the coffin, and this induced us to believe that these heathens have some notion, from tradition, of a resurrection. The crowing of the cock is generally a sign of the approach of the morning; and probably they do this to point out the morning of the resurrection. This however is only mentioned by way of conjecture; because we found many other things of a singular nature, which we could not easily account for. Indeed the most remarkable thing we met with here was, a Mongul nun, and she was frequently at her prayers, with her book in her hands. Being asked, by the ambassador, to whom she offered her prayers; she answered, 'To the same God, who being excluded from heaven by your God, will at last return, and put your God out of his place, and then you will see prodigious alterations on this earth.'

Mr. Brand, the secretary, has made no remarks upon this expression of the nun, which is the more to be wondered at, because he is for the most part very judicious, and seems to have been a man of very extensive knowledge. Let the intelligent reader but attend only a few minutes to the words, and he will find that they have a near affinity with the pagan mythology, which teaches, that the rebellious gods were driven out of heaven; nay, it may be added farther, that this tradition itself was no other than a mutilated account of the fallen angels. But to return to our traveller.

"October 27, towards evening, we got sight of the famous Chinese wall, and it was the most stupendous work we had ever seen. Near the first gate we entered at, the wall seemed rather decayed; and a little farther we passed through another gate, which was fortified, in the form of a bastion. We passed two more gates, and over the third was a guard of soldiers, who are constantly placed there in order to spread an alarm, in case the Mongul Tartars should attempt to make an attack. Scarce had we passed a mile within these gates, when we came to a strong town called Galyra, and near it we met with the first idol of the Chinese, of which they have vast numbers, not only in the empire at large, but likewise in every city, town and village. The idols we saw at this place had a most dreadful aspect, having spears in their hands, and surrounded with all the implements of war.

October 28, we passed by another Chinese city, and in the evening arrived at the city of Xantuning, where we were splendidly entertained by the governor, and officers both civil and military, in the same manner as we had been in all the places through which we passed. Musicians were ordered to divert us, and the evening was spent in the most agreeable manner.

On the 29th we came to the city of Xun-gu-kou, where we were diverted with a farce, on a stage erected

for that purpose. Here we saw, in one of their temples, a goddess of stone, 128 feet high, with 700 hands; and as we frequently went into their temples, we found all their idols richly dressed, but with the most frightful countenances. Near this place were many sepulchres of the dead; and on the 30th of October, meeting a great many men and women on the road following an idol, preceded by pipers, drummers, and other musicians, we asked the adogeda what they meant by it? He told us that they were going to perform their devotions at a sepulchre, and that they were obliged to take their god along with them. We learned afterwards, that this is a common practice in China, much in the same manner as it was with the Greeks of old, and other heathen nations throughout many parts of the world, as appears by the testimony of travellers.

The same day we came in sight of a spacious place called the Red City, and famous for being the burying place of many of their princes and emperors in ancient times. We lodged that night in a village, and as some extraordinary business detained the adogeda in the place, we set out in the morning without him; but before we had travelled far, his steward came up, and desired us to tarry a little in the place where we were; his master being on the road to overtake us, we spent this time in taking a view of one of their temples, where we saw three of the adogeda's servants prostrating themselves before an idol that stood in the middle, and two others that stood on both sides of it. We were much surprised to find a people, who in many things are undoubtedly ingenious, and more acquainted with learning than either the Mahometans or many other people in the world, such gross idolators; for wherever we went, we found temples erected, and the number of their gods seemed almost endless.

November the 2d, we came to the city of Tunko, famous for its traffick in Porcelain, and here we were again sumptuously entertained with all sorts of music, and we had a play acted in the evening; the actors being in the richest dresses we had ever seen.

The next evening we came near to the suburbs of Peking, the capital city of China, where we were met by many persons of high rank from the emperor's court. November the 4th, the ambassador made his public entry into Peking, in the following order: About one hundred peace officers to clear the streets; these were followed by a party of the emperor's guards, with drums, trumpets, and other sorts of martial musick. Behind them walked the adogeda, who had conducted us from the borders of China. And then the ambassador himself, with two of the emperor's officers of state on each hand. And we, who composed his retinue, closed the procession. We were all lodged in the court, as is the custom for ambassadors from Russia to China. Here we lodged till November the 12th, when the adogeda came to inform the ambassador, that he was to have an audience the next day, and therefore desired him to have his credentials ready. He asked him at the same time, Who were to carry the presents? The ambassador told him, the Cossacks; which did not seem to please the adogeda; for he would rather have had them carried by Chinese servants; but this the ambassador would not comply with.

It was, however, November the 14th, before we could get every thing ready; and then we proceeded to court in the following order: Fifteen Cossacks carrying the presents, followed by one of the masters of the jewel-office to the Emperor of Russia; and he was followed by myself as secretary of the embassy, carrying the credentials: the ambassador came next, attended by four adogedas; and in the rear marched the rest of the gentlemen belonging to the embassy. Coming to the castle, we alighted from our horses, and walked in through a long narrow passage, arched on the top, and at each end was a strong folding gate. Within the inner gate, we came to a spacious stone bridge, about sixty paces in length, and on each side

was a wall not above three feet high; but adorned with a great number of images cut in stone. Beyond the bridge we passed through a broad spacious court, where we saw two large pillars wrought very artificially, and adorned with a variety of figures. Beyond this court, we were conducted into the most spacious and elegant hall I have ever seen; and there we saw tables placed, with bolsters on the ground for us to sit on, which is the custom in China, particularly with such as are treated with more than ordinary respect.

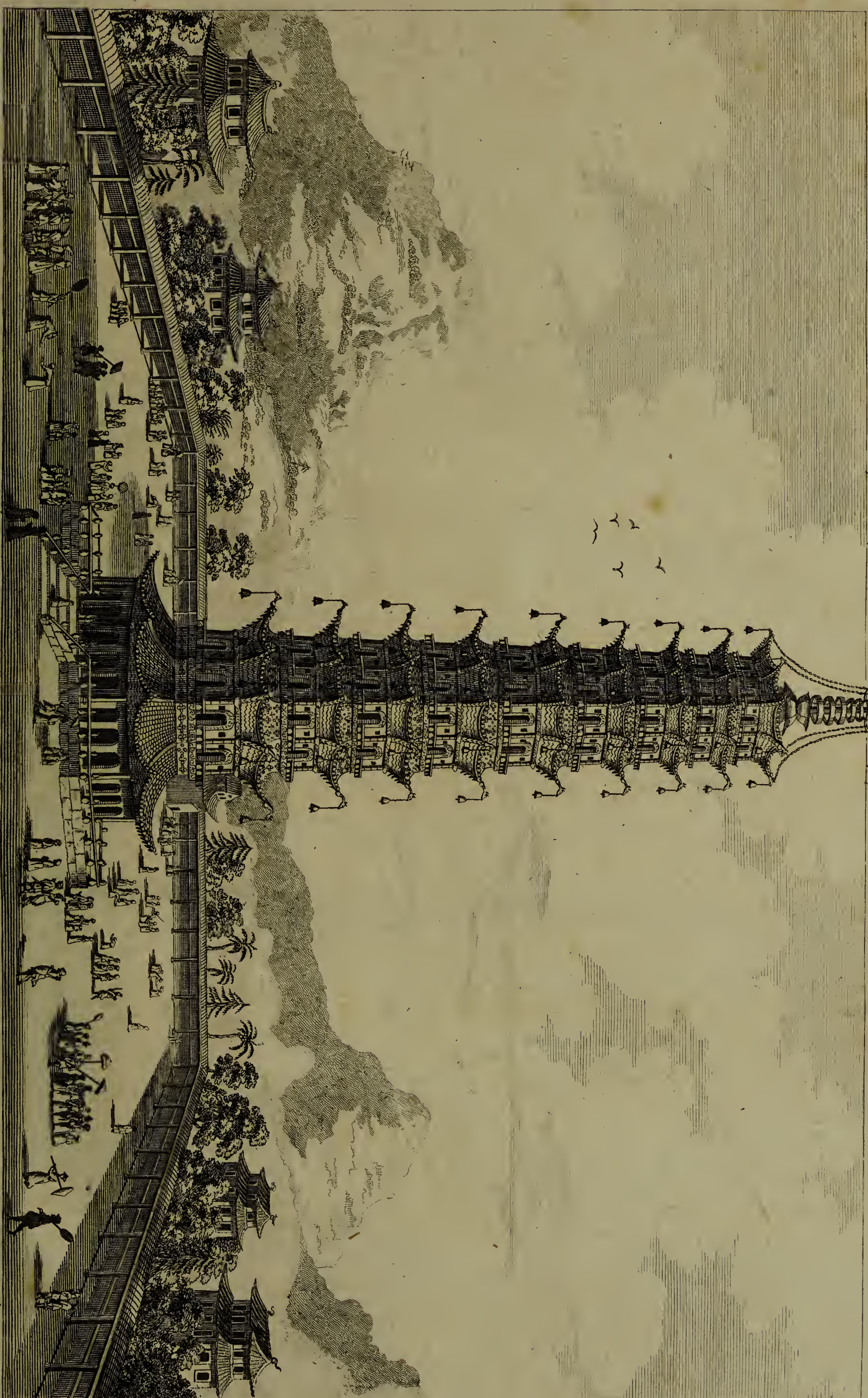
We had not been seated above ten minutes, when we saw the great ministers of state enter the hall, and the emperor walking behind them, and into his own hands the credentials were delivered. The presents were given to the adogeda, who ordered them to be laid upon the tables; and then the four great officers of state walked forwards, and saluted the ambassador. They enquired very particularly concerning the health of the czar; and told the ambassador, that the credentials should be immediately translated, and an answer given to them. This ceremony being over, we were re-conducted to the ambassador's lodgings in the same manner we came; and within three hours after, two adogedas came to let the ambassador know, that the czar's letters had been received with more than ordinary satisfaction at court, and that the emperor had sent all sorts of most delicious provisions for him and his retinue for that day, because we were to dine with the emperor on the day following. This was an honour we did not expect, and the adogeda did not fail to let us know that few ambassadors had ever been indulged with such a privilege.

Next day we went in procession to the palace in the same manner as before, and being seated again on pillows, in the hall already mentioned, the emperor, attended by the same officers as before, came forwards, and welcomed the ambassador with a very hearty salute. Four tables were immediately brought in, two of which were covered with forty silver dishes, filled with all sorts of sweetmeats, for the ambassador; and the other two which had likewise sweetmeats on them, and mutton, were for us who belonged to his retinue. After dinner we were treated with the liquor called milk-tea, in wooden dishes, which, when we had drank off the liquor, were re-delivered to the servants with a low inclination of the head. The ambassador was no sooner risen from table, than all the sweetmeats were given to the Cossacks, who carried them away when we left the palace. The whole of this entertainment was conducted with so much decorum and sobriety, that we could not help forming very high notions of Chinese politeness. It is true, there were many ceremonies observed, but they were not imposed on us, nor did they blame us for not complying with what we did not understand. Two days after we had dined with the emperor, his first minister of state, accompanied by several of the officers of court, waited on the ambassador, who entertained them with very good musick, to their no small satisfaction and pleasure. The ambassador likewise presented the dorgamba, or chief minister, with a large looking-glass, two smaller ones, two watches, with some other things, such as fables, black foxes skins, ermines, and other Siberian commodities, which were accepted of in the most obliging manner.

November the 18th, two heralds came from the palace, to invite us to dine again with the emperor; and we were conducted to the hall where we had dined before. The ambassador, with fourteen of his retinue, being seated on the pillows, the officers of state already mentioned, came in; and after the mutual compliments were over, asked the ambassador, if he could speak Latin? He answered, he could not; they then asked if any one in his retinue could, and being told there was one, but he was afraid he could not hold a long conversation, they went away, leaving us to wait for the emperor. We waited in the hall five hours, when the adogeda came, and conducted us through three fine gates, and as many spacious courts. In the middle court was a beautiful fish-

Captured for Hoare's

Japanes & Chinese.



Prospect of the PORCELAIN TOWER at Nan-King in China.

Engraved by

fish-pond filled with clear water, and over it a noble bridge, supported by five lofty arches.

As soon as we entered the presence chamber, we found the emperor seated on his throne; and the ambassador was conducted by the adogeda, and seated beside him on his right hand.

The room, which was very lofty, and adorned with many marble statues, was filled with vast numbers of courtiers, carrying the emperor's arms on their breasts and backs wrought in gold. Just opposite the door of this room we had a view of the seraglio on the one hand, and the imperial temple on the other. The ambassador's retinue stood behind him, and opposite the four chief ministers of state. Near the throne stood a guard of forty persons, all dressed in one uniform manner, holding in their hands halberts, pikes, and battle-axes. We had not sat long when we saw a table brought in, covered very thick with large dishes of gold, filled with sweetmeats, grapes, apples, pears, chestnuts, China oranges, citrons, and other fruits. Every one took care to observe when the emperor began to eat; and having gently inclined their heads, they eat likewise.

Several tables were set for the ambassador's retinue, with large dishes of silver, filled with sweetmeats, and such other things as had been served up for the emperor. The persons who waited at table were richly dressed, which surprised us much; but we learned afterwards that these were officers of rank at court.

After dinner, which lasted three hours, two very large cups of brandy being presented to the emperor, he commanded the dorgamba, and another of his chief ministers, to conduct the ambassador to the throne; and he being come upon the steps, the dorgamba gave one of these cups to the ambassador, desiring him to make a low bow with his head, and then drink it off at one draught. This being done, several jesuits came into the room, and spoke in Latin to the ambassador, and he answered them in Italian, that he was not well acquainted with Latin. It happened that one of the jesuits understood Italian, and by order of the emperor; he asked the ambassador several questions; as, How long he had left Moscow? what wars were carrying on in Europe? and whether the Czar was engaged in any of them? with many others of a similar nature. All these being answered and explained to the emperor, the ambassador was re-conducted to the throne, and we in our turn ordered to stand before the emperor, and drink a gold cup full of brandy each. Returning to our seats, we had milk-tea set before us to drink. The tables being removed, the adogeda conducted us into another room, that we might not see the emperor descend from the throne, that being contrary to the laws of China, because by that is pointed out his being dethroned, which notion likewise prevails in other parts of the east.

The royal family of China are descended from the Mongul Tartars, and the emperor who treated us with so much magnificence, was of a brown complexion, tall, and about fifty years of age. After he left the throne, he came into the room where we were, and ordered all that was left of the sweetmeats to be given to the servants. By this time it was drawing towards evening, and we were re-conducted to the ambassador's lodgings, where we made our remarks upon Chinese magnificence and hospitality, nor did we know which to commend most.

In this manner we spent the time in a continual round of feasting, till December 11, when we were invited to be present at a grand solemnity, it being the day on which the Chinese lords pay their homage to the emperor. They prostrated themselves several times before him, and knocked their heads against the ground. This ceremony being over, we were again entertained as before, and in the evening the adogeda conducted us to see a play acted. It was somewhat like our European opera, there being much music in it, and the action was tragic, but it was impossible for us to know upon what it was founded. After the

play was over, there was something acted like a farce, consisting chiefly of legerdemain tricks, and several other feats of dexterity.

The jesuits, of whom there were eight in Peking at that time, treated us with a fine dinner, and the ambassador returned the compliment within a few days afterwards. We continued at the court of Peking upwards of four months, when having settled every thing relating to our embassy, we were re-conducted out of the empire to the borders of Russia, in the most honourable manner, having had carriages, horses, and provisions allowed us."

Such is the narrative of Mr. Brand, who returned home to Russia with his ambassador. And we shall now give a description of the imperial city of Peking; from the learned jesuits, Father Du Halde, and Father Le Compte.

It is called Peking, which signifies the Court of the North, it being the ordinary residence of the emperor's, who removed from the south to settle here, about the year 1405, in order to watch the motions of the Tartars. It is the capital of the empire, situated in a most delightful plain, twenty leagues from the great wall. It is almost square, and is divided into two equal parts. That where the emperor's palace stands is named Lau-Ching, or the Old City. It is also called the Tartar city, because the houses are inhabited by the Tartars, as are likewise the lands around it; and they have ever been exempted from taxes since the present royal family came to the throne; the emperor being descended from those people.

The second is called Lingo-Ching, or the New City; because the Chinese retired from the old city, and settled here when the present family took possession of the empire. Both these cities, taken together, are about eighteen English miles in circumference, and are encompassed with strong walls. Those of the old city are stately, and worthy of the greatest capital city in the world; but those of the new city are narrow, and have nothing in them remarkable. The walls of the old city are made with an ascent; and there are houses for the soldiers to do duty in, at proper distances from each other.

The ditch is dry, but very broad and deep, and every thing is kept in the same order as if they were continually in fear of an enemy. The gates of the city are nine in number, and they are high and well arched, with pavilions over them. Their pavilions are nine stories high, and each story is furnished with loop-holes; the lower story forming a great hall for the officers and soldiers. Before each gate there is an open area, or parade, of above three hundred and sixty feet, which serves as a place for arms, and it is encompassed with a semicircular wall, like that of the city. The entrance into these parades is never on that side which faces the great road leading into the city, for the Chinese are very jealous of the country people's wives with the soldiers.

The road is also defended by a pavilion, with cannon upon it; so that it would be no easy matter for an enemy to get into the city. At each gate, on each side, are two other pavilions, facing each other, much lower than that over the gate; and these having likewise cannon placed upon them, no city in the world can be better guarded, both against an enemy, and also to suppress insurrections among its own inhabitants.

Almost all the streets are built in a direct line, the largest being about one hundred and twenty feet broad, and three miles in length. In this, and in the other large streets, they have many shops for selling their silks; and as different pieces are hung out, these, with their gilded signs, give the whole a most beautiful appearance. Their signs have the figures of all sorts of animals painted upon them, and many other things, in the same manner as in Europe. The little streets run all from east to west, and divide the space between the large ones into so many equal and proportionable parts.

The amazing multitudes of people who throng these streets,

streets, without one woman, and the confusion occasioned by the vast numbers of horses, cattle, and carriages, is astonishing. Persons of distinction would be stopped every moment, if they had not a man on horseback to go before; and call to the passengers to make way. Many people are carried through the streets in chairs, but most commonly they ride on horseback, or on mules. One may hire a horse or a mule the whole day for six-pence; and there are books fold, which give an account of the wards, streets, or places, where every person lives who has any public employment.

The houses bear no proportion to the beauty of the streets, being neither lofty, nor well built; except the emperor's palace: the former are extremely mean, the noblemen's being but one story high, like the others. But the numerous apartments they have for themselves, their wives, and their domesticks, make some amends for other deficiencies. Their courts of justice are no better than their houses; except that they have lofty gates, with some curious emblematical figures upon them; but neither the halls, nor rooms, have any thing in them worth notice. All their temples are built at the expence of the emperor; who also allows something for the support of the priests, the schools, the judges, and other officers; whether ecclesiastical or civil.

The governor of Peking is always chosen in from among the Tartars, and is called Kyú-men-tí-tú, or General of the nine gates. He has under his jurisdiction the soldiers as well as the inhabitants, in all civil matters; and nothing can exceed the policy observed here. It is amazing to see the perfect tranquillity that reigns among so many people. For several years together a house is not broken, nor a murder committed; for it would be almost impossible for the criminals to escape being punished.

All the great streets, which run in a line from one gate to another, have soldiers day and night, with swords by their sides, and whips in their hands, to chastise all without distinction who make any disturbance; and to confine those who resist; the lesser streets have, at each end, wooden gates, with openings in them, so that the soldiers can see what is transacting. These wooden gates are shut at night, and not opened till morning; unless a person wants a physician, or some other thing absolutely necessary. As soon as the first stroke of the watch is given on a great bell; two or three of the soldiers walk from one guard to another, playing with a short piece of wood upon a thing resembling a bowl.

They suffer none to walk the streets at night, and even question those whom the emperor sends upon business; who, if they cannot give a good account of themselves, are immediately taken into custody. That the soldiers may be constantly upon their duty, the governor orders some of his officers to go round the streets, at the time they are least expected; and this keeps them constantly upon their duty. It is true the empire is put to great expence on this account; for part of the soldiers are employed for nothing else, but to take care of the streets; and they have large pay. But what signifies the expence, while the place is well governed, and crimes prevented instead of being punished? If something on a plan similar to this was adopted by us, we should not have so many houses broken, nor see such numbers of wretches executed.

Besides these soldiers watching day and night, it is their business to see that every one sweeps that part of the street before his own door; and waters the place morning and evening in dry weather. The soldiers themselves clean the middle part every morning for the carriages; which is the more necessary, because the streets are not paved, and the ground is rather soft.

After the soldiers have taken up the dirt, they beat it, and mix it with dry earth; so that within two hours after rain, the streets become dry. Du Halde, speaking of the Observatory at Peking, gives the fol-

lowing description of it. "We first entered a pretty large court, where those who took care of the place lodged; going in, we found a very narrow stair-case, which led to the top of a square tower, contiguous to the wall of the Tartar city, and raised but ten or twelve feet above the bulwark. Here the Chinese astronomers had placed their instruments, which although but few, yet took up the whole room. Those instruments were inferior to what we have in Europe; so that when we instructed them how to make others, according to the latest discoveries, the emperor ordered all the old ones to be locked up. But though the instruments we taught them to make, were extremely good, yet they could not be permitted to use them, till an order from the emperor came for that purpose."

The city bell for striking the watch, or hour of the night, is reckoned the biggest in the world; and the sound of it is heard at a great distance in the country. It was carried up to the tower by engines, contrived by the jesuits, to the astonishment of the whole court, who had never seen any thing of the nature before.

We have already given an account of the manner in which the Russian ambassador was treated at Peking: but Brand the secretary has given us but a very imperfect account of the emperor's palace; tho' this is not to be wondered at, especially when we consider that even the ambassador himself was not admitted into any parts of it but the hall of audience, and the dining room. It is to the two learned jesuits, Du Halde and Le Compte, that we are indebted for a proper description of that magnificent structure. These jesuits had gained the affections of the Chinese so much, that they were admitted into every place, except the seraglio, where none are permitted to go besides the emperor and his eunuchs.

This spacious palace stands in the middle of the old Tartar city; is of a square form; the east, north, and west sides, being equally distant from the wall. The south side forms the front, and has many curious figures upon it. It is divided into two, one being called the outer, and the other the inner palace. The outer palace is an oblong square, about four miles in circumference, and surrounded by a wall, with gates, at each of which a guard is kept.

The south gate is the gate of the palace itself, being about one hundred fathoms from the great gate of the city, and is called the gate facing the noon day sun. The inner wall, which immediately encompasses the palace where the emperor resides, is extremely high and thick, built with large bricks, and embellished with battlements, well contrived. It has four gates with large arches; those to the south being three-fold, but the others on the sides are single. Upon these gates, and upon the four angles of the walls are eight towers, or rather halls, of an extraordinary bigness, and very curious workmanship, varnished with a most beautiful red, adorned with flowers of gold, and covered with tiles painted yellow, which when the sun shines upon them, appear as if they were of solid gold. In the reigns of the Chinese emperors, twenty eunuchs kept guard at each of these gates; but ever since the Tartars subdued the empire, soldiers have been appointed in their room. All the officers of the palace, with the mandarins, are allowed entrance within these gates; but all others are prohibited under the severest penalties, unless they shew a tablet of ivory, with the name of the mandarin upon it to whom they belong. Round this inner wall is a deep moat filled with water.

Close by the eastern wall on the outside, runs a river, over which are built several very fair bridges all of marble, except the arch in the middle, where there is a draw-bridge, which is never let down but when some of the officers are to pass. The whole palace is divided into a great number of apartments, each being for a separate use, particularly for the great

